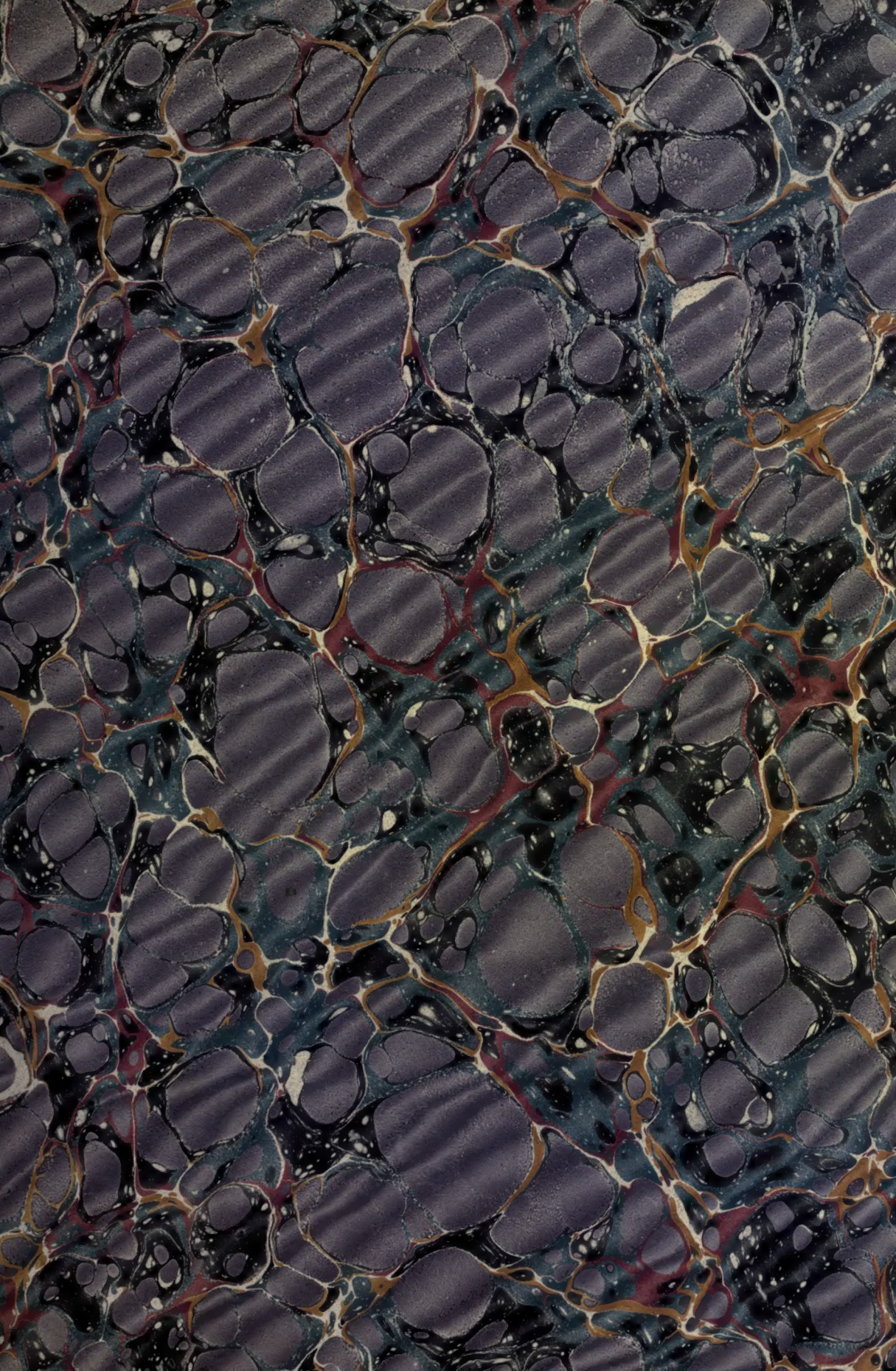
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Loch Obisary

Loch Scadavay

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Loch Skipport

Loch Eynort

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

The Earliest Period

TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ. M.A. F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.



Encounter of Sir Patrick Hume and Sir Hugh Logan of Lee before the Castle of Dunbar.

JOHN TALLIS & COMPANY LONDON & NEW YORK

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AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF IRELAND," THE "UNIVERSAL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY," ETC., ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN AND CELEBRATED PERSONAGES CONNECTED WITH SCOTTISH HISTORY.

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VOL. 1.

	TO FACE PAGE
MAP OF SCOTLAND—(*Frontispiece.*)	
ENGRAVED TITLE.	
PORTRAIT OF MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND	292
———— JOHN KNOX	475
———— MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, AT THE AGE OF SIXTEEN	527
———— MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS	538
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AND HER SECRETARY CHATELAR	558
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, REPROVED BY KNOX	561
PORTRAIT OF HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY	579
———— QUEEN ELIZABETH	603
———— JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY	647
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN LOCHLEVEN CASTLE	655

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

BOOK I.

SCOTLAND DURING THE FIRST THIRTEEN CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Condition of Scotland when first known to the Romans—Campaigns of Agricola—Battle of the Grampians.	1
II.	History of Caledonia, from the recall of Agricola till the departure of the Roman legions from Britain	11
III.	Kingdoms that arose on the departure of the Romans—The Picts—Scots—Strathclyde Britons	16
IV.	Scotland from the reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin to the end of the eleventh century	22
V.	Condition and manners of the people—Laws—The church—Language—The Saxon colonisation	31
VI.	The immediate successors of Malcolm and Margaret—Battle of the Standard—Battle of Alnwick—Disturbed reign of William the Lion	35
VII.	Reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III.—Continued turbulence of the Celtic population—Intrigues of Henry III. of England	46
VIII.	The maiden of Norway—Intrigues in Scotland—The interregnum—Election of John Baliol to the throne	51

BOOK II.

FROM THE REIGN OF JOHN BALIOL TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	The reign of John Baliol—Quarrels with Edward I.—Capture of Berwick—Battle of Dunbar—Baliol submits, and is deposed	58
II.	Subjection of Scotland by King Edward—Insurrections—William Wallace—Battle of Stirling—Invasion of the English border	62
III.	Edward invades Scotland again—Battle of Falkirk—Interference of the pope—Battle of Roslin—New invasion by King Edward—Siege of Stirling—Capture and execution of Wallace	70
IV.	Insurrection and coronation of Robert Bruce—Battle of Methven—Bruce's distresses and exploits—Death of Edward I.	82
V.	Bruce's successes—Battle of Bannockburn	91
VI.	From the battle of Bannockburn to the truce of 1319	101
VII.	Expostulations with the pope—Plot against the Scottish king—Edward invades Scotland—Battle of Biland—Deposition of Edward II.—New invasion of England by the Scots—Peace—Death of Robert Bruce	111
VIII.	Randolph regent—Edward Baliol—Battle of Dupplin—Battle of Halidon Hill	122
IX.	Baliol expelled by a new revolution—Exploits of Sir Andrew Moray—Black Agnes of Dunbar—David Bruce returns to Scotland—Invasion of England—Battle of Neville's Cross	129
X.	King Edward's designs upon Scotland—Border warfare—Attempt on Berwick—Invasion of Scotland by King Edward—Liberation of David, and a long truce	139
XI.	Intrigues of England and France—Murder of the king's mistress—Jealousy between David and the steward—Margaret Logy—Negotiations for peace	144
XII.	Continued negotiations for peace—Rebellion of the northern clans—David's divorce and death	150

BOOK III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART TO THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Reign of Robert II.—Death of King Edward—Massacre at Roxburgh—Border hostilities—French expedition to Scotland, and war with England	155
II.	Continuation of the war—Battle of Otterburn—the Earl of Fife regent—Death of Robert II., and accession of Robert III.	161
III.	First acts of Robert III.—The "Wolf of Badenoch"—The Duke of Albany and Rothesay—Flight of the Earl of March—Henry IV. invades Scotland—Murder of the Duke of Rothesay	173
IV.	New efforts for the reformation of abuses—Inquiry into the death of Rothesay—Hostilities with England—Battles of Nesbit Moor and Homildon Hill—The Earl of Carrick taken and retained in England—Death of Robert III.	180
V.	Regency of the Duke of Albany—Hostilities with England—Rebellion of the highlanders, and battle of Harlaw—Death of Albany—James I. released from captivity	186
VI.	Reign of James I.—James's first parliament—Seizure and execution of the nobles—Foreign alliances	194
VII.	Another parliament—James's visit to the highlands—Rebellion of Alexander of the Isles—Further legislative enactments	199

BOOK III—*continued.*

CHAP. PAGE

VIII. The king's further proceedings against his nobles—Siege of Roxburgh—Sir Patrick Graham—Plot against the king—Assassination of James I. 206

IX. Accession of James II.—Execution of his father's murderers—The government during the king's minority—Rivalry of Crichton and Livingston—Misgovernment of the regency—Execution of the Douglases . . 211

X. William, Earl of Douglas, marries the heiress of Galloway—His coalition with Livingston, and its results—Troubles of the kingdom—Majority of James II. 217

XI. Turbulent behaviour of the Earl of Douglas—He is slain—Battle on the muir of Brechin—Rebellion and subsequent submission of the Earl of Douglas—Submission of the Earl of Crawford 223

XII. New conspiracy of the Earl of Douglas—Energetic measures of the king—The earl retires to England—Insurrection of the Earl of Ross—Disputes with England . . 227

XIII. Uncertain state of the relations between Scotland and England—Parliamentary proceedings—Siege of Roxburgh, and death of James II. 234

XIV. Minority of James III.—Hostile relations with England—Rebellion of the Earl of Ross—Death of the queen-mother—Intrigues of the faction of the Boyds—They make themselves masters of the king's person 239

XV. Fall of the Boyds—The see of St. Andrew's made an archbishopric—James's son betrothed to a daughter of Edward IV.—Turbulence and intrigues of the Scottish nobility 244

XVI. Rupture with England—Alliance of the Duke of Albany with Edward IV., and invasion of England—Conspiracy of the Scottish nobles—Seizure of the king, and elevation of the Duke of Albany—He loses his power 250

XVII. Pacific policy of Richard III. of England—New revolt of the discontented nobles—Civil war—Battle of Sauchie Burn—Murder of James III. 256

XVIII. Accession of James IV.—Proceedings against the nobles of the late king's party—Insurrection of the latter—Battle of Talla Moss—Successes at sea—Elevation of Sir Andrew Wood—Adventures of Perkin Warbeck 263

XIX. James's love for naval affairs—Truce with England—James's marriage with the Lady Margaret of England—Rebellion in the north—The "Raid of Eskdale"—Death of Henry VII. of England 272

XX. Henry VIII. of England—Defeat of Andrew Barton—Outrages on the border—James's hostile preparations—Expedition of the Earl of Arran—Declaration of war against England—Flodden-field 278

XXI. Change in social condition in Scotland—Literature—The Scottish poets—James I. and II.—Holland, Henryson, Dunbar, Gawin Douglas 287

BOOK IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES V., TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARY STUART IN SCOTLAND.

CHAP. PAGE

I. James V.—The queen-mother regent—Unsettled state of Scotland—Regency of the Duke of Albany—The queen flies to England 292

II. Conduct of Henry VIII.—New rebellion of Arran—Execution of the Homes—France deserts the Scottish alliance—The queen returns to Scotland—Visit of the regent to France—Insurrection in the Isles—Feuds between Angus and Arran—Albany reassumes the regency 300

III. Albany regent again—Intrigues of Henry VIII.—Hostilities with England—Albany's invasion of England hindered by the mutiny of the chiefs—Albany returns to France . 307

IV. James V. assumes the government—Return of the Earl of Angus—Overthrow of the French faction—The queen's divorce . . 324

V. Angus's usurpation of the supreme power—Battle of Linlithgow, and death of the Earl of Lennox—The highlands—Religious persecution 339

VI. Escape of the king, and fall of the Douglases—Hostility of feeling between James and his nobles—Foreign relations 345

VII. Commencement of the reformation in England—Persecution in Scotland—James's two marriages 360

VIII. New persecution of the protestants—Sir Ralph Sadler's mission—The king's expedition to the highlands—Parliament of 1540 . . . 370

IX. Hostile feeling between Scotland and England—The proposed meeting at York broken off—Hostilities—The Scottish nobles refuse to march into England—Rout of Solway Moss—Death of James V. 376

X. State of Scotland on the death of James V.—Policy of Henry VIII.—Return of the Scottish prisoners—Imprisonment of the cardinal—Meeting of the parliament—Treaty with England 382

XI. Sir Ralph Sadler's negotiations continued—The treaty with England agreed to . . . 400

XII. Proceedings of the cardinal's party—Seizure of the queen—They are joined by the governor—Desertion of Lennox 406

XIII. Sadler at Tantallon—Meeting of parliament—Religious persecution recommenced—Preparations for war 415

XIV. Invasion of Scotland by the Earl of Hertford—Edinburgh and Leith burnt—The Earl of Angus made lieutenant-general—Proceedings of Lennox—Battle of Ancram Moor . 422

XV. Consequences of the battle of Ancram Moor—Arrival of the French auxiliaries—Renewal of the war 431

XVI. State of Scotland—Designs of the English against the western coast and the Isles—Violent persecution of the protestants in Scotland—George Wishart—Assassination of the cardinal 441

XVII. Immediate consequences of the assassination of Beaton—Castle of St. Andrew's held by the conspirators—Death of Henry VIII.—War with England—Battle of Pinkie . 450

XVIII. Closer alliance with France—Arrival of French troops—Mary Stuart sent to France—Pacification of 1550 460

XIX. Visit of the queen-dowager to France—Resignation of the governor, and Mary of Guise made regent 468

BOOK IV.—*continued.*

CHAP.		PAGE
XX.	From the accession of Mary of Guise to the regency, to the marriage of the young queen—Progress of the Reformation—The congregation	471
XXI.	Accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England—First proceedings of the congregation—They obtain possession of the capital	478
XXII.	Hesitations and intrigues—The protestant leaders quit Edinburgh—Secret negotiations with England—The young Earl of Arran arrives in Scotland	484
XXIII.	The lords of the congregation again occupy Edinburgh—Deposition of the queen-regent—The protestants compelled to retreat from the capital—Determination of Elizabeth to espouse the cause of the protestants	492
XXIV.	Uneasiness of the French at Elizabeth's preparations—The garrison of Leith invade Fife—Arrival of the English fleet in the Firth—Conduct of the Spaniards	505
XXV.	The English army in Scotland—Siege of Leith—Death of the queen-regent—Treaty of Edinburgh	511
XXVI.	Proceedings of the parliament—Establishment of the reformed religion—Mission of the prior of St. John, and his reception in France—Death of Francis II.	520
XXVII.	Mary Stuart a widow—Effect of the French king's death in Scotland—Mission of Lord James	527
XXVIII.	Mary's return to Scotland	534

BOOK V.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	The first beginning of Queen Mary's reign	538
II.	Marriage of Lord James—Arran's madness—Proposed meeting between the two queens—Rebellion of the Earl of Huntley	546
III.	Hostilities between England and France—Gaiety of the Scottish court—Violent remonstrances of John Knox	555
IV.	Negotiations and intrigues relating to the marriage of the queen	561
V.	Mary's marriage with Darnley—Rising and flight of the protestant nobles—Mary joins the continental confederacy against the protestants	579
VI.	Murder of Riccio	591
VII.	Friendly relations with Elizabeth—Disagreement between Mary and her husband—Birth of a prince—Bothwell	602
VIII.	Assassination of Darnley	610
IX.	Conduct of Mary after the murder—Trial and acquittal of Bothwell	617
X.	Marriage of Mary with Bothwell	622
XI.	Foreign relations—Insurrection of the nobles—Flight of Bothwell, and surrender of Mary at Carberry Hill	628
XII.	Mary carried to Lochleven—Proceedings of the lords—Reappearance of Knox—Policy of France, and of Queen Elizabeth	636
XIII.	Mary deposed, and James VI. crowned—Arrival of the Earl of Murray in Scotland—He accepts the regency	645
XIV.	Commencement of Murray's regency—Proceedings with regard to the murderers of the king—Meeting of parliament	650
XV.	Escape of Mary from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Mary escapes into England	655
XVI.	Conduct of the French court—Interference of Elizabeth	673

PREFACE.

It is the object of the volumes now offered to the public to supply the general reader with a History of Scotland which shall be at the same time complete in matter and details and sufficiently popular in form, while its important points are related and investigated with as much impartiality as possible. There are so many periods in Scottish history marked by hostility of political feeling, the bitterness of which is not yet entirely forgotten, that it is difficult for a writer to enter upon them without falling more or less under the influence of party prejudices, which detract from the usefulness of most of the previous historians, who seem often to have written almost for the purpose of advocating a party or of sustaining a cause. It has been the aim of the writer of the present Work to give as far as possible a truthful narrative of facts, with as little colouring as the character of the materials will allow, and these unfortunately present too often the prejudiced impressions of those from whom we derive them without sufficient means of correcting them.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the original material of Scottish history from which we derive our information differs very much in its quantity and still more in its value, and the spirit of modern criticism has justly rejected as utterly unauthentic much which our older historians adopted without hesitation. It is hardly necessary to inform the general reader that the annals of all nations who boast of any antiquity commence in absolute fable, and that many ages of their existence passed before they were capable of transmitting to their descendants any written records of historical events, the place of which was still occupied by loose traditions, preserved orally, and so distorted and disfigured, when not absolutely displaced, that we can with difficulty make any historical use of them. We have a few scanty notices of Scotland in the Greek and Latin, and in later foreign writers, which give us occasional glimpses of the condition of the country and people who inhabited it at a very remote period, but they form no connected story. I leave the poems attributed to Ossian out of the question, for the critical discussion which these poems have undergone has so long gone strongly against

their authenticity, that it would at least be very dangerous to make any use of them in a sober history. Indeed all the native annalists of Scotland, until at least the eleventh century, inspire very little confidence, much of what they relate bearing upon its face the character of fable, while the rest can be considered as no better than vague popular traditions, the truth or falsehood of which we have no means of verifying. Of these materials I have adopted such as appear to me most trustworthy or probable, and as such only I wish them to be received by the reader. After the eleventh century, we soon find Scottish annalists who were contemporary or nearly contemporary with the events they relate, and the relations between England and Scotland, whether hostile or friendly, become so intimate, that we have frequently the narrative of the chroniclers of the one country, to check or correct that of those of the other. On such records as these last mentioned, which, though far more copious and trustworthy than anything which preceded, are still necessarily imperfect, we depend for the history of Scotland during the middle ages. With the wars of the Edwards, and the writings of Fordun, Barbour, Wyntoun, and their contemporaries and successors, Scottish history becomes first copious and satisfactory. From this time the materials of history are far more abundant, but the labour of sifting them is increased proportionally; for each writer is distinguished by his own one-sided views, and his motive for recording events is often a pique against some of those concerned in them, or the wish to panegyrise others, or some other personal motives equally liable to make him collect stories which served his purpose without inquiring into their correctness, or intentionally to give a false or exaggerated colouring to them, or even sometimes to invent stories which had no foundation in truth.

With the commencement of the sixteenth century, another class of materials make their appearance in the State Papers, which thenceforward throw a new light on the causes and motives of public transactions. The volumes of these invaluable documents published by the English State-Paper Commission, and the printed correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler, Henry VIII.'s ambassador to Scotland, have furnished the main portion of the history of the reign of James V., and the details in these letters are so truthful and picturesque, that I have often given them in the words of the writers. We now also begin to derive great advantage from the valuable, though not always strictly correct, contemporary history by George Buchanan. No one can justly accuse Buchanan of intentional misrepresentation, but he appears sometimes prejudiced by political or personal partialities, and his memory evidently failed and misled him in relation to some of the events which he had witnessed in earlier life.

We next arrive at an important period of Scottish history, that of the religious reformation, when the form of presbyterial church government was first

established which has continued to the present day. This Work was not intended to be an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, but the church at times acted so prominent a part in political events, and even momentarily absorbed the whole power of the state, that it is impossible to understand the civil history of the country without entering into the church history at the same time. At the moment when the presbyterians were triumphing over the catholics, but while the catholic party remained still very formidable, Mary Stuart arrived in Scotland to become the instrument of the latter, and to commence a reign of extraordinary turbulence and scandal. The character of this unfortunate princess has since become a sort of battle-ground between the catholic party and the stricter protestants, and her history has been written generally by ardent partisans who have disfigured it with special pleading and quibbling discussion from which it seems difficult to relieve it: even in the most recent life of Mary Queen of Scots which has appeared in this country, the writer has merely suppressed or rejected all the evidence against her, and exaggerated what can be said in her favour. In the history of her reign in the present Work, I have endeavoured as much as possible to let the original records tell their own tale, which appears to me to be a very simple and clear one, and I have used all the records that are accessible, not omitting even those so recently published that they have been used by no historian before. Among these materials certainly the most important are the large collection of Mary's own letters published lately in seven volumes 8vo, by Prince Labanoff; and the interesting collection of documents relating to Scotland from the archives of France, published still more recently in two enormous 4to volumes by M. Alexandre Teulet, for the Bannatyne Club. These latter documents have for the first time been made use of in the present history, and I have employed them copiously.

It was on the deposition of Mary that the Scottish church began to assume a more active position in the state, and during the earlier part of the reign of James VI., it was engaged in a constant struggle first for its patrimony and next for power, in the course of which James appears to have imbibed a settled hatred to the presbyterian form of government. After his accession to the English throne, his whole life was a continued effort to suppress presbyterianism, and introduce an episcopacy which had more of the spirit and forms of the old Romish hierarchy than was preserved even in England. His policy, persevered in by his son and successor, was especially obnoxious not only to the people, who looked with the bitterest hatred on everything that was Romish, but to the nobility, some of whom were sincerely attached to presbyterianism, and others were afraid of losing the church lands which they had obtained at the time of the Reformation, while the attempt to raise the spirit of the old faith was combined with the resolution to establish a political despotism of the most degrading description.

The consequence was a succession of unexampled struggles and sufferings, in which the church acted the most prominent part, and which ended in the overthrow of royalty. We have excellent contemporary annalists of this period, among whom stand prominent the stern presbyterian Calderwood and the episcopalian Spottiswode, both whose labours have been largely used in the present Work.

With the triumph of the parliament in its struggle against King Charles, the supreme power in Scotland fell into the hands of the church, which became so powerful that it was able almost to impose the presbyterian form of church government on England. Divisions, however, soon rose within itself, which show us how unfitted any ecclesiastical establishment is to carry on with advantage the civil government of a country. The misgovernment which followed was put an end to by Cromwell, under whom the presbyterian church was held within very strict limits. The restoration of royalty raised the hopes of the presbyterians only to disappoint them cruelly, and the reigns of the two last of the Stuarts form one of the darkest periods in the whole range of Scottish history. It is full of the deepest interest, and is sprinkled with events of the most romantic character. The church is again the great actor in it, and its more striking events have been recorded in the autobiographical writings of many of the ministers and others who outlived the sufferings of it persecutions, as well as in several valuable contemporary histories, such as the voluminous work of Woodrow, as well as in the exculpatory memoirs of many of those who had either been direct persecutors, or had at least supported and been employed under the government.

There is a mass of similar materials for the history of the period which followed the revolution of 1688, an event which brought liberty but not peace to Scotland. The cause of the exiled family found much greater sympathy in Scotland than in England, and it was predominant in the highlands, and the struggle between the Jacobites and their opponents was bitter and long-lasting. The church had then returned to its true position in the state, and, being protected from persecution, gradually relinquished its political importance; yet I have considered it necessary to give more briefly the ecclesiastical events of this period, because they seem a necessary conclusion to the history of the period which preceded it. It is gradually lost sight of in the intrigues of political party and in the struggle which ended in the act of union, a measure which was so blindly and obstinately opposed at the time, and which has been in the event so beneficial to the whole people of Scotland, as well as to England. The materials for the history of this great event are contained in the records of proceedings of the last Scottish parliament, in the correspondence and private papers of the leading men engaged in it, and in the printed pamphlets of the time.

The union strengthened the supreme government by destroying the subordinate one, and as the latter had stood in the way of all effectual improvement, an entirely new era was now opened to Scotland. Jacobitism was expelled from its chief field of intrigue, and, driven to desperation, it now ran into more dangerous courses, which ended in the rebellion of 1745. This last-mentioned event, while it brought for a moment immense sufferings on the kingdom, conferred a lasting benefit by the destruction of the old turbulent feudalism of the highlands. From this time the prosperity of Scotland went on increasing steadily and rapidly, and the union became so complete that Scotland can henceforth be hardly considered as possessing a history separate from that of Great Britain. I have endeavoured in the following pages to trace in detail the course of all the previous events and revolutions, and I might have stopped here but for later events of a sufficiently remarkable character to fix the attention of the historian. The Scottish church had, since "forty-five," run in its course quietly, without interfering in general politics, until, but a few years ago, a spirit arose in it which led first to a collision with the civil courts, and then to a lamentable division in the church itself. The church thus for a moment assumed a place in history to overlook which would have been an imperfection in a work like the present, but I have endeavoured to give a simple detail of facts without advocating either one side or the other in events which are within the memory of every one. It forms a necessary and appropriate conclusion to the History of Scotland.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

SCOTLAND DURING THE FIRST THIRTEEN CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF SCOTLAND WHEN FIRST KNOWN TO THE ROMANS; CAMPAIGNS OF AGRICOLA; BATTLE OF THE GRAMPIANS.

At the period when Britain was invaded by Julius Cæsar, it was inhabited by a variety of separate and independent tribes, which were not all of the same race or equally civilised. The population of the wooded districts in the interior was naturally wilder and more barbarous than the inhabitants of the maritime parts, which were, from an early period, in continual intercourse with the still more cultivated peoples of Gaul, and the forests and mountains of the north must have harboured a race less civilised than either. The Romans, after the expedition under Claudius, spent nearly forty years in subduing the southern Britons, before they came in contact with the Caledonians. In the year 80 of the Christian era, Julius Agricola first carried the Roman arms into what is now termed Scotland, and subjugated the country south of the narrow isthmus formed by the Clyde and the Forth.

A late admirable writer on Scottish antiquities* has attempted to give us a picture of the physical appearance of Caledonia at the time of Agricola's invasion, by supposing a primeval traveller embarked on a journey of exploration. He lands him on the northern shore of the Solway, prepared, in the spirit of adventure, to penetrate the unexplored regions in his front, and to meet the rude native in the forest village. Standing near the mouth of the Nith, he would find himself on the borders of a swampy labyrinth, covered by a thick wood, extending inland over that now fertile country where lies the town of Dumfries. To the left was situated a rough hilly district, the modern Kirkcudbright and Wigton shires, abounding in streams and lakes; and, if we may judge from the character of its inhabitants, inaccessible and stern; while, on the right, stretching away towards the German Ocean, lay a continuation of this mountain country, thickly interspersed with groves of trees, and probably intersected here and there by ranges of morassy pasture-land. Had our tourist advanced through that region, directing his course to the eastward, he would, in his progress, have emerged upon the plains of Berwickshire, a less repulsive country than any he had yet passed—where the superabundant moisture lay upon a rich soil, and where the lower basin of the Tweed, like a green oasis in the wild, could not fail to arrest his eye; but, instead, he is supposed to have pushed on to the interior, and to have descended by the vale of Clyde into the territories of the Damnii,

* The late Robert Stuart, of Glasgow, in his *Caledonia Romana: a Descriptive Account of the Roman Antiquities of Scotland*, a very meritorious publication on this subject. The most learned dissertations on the earlier periods of Scottish history will be found in the *Caledonia* of Chalmers.

at once the most powerful, and, perhaps, also the least barbarous of the northern tribes. His course, through Nithsdale, and among the dreary uplands of the Clyde, must have presented a tolerable accumulation of the various obstacles which fettered the powers of locomotion, in those primitive times. After forcing his way with difficulty for some distance through wood and jungle, he arrived within what may properly be called the Lowlands of Scotland—generally understood to extend from the hilly district on the border to the great northern barrier of the Grampians; for, although crossed in several directions by various chains of minor elevation, such as the Lammermoor, the Ochil, and the Campsie hills, they comprise, in the abstract, a greater extent of plain and of arable land than any other district in the country. Here, over a wide range of territory, dwelt the important tribe, to which the Romans gave the name of Damnii; and we may presume that the nature of their possessions was comparatively fertile—for, if any of those native clans were more powerful than another, the superiority must probably have arisen either from the strong and inaccessible situation of their possessions, which gave them a double confidence in war, or from the more fertile quality of the lands they occupied, the numbers of their wandering herds, and the attendant spread of a population proud of its wealth, and powerful to defend it. As, therefore, the country of the Damnii was not by nature strong, the importance of that tribe must undoubtedly be ascribed to this last-mentioned reason—a productive soil and a numerous people. Descending by the banks of the Clyde, and passing over into what are now the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, the traveller would probably find himself in one of the most pleasant districts of North Britain—wild and sterile, perhaps, when compared with the plains of Kent and Sussex, or with the other regions of southern England—but highly attractive, when viewed in common with the general aspect of the country around. Here, in all likelihood, the almost interminable forest gave way to extensive plains, covered with indigenous grasses, heath, or reeds, according to the nature of the soil, the presence of stagnant water, or other local circumstances. From the Clyde, eastward, as far as the Firth of Forth, and down to the green plains of Berwick, the country was, no doubt, much covered with wood, and its surface in general but little exposed to the light of day. On its eastern side dwelt the Gadeni and Otadeni, two considerable tribes, whose possessions extended southward into Northumberland, and who, perhaps, towards the north, occupied the best part of the country which lies upon the estuary of the Forth. Beyond the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde lay the great forest of Celyddon, which gave, in the Celtic dialect, its name to the Western Highlands, and which, when altered by the Romans to Caledonia, became the designation of the whole country situated to the north of the wall of Antoninus. From the district of Athol, in Perthshire, it spread over the mountainous interior as far as the county of Sutherland, descending on the west coast to the peninsula of Cantire, and thence stretching eastward to the banks of Loch Lomond. Impervious, from the thick growth of trees and underwood, it was, we are told, infested with wolves, wild bulls, and boars; and, according to some accounts, the grizzly bear had even been known to revel within its dark recesses. Bleak, craggy mountains, and dismal swamps of great extent, may have afforded some variety to the landscape, although they added nothing to its attractions. Within those forbidding wilds, however, a considerable population seems to have existed in early times; and, from the many Druidical remains discovered in that part of the country, it appears evident that its inhabitants were not entirely savages. Leaving on his left this region, the adventurer may be supposed to have proceeded by Strathern to the Tay, and thence along the eastern sea-coast towards the extremity of the island. Throughout the first part of his progress, the way was probably beset with many difficulties—the rich alluvial valley drained by the Ern being then, in all likelihood, widely covered with woods and thickets; but whenever he approached the sea, beyond what are now the boundaries of Perthshire, the scene would materially change, and the hitherto abundant vegetation give place to a long extent of open moorland country, for such appears to have been the general aspect of that part of Scotland, from the mouth of the Tay as far as the Moray Firth—an extensive track, naturally bleak and sterile, from its exposure to the keen blasts which swept the German Ocean. The course of the explorer would close on the

coast of Nairn or Banff, for little more was open to his curiosity in this remote corner of the world. The northern part of the island, Sutherland and Caithness, was, in ancient times, nothing but an immense morass, here and there covered by trees.

The population of the wild districts thus described must have been small in comparison of the extent of country they occupied. Possessing in common the general characteristics of the Celtic race, they were separated into a number of different tribes, ruled by a diversity of laws or customs, and capable of uniting only under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. The Roman writers speak of them all as living in the most degraded state of barbarism, but we find nothing that is definite in their accounts, which apparently owe much to the imaginations of the writers. So little indeed is known of the manners of the early inhabitants of North Britain, or of the exact degree of civilization which existed among them, that it would not be to our purpose here to enter upon an investigation of them.

From the geography of Ptolemy and the topographical notes of Richard of Cirencester, we learn the names of twenty-one different native tribes inhabiting North Britain. First of these were the Otadeni, inhabiting the whole extent of coast from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth, including a large portion of Northumberland, with the modern counties of Berwick and East Lothian, and part of Roxburghshire. Next to them were the Gadeni, who occupied the west part of Northumberland, the small part of Cumberland north of the Irthing, the west part of Roxburghshire, the whole of the county of Selkirk, with Tweedale, much of Mid-Lothian, and nearly all West Lothian. The Selgovæ inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, in the county of Dumfries, with the east part of Galloway, as far as the river Dee. The Novantes inhabited the remainder of Galloway, having the Solway Firth on the south, and the chain of hills which separate Galloway from Carrick on the north. The Damnii, already mentioned, inhabited the whole extent of country from the ridge of the hills just mentioned to the river Ern on the north, comprehending all Strathcluyd, the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, and a small part of those of Dumbarton, and Perth.

These five tribes inhabited the district south of the Forth and the Clyde, the only portion of Scotland ever occupied with any permanency by the Romans. Beyond these lay, first, the Horestii, who held the district between the Forth—the *Bodotria* of the Roman geographers—and the Tay, comprehending the counties of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife, with the eastern part of Strathern, and the country to the west of the Tay as far as the river Brand. The Venricones occupied Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle in Perthshire, the whole of Angus, and the larger part of Kincardineshire, having the river Carron for their northern limit. The northern part of the Mearns, and all Aberdeenshire on that side of the Doveran, were inhabited by the Taixali. From the Doveran on the east to the Ness on the west, lay the Vacomagi, who possessed the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Nairn, with the east part of Inverness, and Braemar in Aberdeenshire. The Albani held the modern districts of Braidalban, Athol, with part of Lochaber, and Appin and Glenorchy in Upper Lorn. A part of Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire was inhabited by the Attacotti. The tribe known particularly by the name of Caledonii inhabited the whole of the interior country from the ridge of mountains separating Inverness and Perth northward to the forest of Balnagowan, including all the middle parts of Inverness and Ross. This district formed the ancient forest of Celyddon. The Cantæ inhabited the east of Ross, from the estuary of Varar on the south, to the *Abona*, or Dornoch Firth, on the north. The south-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the Logi, whose country extended from the *Abona* to the Avon-Uile, the *Ila* of the ancients. Beyond this river the Carnabii occupied the south, east, and north-east of Caithness. The small tribe of the Catini inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness, and the eastern half of Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire. The interior of the county last-mentioned was peopled by the Mertæ. Next to them were the Carnonacæ, inhabiting the north and west coast of Sutherland, and a small part of the western coast of Ross. The west coast of Ross was inhabited by a tribe named the Creones, said to have been remarkably fierce. Another tribe, almost identical in name, the Cerones, inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness and the countries of Ardnamurchan, Morven, Sunart, and Ard-

gowar, in Argyleshire. The neck of land now known by name of Cantyre, was the district of the Epidii.

Agricola having, in the year 79, reduced to submission the whole of the north of England, to what is now considered the Scottish border, prepared, towards the summer of the year 80, to invade the territory of the Caledonian tribes, with an army amounting probably to not less than twenty-five or thirty thousand men. A Scottish antiquary already quoted, has endeavoured to trace the movements of the invaders by the vestiges of military occupation still remaining, and supposes that the Roman army either advanced in two divisions—the one keeping to the left through the county of Dumfries, and the other marching eastward into Roxburgh and Berwick; or that the entire force pushed forward upon one only of those routes, proceeding in two columns, the first a day's march or more ahead of the other. He arrives at this conclusion by an examination of the remains of Roman camps, which have been, or which still can be, traced in the south of Scotland, many of which may, with great probability, be ascribed to the troops of Agricola, when it is considered that by no other route could he, without almost insurmountable difficulty, have penetrated the hilly regions of the Scottish border:—"The existence of those military works does not, however, enable us to determine whether the Roman forces entered the country by a simultaneous movement, east and west, or only on one particular line of march. But if their formation may be ascribed to the period in question, they plainly point out the course followed by the invaders, and likewise show that the whole army could not have advanced in an united body, as none of those camps have been thought capable of containing a greater number than ten or twelve thousand men. Finding the remains of such entrenched works upon both routes, it might, at first sight, appear certain that Agricola had directed his march by the two approaches. But as it appears that the same general, on more than one occasion, led back a part of his forces into England, it is possible that some of those mentioned were the camps raised on his return. To be brief, however, it seems not improbable Agricola had found it necessary to divide his forces in traversing a country exceedingly barren of supplies, and that in consequence he directed their advance by the two separate routes already alluded to. The right-hand column, crossing the shire of Roxburgh, may be supposed to have proceeded by the vale of the Leader, towards the level districts on the Forth, now forming part of the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling; while the opposite division approached perhaps the same point along the plain of Annandale, and the valley of the Clyde. On the first of these tracks only one encampment has been discovered, which can properly be ascribed to Agricola; on the latter three, all of them about the same size, and very similar in form; in this respect differing considerably from any other field-works of the Romans which have been traced in those districts of the country. The first is situated at Channel Kirk, in the north-west corner of Berwickshire; the others in succession on Torwood Moor, near Lockerby, at Tassiesholm, not far from Moffat, and at Cleghorn, in the vicinity of Carstairs. These must form, however, but the links of a broken chain; for estimating the march of the Romans, through an uncleared country, at the rate of fourteen miles a day, it is certain that the two divisions of this force must have entrenched themselves at several other places along their line of march into the interior of Scotland. Besides the camps now mentioned, some others equally large have been discovered in the same districts; but they differ very much in construction from those ascribed to Agricola, and to all appearance are the works of a later period, when as great a change had crept into the field arrangement of the Romans, as into the efficiency of their ancestral discipline. The column which marched by Annandale must necessarily have found its motions greatly confined, until it *debouched* from the mountain passes south of Biggar. While the other division, crossing a more open country, and tempted perhaps by the promising aspect of the Lowlands on the Tweed, may have frequently sent out exploratory parties to survey the country, or to communicate with the fleet, which, it is supposed, at this time accompanied along our eastern shores the march of the land forces. But on neither side could the retreats of the North British tribes be penetrated, without much labour on the part of their invaders; besides having to struggle with the natural obstacles of the country, they had likewise to encounter all the rigours of a very stormy season."

The natives were probably taken by sur-

prise, and struck with a general panic; for some time at least they seem neither to have attempted the reprisals of a desultory resistance, nor to have had the daring to hazard a battle. Agricola meanwhile continued to advance, securing the country as he went, by erecting numerous forts, in which he placed garrisons, provided in case of necessity to support a protracted siege. The vestiges of many such intrenched situations, or *castra stativa* of the smaller class, still exist; all of them exceedingly well situated, in a military point of view. Agricola appears to have extended his conquests this year as far as the Forth, and it is even probable that some of his detached parties pushed forward to the Tay. Having penetrated thus far into the country, and made himself acquainted with the districts extending westward to the Clyde, and the neck of land dividing that river from the Forth, the practised eye of the Roman leader could not fail to be struck with the advantage presented by the isthmus in his front, as the base of another line of defence, similar to that which he had the year before established across the country of the Brigantes farther to the south. Here he judged it expedient to set a temporary limit to the advancement of his schemes; and he returned, it is believed, to the south, with a portion of his troops, leaving the remainder to execute in his absence the various military works which his genius had designed. The natives, who had fled on the approach of the legions, now recovered sufficient courage to attack the forts which were left in the rear; but the ill-directed efforts of a comparatively undisciplined people were employed in vain against the strong entrenchments and the well-concerted resistance of the Roman detachments. Disappointed, therefore, in those attempts, and expecting perhaps that the enemy would abandon their territories on the approach of winter, the inhabitants seem to have retired to the mountains, or to the deepest recesses of the forests.

According to the brief narrative of Tacitus, Agricola, in the fifth summer of his command, (A.D. 82), embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and, having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast which lies opposite to Ireland with forts and troops. Some authors have understood this passage to mean, that the Roman general took shipping on the Clyde, descending thence upon Knapdale and Cantire; but the more generally received opinion is, that the scene of this invasion lay in the counties of Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and Ayr. Some imagine that the estuary which he crossed was that of the Clyde, and that he thence marched inland to the south-west; but others have maintained, that his passage was more probably over the Solway Firth, from the shores of which he is supposed to have invaded the districts of Galloway and Carrick. "When Agricola entered North Britain, two years before, he had left this track of country unexplored; it therefore now became, in an important degree, necessary that he should endeavour to establish some check on its inhabitants, before he ventured to lead his army beyond the Forth. On that account, nothing seems more probable than that his attention should have been directed to this quarter, and that after having spent the preceding winter in England, he, in the spring of the year 82, assembled a powerful array of troops, with which to increase his army in the north for active service, and landed at their head in some of the bays of Galloway; accompanied in his enterprise by a Roman fleet, which then, for the first time, appeared on the waters of the Solway. Had he, on the contrary, first rejoined the forces stationed on the isthmus, and thence advanced into Ayrshire, it is difficult to understand why he should have taken the trouble to provide a vessel for the expedition! for, commanding, as he did, the right bank of the Clyde, he could have experienced no great difficulty in crossing that river, and traversing the comparatively level county of Renfrew, towards the coast which 'lay opposite to Ireland.' He may indeed have sailed down the Clyde, and thus effected his object; but this could scarcely be called 'crossing' an estuary: and as to his having ever troubled the natives of Cantire, the scepticism of general Roy seems very excusable indeed. If, however, we adopt the supposition that Agricola embarked from Cumberland, and landed, as has been supposed, near the mouth of the Lockar, in Dumfries-shire, we shall have him in the territories of the Selgovæ, a warlike people, who may, perhaps, have acquired much of their ardent character from the nature of their country, for the most part exceedingly rugged, and widely intersected by lakes and rivers. Marching inland from their point of de-

barkation, the Roman troops must have, in the first instance, forced their way through the forest which covered what is now the Lochar-moss, and having crossed the Nith, not far from Dumfries, they advanced, in all probability, on a south-westerly course, as far as the modern town of Wigton. Hitherto the progress of Agricola through Scotland had been without opposition; but, unlike their fellow-countrymen to the eastward, the ancient inhabitants of Galloway seem to have 'girt them' for the fight; and to them is due the honour of having first ventured to meet the Roman legions in battle. In the midst of defeat they frequently renewed the struggle for independence; and, when no longer able to face the heavy-armed cohorts in the field, they retired to the high lands, within the recesses of the forest, and fortified themselves upon their summits against the enemy's approach. So much we may gather, at least, from the page of the historian, and from an antiquarian survey of the district possessed by the warriors of the Selgovæ. From the Nith to the Dee, along the southern part of Kircudbrightshire, on almost every hill-top adapted for defensive position, the remains of British hill-forts have been observed: and what strongly confirms the opinion that a Roman army had, in that quarter, been opposed by the natives, is, that in close proximity to many of those British strongholds, the distinct traces of Roman camps may be perceived, apparently raised as checks on the native garrisons; as if their invaders, finding them too strongly posted for assault, had been obliged to entrench themselves in their neighbourhood, for the purpose of watching their movements, or with the intention of reducing them by famine. It cannot, indeed, be distinctly proved that these encampments had been occupied by the troops of Agricola; yet, many circumstances favour the supposition that such was actually the case. Before his recal from the government of Britain, that able commander had, undoubtedly, made himself master of all that part of the country which is situated to the southward of the Forth and Clyde; how otherwise could he have thought of invading Ireland, or have carried the bulk of his army to the base of the Grampian hills? And as Tacitus informs us that much fighting occurred before he occupied the coasts of the Irish channel, what can be more likely than that the district of Galloway was the scene of the Roman march of their fifth expedition, and that those curiously-placed camps we have just referred to should, in many instances, have been the consequences of its occurrence, and the witnesses of the succeeding strife? As was to be expected, the gallant resistance of the Selgovæ availed them nothing. The trained Velites were equal adepts with themselves in bush-fighting; the heavy infantry of the legions superior to all opposition; while hunger assailed them within their walls; till, deprived of every hope, the fortune-deserted Britons were compelled to yield obedience to the Roman power. Beyond the Selgovæ, on the west, lay the Novantes, a tribe, which Agricola must have likewise subdued in his campaign; and when that object was effected, he probably advanced through Ayrshire, towards the Clyde, to form a junction with his forces on the isthmus; or, according to another view of the question, he may again have bent his steps to the eastward, descending to the low country by Lanark, and the beautiful valley of the lower Clyde. The fleet which had conveyed him over the Solway, if it be the same we heard of in the following year, must, in the meantime, have returned to the south of England, and have rounded the Land's End, to winter, it is probable, upon the coast of Kent, whither, at all events, we find it retiring, for the same purpose, on a subsequent occasion. It is not known whether Agricola left any part of his forces behind him, in occupation of the districts he had thus overrun, or whether he compelled the inhabitants to deliver hostages as a guarantee of their submission. In all likelihood he adopted the latter course, anxious to assemble as large an army as possible on his northern frontier, with the intention of leading it to farther conquest on the advance of the following spring. With this view, the chief part of his troops would, perhaps, pass the succeeding winter in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where supplies could easily be obtained by sea."

When the advancing spring of the year 83 enabled Agricola again to take the field, he prepared to explore the country beyond the Forth. He could, in general, have but an imperfect knowledge of the region he was about to enter, and, unacquainted with the number or character of the people with whom he would have to contend, he appears to have prepared against whatever resistance might be op-

posed to him, by so taking his measures, that all the means at his disposal should be most effectually brought into play. He assembled a fleet in the Firth of Forth, to act in union with the land forces, and with it transported his army into Fife. "Such is believed, at least, to have been the opening of his sixth campaign; and we have every reason to suppose that this was the actual course of procedure which Agricola followed. Supposing, with Sir R. Sibbald, that the Roman troops crossed at Queensferry, they must have turned to the right, and advanced, in the first instance, along the coast; for Tacitus reports, that the fleet advanced for some time in sight of the army, and that the soldiery and marines frequently met in the same camp, glorying to recount among themselves their several tales of peril and adventure. This statement leads us to infer that Agricola kept his ships in immediate communication with himself, until scouts had examined the interior, and enabled him to decide both in respect to his own motions, and as to the duties on which the service of the fleet could be best employed." The Caledonian tribes were now, however, aroused to a sense of their danger, and had laid aside the animosities which interfered with their joint assemblage in arms. The Roman commander had reason to believe that a general confederacy of the natives was forming against him; and knowing this, he ordered his ships to proceed round the coast of Fife, to survey from the sea the country through which he probably intended to march. From the statements of some Britons who had fallen into their hands, the Romans learnt that the appearance of the fleet had given the greatest alarm to the natives; they believed that the sea, their last means of escape, was to be effectually shut against them; and in this extremity, seeing the invading army had crossed the Forth, they made a sudden attempt to surprise the forts erected on the isthmus, but without success. The daring character of the attack was sufficient to create uneasiness among the officers of Agricola, some of whom were timorous enough to counsel a return to the southern side of the Firth. This advice, however, ill accorded with the bold designs which had been formed in the able and vigorous mind of their leader, who determined to advance; and learning that the Caledonians were preparing to assail him in force, he appears to have lost no time in pushing forward to meet them. He divided his army, and advanced in three columns, adopting this course, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and to avoid being surrounded by their superior numbers. These several divisions appear to have marched at the distance of from eight to ten miles apart, one of them consisting of the ninth legion, then the weakest of the Roman army. In the advance, this legion had been obliged to encamp on unfavourable ground, environed by woods and marshes. In the dead of night, a sudden attack was made on it: the advanced guard was surprised; the sentinels were put to the sword; and, before the soldiery had time to recover from the panic of the moment, the shouts of the infuriated Britons were heard within the walls of the camp. But, in spite of the suddenness of the attack, the self-possession of the legionaries did not desert them, and, animated by the *prestige* of a victorious name, they met the enemy with unflinching courage, and there was a long and bloody struggle within the entrenchments. Agricola had suspected the intentions of the enemy, and had hastened forward with his own division to support the threatened legion. As he approached the scene of conflict, he learnt the danger in which a portion of his force was involved, and ordered his light infantry, and the swiftest of his horse, to make a detour, and assail the enemy in the rear, while, with the remainder of his forces, he hastened in person to relieve the camp. On his arrival, about day-break, the combat was still raging in all its fury; but the shouts of their approaching comrades, and the sight of their standards, gave new courage to the beleaguered cohorts, who had hitherto been able to act only on the defensive. The Caledonians had fought with the greatest ardour and determination, and even after the arrival of Agricola with his reinforcements, they were slow to abandon the contest. For some time, the battle continued to be maintained in the very gateways of the camp, until, finding themselves attacked on all sides, the Britons at length gave way, and sought shelter among the neighbouring thickets and morasses.

"The locality of this daring assault has been sought for by some authors on the banks of the river Erne, in the vicinity of Comrie; but if we are to suppose the districts of Fife and Kinross to have been the scene of Agricola's operations during the sixth year of his command, we must certainly look to the southward of the

Ochil hills for the position occupied by the ninth legion on the occasion referred to. Throughout the few sections of his work in which the Roman historian alludes to the incidents of this campaign, we meet with several particulars which give weight to the conjecture that the forces of Agricola were, at that period, employed in a country immediately adjoining to the sea, and that they were indeed frequently quartered upon the very coast. We find it stated, for instance, that on many occasions the fleet and army were enabled to act in concert, that the soldiery and marines were often encamped together, and that it was owing to the presence of the vessels of war, which seemed to banish every prospect of escape, that the natives were roused to attempt the desperate hazard of assailing the Roman camps. All this is adverse to the idea of an inland field of operation; and if we add to those details, that, after the attack on the ninth legion, the mass of the Roman forces demanded to be led into the interior of the country, while shortly before, some of his officers had anxiously recommended that Agricola should, for security, recross the Forth, we cannot but think that the peninsula of Fife may be justly regarded as having been the principal scene of his transactions at this period of his command. It is by no means probable, that the Roman army was, at that time, so divided, as to be able to act on two separate points, widely distant from each other; or even that, when united, it would be pushed rashly forward into the remote and difficult recesses of the country; for it must be remembered, that the whole tribes of the north were then in alliance to oppose the progress of the invaders: and it may, therefore, very properly be inferred, that, under such circumstances, the advance of the Roman forces would, more than ever, be conducted with caution. The words of this biographer would seem, indeed, to imply, that the march of Agricola was, on this occasion, a very guarded one. He was careful, no doubt, to drive the enemy from the coverts around him, and to establish fortified posts as he went along. All this required considerable time; and taking into account what must have been the limited duration of a Caledonian summer, it is probable that the Romans had, during its continuance, quite sufficient to engage their attention in making good the positions they held to the south of the Ochils; although it is possible enough that some of their advanced parties did, that season, penetrate as far as the valley of the Erne—the first, perhaps, to break ground at Ardoch, and to commence the works of the important station which was eventually constructed there. On a general view of the question, and in accordance with the opinions of many others, we are inclined to believe that the attack on the ninth legion occurred in the neighbourhood of Lochore, two miles to the southward of Lochleven, in the county of Fife; and that in the remains of an ancient encampment, existing some years ago in that locality, were to be seen the last traces of the *valla* which had been defended against the night assault of the Caledonian Britons. The thickets which afforded shelter to their retiring parties are no more; but a large morass still exists in the vicinity, in which many remains of an ancient forest have been discovered."

In the summer of the year 84, Agricola made his last campaign against the Caledonians, in which he contemplated the entire subjection of the interior of the country. He began by sending his fleet to sail round the northern parts of the island, and alarm the enemy by repeated descents on different parts of the coast. He then advanced with his army, in which some of the Britons of the south now served as auxiliaries under the banners of Rome. They found the Caledonian warriors to the number of about thirty thousand men, drawn up on the declivity of the Grampian hills, where the different tribes had assembled to make unitedly their last stand for their native liberties. Fresh accessions were daily made to their strength by the arrival of new levies, or of warriors from more distant tribes who had not had time to send them sooner. They had chosen for their commander a chief named Galgacus, celebrated among the Caledonian clans for his high birth and personal courage. To oppose to these, Agricola had eleven thousand auxiliaries, eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, with about four thousand legionaries. With the usual Roman policy, the weight of the battle was thrown upon the auxiliaries, whose foot was drawn up in front, flanked on both sides by the three thousand horse, with the legionaries in the rear, to carry assistance wherever it might be needed. But the enemy was so greatly superior in numbers, that the Roman army could not be drawn up in its usual compact form, without exposing it to the danger of

being surrounded by the multitude of assailants; to prevent which Agricola placed the troops with intervals between them, thus extending his flanks by weakening the centre. He refused to listen to those officers who advised him to strengthen the centre, by bringing up the legionaries in reserve, but he showed at once his courage and his confidence in the result, by sending away his horse, and taking his post on foot in front of the eagle.

Before the battle, the two hostile leaders addressed their men in encouraging language, and the historian Tacitus has put into their mouths measured speeches, which are however, probably nothing more than rhetorical flourishes of the historian.* The Caledonians responded to the exhortations of their chief, according to their usual custom, with war-songs and fearful shouts, and then they began to gall the Romans with a shower of arrows. The Roman missiles produced far less effect on the Caledonians, who warded them off with their small shields, and often parried them with their long broad-swords. Agricola saw how his own troops were embarrassed by this mode of distant combat, and he chose three troops of Batavians, and three of Tungrians, and ordered them to close in with the enemies. The arms of the Caledonians were ill-fitted for close fight, while the troops now employed against them were accustomed to it by long experience. Every thrust told on the faces and bodies of the Britons, who were so closely crowded together, that they could hardly give a blow in return, and the Batavians drove the confused mass over the plain, and up the side of the hill; while the other cohorts, seeing

* The following are the concluding words of the speech of Galgacus, as given by Tacitus:—

"Do you think," he said, "that the Romans are as brave in war as they are licentious in peace? Their success has proceeded from our dissension; they always turn the faults of their enemies to the glory of their own arms. Their armies have been drawn from different nations, and are held together only by success: the first touch of adversity will disperse them, unless we acknowledge that Gauls, Germans, and—I blush to speak it—most of the Britons also, have been so well trained to fidelity during a short and recent servitude, that they have forgotten the long struggle which they made in the cause of independence. But this is not the case; fear and dread are their only ties, and these are but weak bonds of fidelity; once remove them, and hatred will begin when fear has ended. But further, everything which can add charms to victory is on our side. The Romans have no wives to encourage them; no fathers to upbraid them if they run away; most of them have no country to care for, or at all events one that is far away. So few are they in number, and so alarmed by continued watching, that it seems as if God had given them up into our hands; heaven and earth fight against them; everything is new and unknown to them; an unknown climate and strange sea, and strange forests, in the depths of which they are held fast to become our prisoners. Do not be frightened at outward show—the shine of their gold and silver cannot save them, or do harm to us. Besides, we shall find friends in their own ranks; the British levies will hail a cause which is their own; the Gauls will remember their ancient liberty, and all the other Germans will desert, as did the Usipians a little while ago. Let us conquer these who are before us, and nothing remains to alarm us; nothing but ungarrisoned castles, colonies of old men; what with a disaffected people, and tyrannical governors, the Roman municipalities in Britain are in a weak and distracted state. Here we have a general to lead us on, and an army fit for fighting; with them you will meet with nothing but taxes to pay, mines to work, and all the rest of those burdens which are laid on slaves; and whether you will submit to such a fate for ever, or for ever be released from it, depends upon the issue of this day's battle. When, therefore, you advance against the enemy, think of your noble ancestors, think of your children who will come after you."

Agricola is represented as speaking as follows:—

"It is now the eighth year, brave companions in arms, since your valour and fidelity, seconding the good fortune of the Roman empire, have reduced Britain to subjection. Through all the numberless expeditions and battles you have been engaged in, the bravery and toilsome perseverance you have shewn in encountering not only the enemy, but even nature herself, I have had no cause to repent of my soldiers, nor you of your general. We have, both of us, outdone all who have gone before us; no general or army has ever passed so far beyond the usual bounds, as we have done, and here we are on the furthest extremity of Britain, which we are actually occupying with our camp, and not according to the mere fictions of public report. When you were on your march hither, and, harassed by the marshes, rivers, and mountains which impeded your path, have I not heard you cry out, 'When shall we see the enemy; when shall we be brought to battle?' Now you see the enemy before you, driven from their retreat, and forced to fight; now, then, you have a fair field on which to exert your valour; all will depend upon the result of this day's battle—all will be smooth, if you gain the victory; all disastrous, if you are defeated. For, as so much ground got over, so many woods cleared, so many estuaries crossed, upon the way to glory and honour—all that now seems advantageous will prove the more fatal to our retreat. We are not so well acquainted with the country as our enemies, or equally supplied with provisions; so that we have no resource but in our arms and weapons. For myself, I have long since decided, that neither general nor army can ever find safety in flight. An honourable death is better than a life of disgrace; and safety and glory are but one common cause. If we fall, it will be no disgrace to die here, on the confines of nature and of the world.

"But, further, if it were a new foe that we had to contend with, and a strange nation that we were

the success of the Batavians, were excited to follow their example, and the whole line rushed upon the enemy. The violence of this general charge carried all before it, but it was not so fatal to the Caledonians as it might have been, for they were borne down and prostrated on the ground, many of them but slightly wounded, and many not wounded at all. The light war-chariots peculiar to these British warriors, and which had been so formidable in their domestic wars, were useless against the disciplined and steady troops now opposed to them, and dragged about by the horses without plan or guidance, they only served to increase the general embarrassment and confusion.

The main body of the Caledonians still remained untouched on the heights overlooking the plain, and despising the comparatively small army of their assailants, they now made a lateral movement on each side to outflank and surround them. Agricola had foreseen this contingency, and four *alæ*, or troops of horse, reserved for this purpose, charged the advancing multitude, and after a short contest dispersed them. The stratagem of the Caledonians was thus fatal to themselves; for the advantages of concentrated numbers in their main body had been thrown away in unavailing attacks upon the extremities of the Roman position, and the British centre was now too weak to offer further resistance. The scene had now become fearful; the whole plain was covered with pursuers and pursued, here fighting in groups, there yielding and making prisoners, and ever as the small parties of the victors made new captives, more than they could manage, they slew those first taken, lest they should escape to swell new armies of enemies. The ground was everywhere strewed with arms and carcases, and the flight of the fugitives was marked by a track of blood, until they found an asylum in the forests. There they resumed their courage, and collecting in a body, fell unexpectedly on the foremost of their pursuers, who were surrounded in a moment, and in danger of being overwhelmed. But Agricola was prepared for this contingency also, and he detached some strong and active cohorts to scour the country and beat the woods, ordering part of the cavalry also to dismount and pursue the enemy in the woods, while other parties of horse scoured the open country. The Roman army was thus saved from the partial disasters which might have been caused by their rashness and confidence; while the new ardour of the Britons was discouraged when they saw their hopes baffled by the Roman discipline. They no longer kept together in bodies, but each endeavoured, as he best could, to gain the wildest and most inaccessible parts of the forests. Night and fatigue put an end to the pursuit. About ten thousand of the Caledonians lay dead upon the field, although the loss of the Romans amounted only to three hundred and sixty. Among these was a brave young officer, Aulus Atticus, prefect of a cohort, who was carried by his own ardour and the impetuosity of his horse into the midst of the enemy.

The victors passed the night beside the field of battle, exulting in the great victory they had gained. They heard the movements and lamentations of the Britons, who came to carry off their more distinguished dead, or to seek their friends who lay wounded; and they saw the fires of the surrounding districts, where the natives were actively engaged in burning their houses, and such of their property as they could not easily carry away. In some instances, we are told, despair drove them to the extremity of putting to death their wives and children before they abandoned their homes. Next morning, the full extent of their victory was revealed to the conquerors. Everywhere reigned a profound silence; the hills themselves were deserted, and the scouts, sent out in every direction, found no traces of inhabitants except the smouldering ruins of their residences. Meeting thus no longer with an enemy to contend with, and the season being ad-

invading, I should point out to you the deeds of other armies, and exhort you to follow their example; but now I have no need to do so. Look back on your own brave deeds, and then ask your own eyes, who are the enemy before you? These are the same people who attacked your camp last year by night, and fled at the first sound of your shouts; these are those tribes who have always run away from us, and to this it is owing that they have baffled us so long. Like hunters, we have beaten the woods and forests of Britain, until we destroyed all the noble game, and none remain, but the cowardly and inactive, whom the bare noise of the hunters has scared into those remote regions. Their appearance in arms before us this day cannot be called resistance, but a capture, for you have at last found them, and they cannot escape you; your victory will be glorious and complete. Here, then, end your marches and dangers, and here you will put the finish to a war of fifty years; on this battle-field we will prove to our countrymen at Rome, that the long delays of this protracted warfare, and the causes which have led the enemy so often to revolt, have never been imputable to their soldiers."

vanced, Agricola drew off his army into the territory of the Horestii, of whom he took hostages. While there, he ordered the fleet to circumnavigate the northern part of the island, a service they performed with success, striking terror into the population of the maritime districts. During this expedition, the Orkney Islands were explored and reduced by the Roman navigators. On his return from this expedition, Agricola was recalled from the government of Britain.* The most probable site of this decisive and sanguinary engagement appears to be the moor of Ardoch, towards the base of the hills lying westward of Muthill, in Perthshire. Remains of military entrenchments and other field works are found in different parts of this plain, which seem to mark it out as the scene of some important engagement in these remote ages.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF CALEDONIA FROM THE RECAL OF AGRICOLA TILL THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS FROM BRITAIN.

The victories of Agricola seemed to have ensured to the Romans the entire conquest of North Britain, yet on his recal, the country beyond the Forth was again abandoned to the native tribes, and the line of forts he had constructed from that river to the Clyde became the northern boundary of the Roman empire in Britain. During thirty-five years after the recal of Agricola, the ancient historians are almost silent on the affairs of this island. The Caledonians appear to have regained their native courage, and to have harassed the Roman frontier. When Hadrian ascended the imperial throne in 117, the Roman forces appear to have had little hold on the country to the north of the Tyne, and the turbulence of the Caledonian tribes had risen to such a height, that the emperor himself, in the course of a progress through his empire, came to Britain to repress them. We have no account of his transactions in this island, further than that, having driven the Caledonians back into their wilds, he erected an immense barrier across the isthmus, from the Tyne to the Solway, for the security of the Roman province. Thus the conquests of Agricola in the north were virtually abandoned. Hadrian's wall, of which the gigantic remains may still be traced across the island from Wallsend to Bowness, consisted of a massive wall of stone, with an earthen vallum or entrenchment, nearly parallel with it to the south, and strengthened by a series of stations or fortified towns, forts, and watch-towers.†

We have now another period of some years during which Britain seems to have remained in tranquillity, as it is hardly mentioned by historians. On the death of Hadrian, in 138, he was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the best and ablest of the Roman emperors, who sent over as his governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, a man worthy to be the successor of Agricola. His attention was soon called to the northern parts of the province entrusted to his command. A dispute had arisen between the once powerful British tribe of the Brigantes, which had preserved a certain degree of independence in the wilds of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and another tribe called the Genuni, and the former tribe had attacked the latter. The Caledonians on the other side of the walls took advantage of the sudden confusion occasioned by this event to make an incursion into the Roman province. Lollius Urbicus hastened to the scene of revolt, and the Brigantes were severely punished for their insubordination. He then invaded Caledonia, and drove its warriors before him with such rapidity of

* This account of Agricola's campaigns is taken from the narrative of *Tacitus*, and the explanations of Mr. Stuart, whom I have followed sometimes verbally.

† It has been the custom to ascribe the earthen vallum only to Hadrian, and the wall as a separate work to the emperor Severus; but the recently published work of the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce has, we think, decided the question, that the wall and vallum are integral parts of one same contemporary work, no doubt that of the former emperor.

success, that early in the year 140, we find him in possession of the whole country as far as the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde. Aware, from the experience of the past, that the chain of detached forts established by Agricola were an insufficient protection against the inroads of the northern tribes, Lollius Urbicus determined to imitate the great work of Hadrian, in uniting them by a continuous wall. This work appears to have been nearly completed in the course of the year 140, and numerous inscribed stones which have been found on its site, state the part performed by the different legions and cohorts of auxiliaries. It has been usually called the wall of Antoninus, from the name of the emperor under whom it was erected, but for ages it has been known among the peasantry of the country around by the popular appellation of Graham's Dyke. It consisted of a deep entrenchment, with a massive wall of mingled earth and stones behind it, and extended over a distance of about twenty-seven English miles, from Carriden, near Borrowstoness, on the Forth, to West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde.

Lollius Urbicus appears to have remained in command of Britain during the whole reign of the emperor Antoninus. It is believed that he was the author of many other public works in North Britain, and that after the completion of the wall, he advanced further to the north, penetrating by the valley of the Erne, and taking possession of the comparatively level country along the eastern coast, as far as the promontory on the Moray Firth, called by the Romans Ptoroton, and now known by the name of Burghead. The emperor Antoninus died in 161, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Marcus Aurelius. The news of the accession of a new emperor was the signal for revolt among the Caledonians, who took arms to invade the Roman province; but they seem to have been quickly repressed by the new proprietors, and we hear no more of their depredations till the accession of the infamous Commodus to the imperial throne. Then the Caledonian tribes rose again, in such formidable numbers, that they passed the barrier of Lollius Urbicus, and slew a Roman general and his men, who opposed them in the field. The alarm was so great, that a messenger was sent in haste to Rome, and Ulpius Marcellus was sent to take the command of the armies in Britain, and to oppose the further march of the barbarian invaders. Ulpius Marcellus was a man of great military abilities, remarkable for his integrity, his rigid abstinence, his indefatigable activity, and above all, for his strict discipline. He had no sooner assumed the conduct of the war in Britain, than the Caledonians met with a repetition of terrible reverses, which secured the peace of the province; but his merits soon excited the jealousy of the emperor, who recalled him to Rome. His recal was followed by several years of civil commotion among the Roman colonists, during which we hear nothing of the state of the north. The year 193 was one of especial degradation to the Roman name; it witnessed the successive rise and fall of three Roman emperors, made and destroyed by the prætorian soldiers, whose insolence had now reached the highest pitch. The assassination of Commodus was followed by the elevation of Pertinax, who, after a reign of three months, was beheaded by the soldiers, and they then set the empire to sale by public auction. The purchaser was Didius Julianus, a wealthy merchant—a man without any degree of strength of character or ability. This proceeding raised a feeling of indignation through the empire, and three men stood forward to avenge the insulted dignity of Rome—Severus, who commanded the Pannonian legions; Pescennius Niger, the commander in Syria; and Clodius Albinus, who governed in Britain—all men beloved by their troops, and popular in the provinces where they had been stationed. Severus wanted many of the virtues of his rivals, but he equalled them in all the abilities of a commander, and he was more persevering and reckless in his ambition, hesitating at no act of cruelty or treachery to secure his object. He marched direct to Rome, put to death the ignoble emperor of the prætorian guards, and degraded the latter from their privileges, and then prepared to contend with his two competitors for the empire. By a course of treacherous dissimulation, he lulled the suspicions of Albinus, while he contended with his eastern rival; but when Niger was defeated and slain, and the east reduced to obedience, then Severus no longer concealed his intention of getting rid of the rival who remained. Messengers were sent to assassinate Albinus, who discovered and evaded the danger, and learnt by it that his only hope of safety lay in open war. He immediately carried

over the troops from Britain into Gaul, where his cause was ruined in the fatal battle of Lyons, on the 19th of February, 197. On the death of Albinus, Severus, now established without competitor on the imperial throne, sent Virius Lupus as his lieutenant, to restore the province of Britain to order.

Virius Lupus soon found himself hard pressed by the independent tribes of the north, who had evidently increased much in strength during the preceding years. We are told by the Roman historians that the various tribes of North Britain had collected round two heads into two principal divisions, and that their own separate names had been lost in the two general appellations of the Caledonii, or those who still enjoyed their independence in the wild country beyond the most northerly of the Roman barriers, and the Mæatæ, or people of the lowlands, who had submitted to the Roman power. It appears that the latter, in alliance with the Caledonians, had risen against their foreign rulers, and had driven them out of the country between the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and that the latter was itself but a feeble barrier against their inroads into the southern province. Virius Lupus seems to have been wanting in the courage and decision of character which the circumstances of Roman Britain required. It appears that the Mæatæ of the lowlands had deceived the governor of Britain by engagements of loyalty and professions of attachment, while they were engaging in a hostile league with the Caledonians. Lupus pursued the weak and always disastrous policy of appeasing the enemy with gold, and they were bribed with a large sum of money to retreat from the frontier. But not more than two years had passed, when, become more formidable by the consciousness of the terror which they had before inspired, they took arms again, and attacked the Romans with greater fury than ever. Totally unfitted to cope with such an enemy, Virius Lupus dispatched hasty letters to the emperor, describing to him the dangerous situation of the province under his command, and imploring him either to come to his assistance in person, or to send such a considerable reinforcement of troops as would strike terror into the barbarians.

Severus, in addition to his love of war, was at this moment glad of an excuse for undertaking a distant expedition. The age of the old warrior was embittered by the misconduct of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, who disturbed his repose by their filial disobedience and by their mutual jealousies, and he wished to carry them away from the licentiousness of his court and capital, and break them into military discipline under his own eyes. He therefore obeyed the summons of his lieutenant of Britain with such alacrity, that, in spite of his advanced age and a painful disease, which affected his limbs, and often deprived him of the power of walking, that he reached Britain in an extraordinary short space of time, in the latter part of the year 208. He lost no time in drawing together the Roman troops from all sides, and marched at the head of a vast force to meet the enemy, who, alarmed at the vigour of his movements, and profiting by the lessons they had learnt under Virius Lupus, sent ambassadors to negotiate for peace, offering to give satisfaction for their previous offences.

But Severus had not marched this distance to negotiate, nor was he willing to return without a triumph. He retained for some time the Caledonian ambassadors, then dismissed them without an answer, and, having made his preparations for war during the winter, led his army into Caledonia early in the year 209. He left his younger son, Geta, to manage the government of the southern province, and appointed the oldest and most experienced of his courtiers as a council to assist him with their advice; while Caracalla accompanied his father in his expedition. They were engaged in desultory hostilities immediately after passing the old frontier defences; but it was the policy of the Caledonians to avoid any general battle, and although they were beaten in every petty engagement with their invaders, this sort of warfare was far more harassing to the latter than to them. The Romans, however, suffered most from the inclemency of the weather and from the hardships presented to them in their progress by the natural character of the country. They were constantly employed in making bridges, filling up marshes, cutting down forests, and making roads across the mountains; and while thus employed, they frequently fell into ambuscades of the natives, who placed sheep and oxen in sight of the soldiers to allure them from their way in search of booty, and fell upon them suddenly as they were in the act of securing it. Many of the Roman soldiers were cut off in

this way, and so sure were they to be put to death when they fell into the hands of the natives, that when any of them were unable to proceed they begged to be put to death by their companions. The Roman writers estimate the loss of the army in this expedition at fifty thousand men, but this is no doubt an exaggeration. Notwithstanding the difficulties he had to contend with, Severus ceased not to advance until he reached the northern coasts of Britain. He is said to have there observed the parallax of the sun, and the comparative length of the days and nights in summer and winter, and to have ascertained in person that Britain was an island. It will not diminish our admiration of this wonderful man to learn, that during a great part of this harassing expedition he was carried in a covered litter, in consequence of the disease in his limbs which so often afflicted him. He now condescended to treat with the natives, who were themselves glad of any opportunity to rid themselves of these persevering invaders. Domestic afflictions contributed to the emperor's decision to make peace, for amid the dangers of the campaign he was constantly tormented by the unfilial behaviour of his sons. As he was frequently unable to leave his bed to discharge the duties of a commander, he tried to induce Caracalla to go and take the command of the troops. But Caracalla cared less about conquering the barbarians, than about his future prospects of empire, and he employed himself busily in seducing his father's soldiers to support him as sole successor to the empire, to the prejudice of his brother. He was disappointed at the slowness of his father's malady, and he attempted to bribe the physicians to hasten its progress, but they proved too faithful to be the assassins of their imperial patient. Caracalla now made a more open attempt on his father's life. Severus had caused the soles of his feet to be punctured, and thereby obtained so much relief from his complaint, that he was able to ride on horseback. He left the camp with his son to receive a surrender of arms from the Caledonians, and to confer with them on the terms of a treaty. In front were the Caledonians, and Severus rode before his army to confer with them. Caracalla was beside his father, when, observing what he considered a favourable opportunity, he checked his horse and drew his sword to stab his father in the back. The soldiers in the rear, observing this moment, shouted out to Severus to warn him of his danger. Caracalla was startled, and desisted from his purpose; but the emperor also was alarmed by the shout, and turning round beheld the drawn sword and understood its meaning. He made no remark, but proceeded with the business he had in hand. When this was ended, he retired to his tent, and summoning his son with Papinian the celebrated jurist and Castor, he commanded a sword to be brought, and addressed Caracalla in the following words:—"If you wish to kill me, do it here, not in sight of the soldiers and the enemy. I am old and feeble; you are young and strong. But if you shudder at doing such a deed with your own hand, here stands Papinian, who will do all you command him, as if you were the emperor." We are not told how this meeting ended; but immediately afterwards Severus concluded a treaty with the Caledonians, whereby they agreed, on condition he should withdraw his army, to give up a considerable district of their territory to the Romans. Severus retired with his troops, apparently in the winter of the same year (209), and established his head-quarters at York.

But a very short period had passed, when the Caledonians, encouraged perhaps by reports of the increasing infirmities of the Roman empire, were again in arms, and, regardless of their treaty, renewed their inroads on the frontier. The news of their revolt inflamed Severus with fury, and, summoning his army to march immediately he against the faithless enemy, is said to have declared, in a quotation from Homer, his intention of commencing a war of extermination. The Caledonians and Mæatæ had again united their arms, and the northern districts of the Roman province had already experienced the effects of this formidable coalition. But the emperor's disease was now gaining fast upon his vitals, and his last moments were again embittered by the insubordination of his son. On the fourth of February, in the year 211, just as the army was ready to march, Severus died at York. Caracalla made a hasty treaty with the Caledonian tribes, and hurried to the south.

The Caledonians were now again secure in their own boundaries, and they were no doubt often engaged in border warfare, but we have no historical information on Roman Britain for many years. During this period Britain was strong enough to set up em-

perors of its own, who disputed the rights of their rivals in Italy, and the northern tribes appear either to have been peaceable, or to have been kept in check. The usurper Carausius, who ruled Britain seven years during the united reign of Diocletian and Maximian, is said by some writers of a later date to have carried on a successful war against the Caledonians. Be this as it may, we know that in the beginning of the fourth century the Roman province was again threatened from the north, for in 306, the emperor Constantius Chlorus, who had restored Britain to the empire by the destruction of the usurper Allectus, directed an expedition against the northern barbarians, which appears to have been successful; but on his return he died at York, on the 25th of July, 306, leaving the empire to his son, Constantine the Great, who left Britain to contend for empire on the continent.

At this time some great change had taken place in North Britain, of which no historian has left us an account, for the invaders of the northern border have suddenly lost their names of Caledonians and Mæatæ, and appear under the three divisions of the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, the latter chiefly remarkable for their extreme barbarity. They had been known from the first period of the Roman occupation of the island as a particularly fierce and warlike tribe, occupying part of the modern counties of Dumbarton and Argyle, and their very ferocity of character seems to have given them, in the course of the barbarian hostilities of these latter years, the lead among the clans of the north. Some have supposed that Picts was only another name for the Caledonians, while others look upon them as a new race, settlers from Scandinavia, or Northern Germany, who came to make common cause with the natives against their Roman foes. It is certain that at this time the grand movement of the Teutonic race was going on, which ultimately overwhelmed the provinces of the empire. The Scots were undoubtedly a Celtic race, and traditionary history is probably correct in bringing them from Ireland. But the silence of authentic history at this period leaves these questions involved in the utmost darkness.

From this moment the northern frontier of the province of Britain was seldom at peace for any length of time. It was not long after the accession of Constantine the Great, when that emperor was obliged to direct hostilities against the Picts, and he is said to have chastised them so severely that they remained quiet during the rest of his reign. Constantine died in 337, and from this time history has preserved but slight notices of British affairs. The Scots are first mentioned in the year 360. On the accession of Valentinian in 364, a general confederation was formed among the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, who forced their way with irresistible fury over the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and carried devastation into the heart of the Roman province, while their progress was facilitated by the attacks of the Saxons on the eastern coasts. In the year 368, as Valentinian was on his way from Amiens to Treves, he received the sudden and unexpected intelligence that the province of Britain was reduced to the greatest extremities by this general combination of the barbarians, that Nectaridus, count of the sea coast, was slain, and the duke Fullofaudes had been surprised and cut off by an ambuscade of the enemy. Alarmed by this intelligence, the emperor sent Severus, who held the high office of count of the domestics in the imperial palace, but he was soon after recalled, and Jovinus substituted in his place. This commander hastened to take possession of his new government, and sent an officer named Provertuides in advance, to assemble the troops in Britain, that they might be ready for active operations on his arrival. Meanwhile the state of things in Britain grew worse and worse, and as a last resource Valentinian determined to send over the celebrated Theodosius, the greatest man in his empire, and the father of a future emperor, to conduct the war against the barbarians who were ravaging Britain. With an army of legionaries and auxiliaries he landed at Rutupiæ (Richborough, in Kent), and found the enemies ravaging the country round London. Thither he marched hastily, and, having divided his men into several bodies, fell upon the straggling troops of the barbarians whilst they were out plundering, and encumbered by the quantity of their booty. He speedily routed those who were carrying off the prisoners and cattle, and he restored the plunder to the rightful owners, reserving only a portion as a reward for his soldiers. He then entered London in triumph, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been for some time blockaded by the invaders from the north. Theodosius soon con-

tinued his march to the north, driving the barbarians before him, and relieving and restoring the towns and fortresses. Having entirely cleared the southern province of its invaders, Theodosius continued his march into the fastnesses of the north, and having completely reduced the country between the two walls, to which in honour of the reigning emperor (Valens), he gave the name of Valentia, he repaired the wall of Antoninus, and erected several new stations and watch-towers.

Towards the end of the century, the province of Britain was weakened by the departure of so many of its soldiers to support the usurper Maximus in his struggle for the empire, that it became again exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots. The emperor Theodosius, who was now in Gaul, committed the task of repelling these invaders to Chrysanthus, who, with the authority of vicar, restored the island to a temporary state of tranquillity. The days of Rome's supremacy were now, however, numbered, and her hold on the distant province of Britain became weaker and weaker. In the earlier part of the reign of Honorius, the barbarians were held in check by the vigour of Stilicho, but all the remaining energies of Rome were soon required to defend Italy against the Goths. Soon afterwards, under the reign of Honorius, in 410, Britain was declared independent, and the province was now left to its own resources to resist the invasions of the barbarians. It was soon overrun by the Saxons and by the Picts, and was thrown into the utmost confusion, which is pictured to us but dimly and feebly through the fables of the ecclesiastical writers. We are told, however, that the Picts, following the line of the eastern coast, poured their devastating troops through the modern counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, whilst the Scots, issuing from their westerly haunts in the islands, and passing through Cumberland, joined the other band of invaders, and both together carried desolation through the whole land. The Britons, in despair, turned to the still powerful name of Rome, and sent to the emperor for help. A legion was sent over, and the invaders from the north were defeated with great slaughter, and again driven back to their haunts. But the armies of Rome were wanted nearer home, and the auxiliary legion was obliged to return. It was no sooner departed, than the old enemies sallied from their retreats, and again ravaged the country with fire and sword. The Britons are said to have made a new appeal to Rome, and a legion was again sent to their aid, and drove the Picts and Scots into their own forests and marshes. But no sooner was this service performed, than the Roman soldiers took their last leave of this island, leaving its inhabitants to provide in future for their own defence. Many years of calamity followed, which are seen but dimly through the mist of tradition, during which southern Britain was first overrun by the Picts and Scots of the north, and then by the more powerful race of the Angles and Saxons from Germany, until the latter became masters of England, to the full extent of the Roman province, and restrained the northern clans to the narrow limits which had been allowed them under the rule of the Roman legions.

CHAPTER III.

KINGDOMS THAT AROSE ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS; THE PICTS; SCOTS; STRATHCLYDE BRITONS.

In the struggle for territorial possession which followed the separation of this island from the empire of Rome, the Angles made themselves masters of the whole of the province of Valentia, and the kingdom of Bernicia (or Beorna-rice) extended from the Tyne to the banks of the Clyde and the Forth. In whatever manner or from whatever people the name of Picts (Pehts) originate, it was applied now to the whole native population of Scotland, which had formed itself into a kingdom which had the Forth for its southern boundary. Traditions of an old date represent these northern tribes or clans as still divided into six separate kingdoms, all subordinate to one superior chief.

Tradition, perhaps, rather than history, gives us a list of twelve Pictish monarchs who reigned in succession during a little more than a century after the departure of the Romans, beginning with Drust the son of Erp, who appears as the founder of this monarchy, and extending to Drest the son of Munait, who is said to have ascended the throne in the year 554.

The name of Scots was first applied to the Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. We cannot decide from the scanty historical notices of the invasions of the Picts and Scots in the later Roman period, whether the latter were merely allies brought over from Ireland, or whether they were Scottish colonists settled on the coast of North Britain; but we learn from the Irish historians that amid the domestic hostilities which disturbed Ulster during the fifth century, numbers of the Irish tribe of Dalreada left their native land rather than lose their independence, and settled on the promontory of Cantyre, and as new settlers arrived these Irish Scots gradually extended themselves over the surrounding districts. At the beginning of the sixth century, this colony had become sufficiently formidable to excite the jealousy and hostility of the Picts, and perhaps at their invitation, in 503, Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of one of the Irish Dalreadian chiefs named Eirck, led over a new party of Dalreadians from Ulster to join their kinsmen in Britain. According to the obscure traditions which are our only guide in the history of this period, the three brothers appear to have been left unmolested to establish a new kingdom. Fergus received as his portion of the new territory the peninsula of Cantyre; Loarn took possession of the district to which he is said to have given his name; and Angus is supposed to have colonized the island of Ila. Each of these princes, with their followers, formed a distinct tribe, independent of the others, except in a nominal subordination to the eldest, when he could enforce obedience. This division of power led in the sequel to frequent contests for supremacy. Angus, we are told, soon died, leaving a son named Murdach to inherit his authority within the narrow limits of Ila. Loarn, the eldest brother, also died soon after the establishment of the new kingdom, and left his brother Fergus sole monarch of the Dalreadian Scots. Fergus himself is said to have died in 506, leaving the sovereignty to his son Domangart.

Domangart reigned five years, and left two sons, Conegal and Gauran. A peaceful reign of twenty-four years enabled Conegal to extend his settlements and consolidate his authority. His brother Gauran succeeded him in 535, and occupied the throne during twenty-two years. He was slain in an engagement with Bridei, son of Mailcon, king of the Picts. The reigning family had now separated into two great branches, the children of Conegal and the children of Gauran, the latter of whom remained in possession of Cantyre, while the other family held Argail, or Argyle. In after times the succession was often a matter of dispute between these two clans. Conal, the son of Conegal, succeeded Gauran, and after a troublesome reign of fourteen years, he became involved in a civil war with the rival sept, and the sanguinary battle of Loro in Cantyre placed the supreme power in the hands of Aidan, the son of Gauran, who was solemnly inaugurated by St. Columba in the island of Iona, in 574.

There was at this time another independent kingdom whose history is allied in many respects with that of the Picts and Scots. As the Saxons advanced on every side from the eastern coasts, the Romanised Britons of the Valentian province succeeded in preserving their independence in the west, and established what was known as the kingdom of Strathcluyd, or Strathclyde, and sometimes the Cumbrian kingdom, (in Latin, *regnum Cumbrense*). It extended from the Irthing, the Eden, and the Solway, on the south, to the Upper Forth and Loch Lomond on the north, and from the coasts of the Irish sea and the firth of Clyde eastward to the limits of the Merse and Lothian. It included the extensive tracts of Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, all Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Strathclyde, the middle and west parts of Stirlingshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire. Its metropolis was Alcluyd, situated on the northern bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven; the Scoto-Irish gave it the name of Dun-breton, the fortress of the Britons, which modern times has altered into Dumbarton. The early history of this kingdom is obscured with fable, but in 577 it is said to have been ruled by a king named Rydderech, between whom and Aidan, king of the Scots, hostilities had arisen from some very trifling cause. The battle of Arderyth, said to have been fought between these two kings in 577, is a favourite theme of Celtic

poetry and tradition. The Scots were defeated by the Cumbrian Britons on this occasion, but Rydderech, who is said to have obtained his crown in a contest with several competitors, appears not to have held it long, for in 584 Aidan was in alliance with the Strathclyde Britons, and then their king is named Malgon. In the year just mentioned Aidan and Malgon fought the Saxons at Fethanlea, on Stanemore, a stony district on the eastern borders of Westmoreland, in which the Scots and Britons appear to have had the advantage. Aidan again coming to the assistance of the Britons is said to have defeated the Saxons in battle at a place named Leithredh; but he was defeated by them at Kirkiner in 598, and in 603 he was so utterly defeated by his Northumbrian foes in the great battle of Dægsastan (Dawstane in Liddesdale), that the remembrance of this disaster deterred the Scots for many years from further contests with the Anglian kingdom of Northumberland.

The Angles of Bernicia seem during this period to have been frequently engaged in hostilities with their northern neighbours the Picts. The victory of Cattraeth, so disastrous to the Britons, the memory of which is preserved in the poetry of a later period, is said to have established the authority of king Ida to the banks of the Forth; but the same traditionary authority tells us that his successes were at last checked by the arms of the British chief Owain. For some years afterwards the attention of the Northumbrian kings was turned more to the south than to the north, and Ethelfrid, the victor at Dawstane, was engaged principally with the Britons of the west. But no sooner had Edwin assumed the sceptre of Northumbria in 617, than he prepared to turn the sword against his northern neighbours. He re-established the authority of the Anglian crown on the borders of the Forth, and in support of his conquest he raised a strong fortress on a rock not far from the estuary of that river, which was named, after its founder, Edwines-burh, and has since, under the slightly corrupted form of EDINBURGH, become the metropolis of North Britain. When Edwin was slain by Penda, the power of the Northumbrian kings was to a certain degree paralyzed, but the Forth appears to have remained their northern frontier during the two reigns of Oswald and Oswy. The latter died in 670, after having chastised the Scots and overrun the Pictish territory. At this time the Northumbrian kings appear to have established their power from sea to sea, and the city of Carlisle, the ancient capital of the South Cumbrian Britons, was in their possession, until it was given by Egfrid to Cuthbert in 685.

Egfrid seems to have been continually at war with the Picts on his northern frontier. He is said to have vanquished them in 679. At length, in 685, in consequence of some provocation with which we are not made acquainted, he made war upon the Pictish king Bredei, and resolved, in opposition to the advice of his nobles and the forebodings of his bishops to invade the Pictish territory. He is supposed to have passed the Forth below Abercorn, and, destroying every thing before him, he plunged into the defiles of ancient Caledonia. After having burnt Tula-Amon and Dun-Alla, believed to be in Perthshire, he crossed the Tay into Angus. Bredei, the Pictish king, now summoned his warriors from every side to oppose the destructive progress of the invaders, and the two armies met at Nechtan's-mere, near Dun-Nechtan (Dunnichen, in Forfarshire,) on the 20th of May, 685. The Saxon army was defeated with great slaughter, and their king was himself slain by the hand of Bredei. Edwin's body was carried to Iona, and there buried; and few of his followers returned to Northumbria to tell of his defeat. In consequence of this defeat, the Northumbrian kingdom shrunk within the waters of the Tweed, and its kings never recovered the lost territory, which still however continued to be inhabited by its Saxon population. In 699, a Northumbrian army was led by their experienced commander Berht to revenge the defeat of Dun-Nechtan; but they were again repulsed. The Saxons had their revenge a little later, when, under Beorhtfrith, in 710, they defeated the Picts, in Mananfield, and killed Bredei, their king.

The Scots of Cantyre and Argyle were, more than any of the other kingdoms of which we have been speaking, exposed to perpetual hostilities, and this perhaps gave them the force and character which secured to them the supremacy in North Britain. Not only had they to contend with their Celtic rivals, the Picts of the north, and the Strathclyde Britons of the south, and with their Teutonic enemies of Northumbria, but their old family connections in Ireland involved them in the troubles of that

island, and although they might be weakened by the numbers of their warriors slain in the wars of Ulster, their loss was no doubt much more than compensated by new migrations from their first fatherland. King Aidan, the greatest of the Dalriadian monarchs in North Britain, died at the advanced age of eighty years, in 605, and left the crown to his son Eocha-bui, or Eocha the yellow-haired, whose reign of sixteen years was a continuous scene of warfare. He appears to have been engaged in 620 in a war with the Cruithna of Ulster, the ancient enemies of the Dalreadic race, against whom his army was led by his son and heir, Kenneth-caer, or Kenneth the awkward, who was victorious in the battle of Ardcoran, in which Fiachna, the son of the king of Ulster, was slain. Another son of Eocha, Donal-breac, or Donal the freckled, gained the battle of Kenn against the Irish rulers of Ulster in the same year. In 621, Kenneth succeeded his father, and continued the war against the Cruithna of Ireland, but he was defeated and slain in the battle of Fedhaevin, three months after his succession. He was succeeded by Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Loarn who obtained the crown of the Scots in North Britain. This chief died in 637, when the crown again reverted to the race of Gauran, in the person of Donal-breac, the younger son of Eocha, who immediately led into Ireland a mixed army of Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, to support the cause of a fugitive Irish chieftain. He was defeated in a sanguinary engagement, and compelled to make a hasty retreat into his own country. Next year he made war upon the Picts, and was again defeated in a battle said to have been fought at Glenmoreson, in Perthshire. We know nothing of the remaining years of his reign, until 642, when he engaged in a war with the Cumbrian Britons, and was slain by one of the chieftains of Strathclyde. One or two obscure monarchs followed in rapid succession, and in the middle of the seventh century the strength of the country was exhausted in a struggle for sovereignty between the two families of Cantyre and Loarn.

The greater rivalry, however, was that existing between the descendants of Conegal and Gauran. In 652, Donal-duin, or Donal the brown, of the race of Conegal, ascended the throne, and he was succeeded in 665 by his brother Maolduin. History has only preserved two events of his reign, which show how it was torn by domestic feuds. Domangart, the son of Donal-breac, who, as we have already said, was of the race of Gauran, was assassinated in 672, and it is not improbable that Maolduin, who was of the rival race of Conegal, directed the dagger which struck him. The feud was not allowed to sleep, for, three years after, Maolduin's own son, Conal, was murdered by an assassin of the rival sept. Amid these atrocities, Maolduin died, and the two races of Conegal and Gauran had so effectually weakened each other, that a chieftain of the family of Loarn, named Ferchar-fada, or Ferchar the tall, stepped in and seized upon the sceptre. The dagger was not allowed to lie idle, for in 695 the representative of the race of Conegal, Donal, the son of the murdered Conal, was also assassinated. After a reign of twenty-one years, Ferchar died in 702, and the crown reverted to the race of Gauran, in the person of Eocha, the son of Domangart, and grandson of Donal-breac. In 704, this prince invaded the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde, but he was defeated in a sanguinary engagement on the banks of the Leven, and next year the sceptre was wrested from him by Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada, of the race of Loarn. In the year following (A.D. 706), this monarch was dethroned by his brother Selvach, and was compelled to seek refuge in Ireland. Selvach's tyranny encouraged him to return in 719 to make an attempt to regain his authority, but he was slain in a battle at Finglein, in the mountains of Loarn.

Selvach, a warlike and unscrupulous chief, had never ruled the whole territory of the Scots of North Britain. When he usurped the sceptre of Ainbhcealach, a chieftain of the race of Conegal, named Duncha-beg, or Duncha the little, assumed the government of Cantyre and Argyle, and restricted the authority of Selvach to his family territory of Loarn. These two rivals, equally warlike, were, as might be expected, seldom at peace, and in 719, they fought a naval battle off Ardaness, on the coast of Argyle, in which, after a long struggle, Selvach was defeated. Duncha died in 721, and was succeeded by Eocha III., who carried on the hostilities of his father against the rival race of Loarn. But on the death of Selvach in 729, the united crown of the Dalreadic Scots was again fixed on the head of Eocha, who continued to wear it in apparent peace until his death in 733. Eocha was of the

race of Gauran, but on his death he was succeeded without opposition by Muredach, the son of Ainbhcealach, of the race of Loarn. This seems to prove that the war so long carried on between the two races had ended in an agreement that each should wield the sceptre alternately. Muredach had not been long on the throne, when he became involved in a war in Ireland, and invaded Ulster, but he seems to have been driven back with disgrace.

Meanwhile a storm from another quarter was gathering over his territories. The Picts of the north had been for some years involved in sanguinary civil wars, which ended in 730 in raising to the Pictish throne Ungus, who is distinguished in the ancient Irish annals by the epithet of the Great. A prince of the race of Loarn, Dungal the son of Selvach, invaded the Pictish island of Culren-Rigi, and carried off a niece of Ungus, named Forai. To revenge this insult, Ungus led his army from Stratherne, in 736, and making his way through the mountain passes into Loarn, laid waste the country of the Scots with fire and sword. He seized Duna and burnt Craic, two of the strongest fortresses of Loarn, and having captured Dungal and Feradach, the two sons of Selvach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot, his capital. Muredach had returned from Ulster, and, not discouraged by his defeat there, he collected his warriors and followed on the track of the Pictish king. But he was defeated by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, in a fierce conflict at Cruic-Coirbre, and he was either slain in the fight, or died soon after, for he was succeeded in the same year (736) by his son Eoghan, who appears to have reigned obscurely during three years. He appears to have been dethroned in 739 by a brave prince of the house of Gauran, named Aodh, or Hugh. The hostility between the Picts and the Scots had continued without intermission, and it required the vigour of Aodh to sustain his people against their powerful antagonists. He fought a great battle with Ungus in 740, in which it was doubtful which party ought to claim the victory, but which appears to have been so destructive to both as to put a stop to further hostilities during the remainder of the reign of Ungus, who died in 761, after which the tide of success seems to have turned to the side of the Scots. Aodh marched into the heart of the Pictish territory, in 767, and penetrated to Forteviot in Stratherne, the Pictish capital; but the Picts had there gathered round their king Ciniod, and a great battle was fought with equal bravery on both sides, but with a result so doubtful, that, without acknowledging himself defeated, Aodh found it prudent to retreat into his own dominions. The Picts had seized the defiles of the mountains, and made it equally difficult for him to advance with any hope of success, or to retreat with safety. With great skill and bravery he succeeded in conducting his army into the passes of Upper Loarn, where the Picts did not venture to follow him. In 769, two years after this expedition, Aodh died, and left the sceptre to his son Fergus, who reigned three years, and was then succeeded by Selvach II., a prince of the race of Loarn. The rivalry of families continued to distract and weaken the Dalreadic kingdom, and it is supposed that Selvach II. fell in a civil war in 796. Eocha-annuine, or Eocha the passionate, another son of the great Aodh, seized upon the crown in that year, and thus placed it again in the family of Gauran. This prince, who is called by the Latin chroniclers Achaius, is one of the most celebrated of the Dalreadic kings, and fable has clothed him with many fictitious attributes, which only prove the impression of his greatness which was made on his contemporaries, and continued to succeeding generations.

Eocha or Achaius found his reign disturbed at its commencement by a civil war between the tribes of Argyle and Loarn; and in a very sanguinary battle between the two rival septs in 799, the leader of the former, Fiangalach, the son of Dunlaing, was slain, and the chiefs of Loarn, Conal, son of Neil, and Congalach, son of Aongus, were triumphant. Another son of Dunlaing, Aongus, was slain in a battle in 812. Achaius seems to have paid little attention to these feuds, which perhaps, by weakening the subordinate and turbulent clans, increased his own sovereign power. This king has obtained great, though in some respects unfounded celebrity in early Scottish history. It has been pretended that he formed an alliance with Charlemagne, that from this alliance was derived the well-known double tressure which ornaments the Scottish arms, and that he founded the order of the thistle. All these are undoubted fictions; but it is more certain that he married Urgusia, the sister of two successive Pictish monarchs, Constantine, who ruled from 791 to 821, and Ungus, who occupied

the throne after him till 830, and by this alliance gave his descendants a claim to the Pictish kingdom. Achaius died in 826, and was succeeded by Dungal, the son of Salvach II., of the race of Loarn, the last of that family who ever obtained the throne. After a feeble reign of seven years, it passed from him to the race of Gauran.

Meanwhile the Pictish kingdom had been itself declining in power. Ungus, who reigned in the middle of the eighth century, was the greatest of their monarchs. After repressing the hostility of domestic foes, he engaged in more extensive wars with his neighbours. In 736, he invaded the country of the Scots. Soon after, the Scottish king Muredach invaded the Pictish territories, but he sustained a disastrous defeat from the Picts under Talorgan, the brother of Ungus. The Scots were again defeated by Ungus in 740. In the same year, the Pictish king repulsed an invasion by the Northumbrians, under their king Eadbert. In 750, Ungus overpowered the Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom, in the well-fought battle of Cath-O, in which his brother Talorgan was slain. Ungus died in 761, leaving the Pictish kingdom to become soon a prey to civil discord, in the midst of which their shores were exposed to new assailants, the Vikings, or Danish pirates. These first appeared on the east coast of England in 787, and soon afterwards they began to infest the Scottish islands. In 839, they landed among the Picts, and the two sons of Ungus, Uen, who then wore the crown, and his brother Bran, were defeated and slain in battle.

Drest, the successor of Ungus, and the son of his predecessor Constantine, held the Pictish sceptre, when Alpin, the son of Achaius, succeeded Dungal on the throne of the Scots in 833, but his right was disputed by another claimant, Talorgan. Alpin, by his mother's side, was the cousin of Drest, and he naturally espoused the cause of his relative, although it is probable that the part he took was prompted in a great measure by personal ambition. He set sail in 836 from Cantyre, landed in the bay of Ayr on the coast of Kyle, and laid waste the country between the Ayr and the Doon, before the chiefs could bring together their people to oppose him. Over this country the authority of the Picts now extended. Having followed the course of the rivers just mentioned, and penetrated to the mountains which separate Kyle from Galloway, the Scottish king was slain in an encounter with one of the petty chiefs of the country, at a spot afterwards called Laicht-Alpin, or the stone of Alpin. His son Kenneth succeeded him, a man distinguished equally by courage and prudence. He had no sooner assumed the sovereignty, than he declared his intention of marching into the Pictish territory to avenge his father and the numerous chiefs that had fallen with him; but the Scots are said to have been so much discouraged by the late disaster, that it was not without difficulty he persuaded them to renew the war. A new invasion of the Pictish territory was marked by the most horrible atrocities, neither age nor sex affording protection against the fury of the Scots. The vigour and abilities of Kenneth were shown not only in these devastating wars against his Pictish neighbours, but at home he reduced entirely the turbulent clans of Argyle and Loarn. In 839, the death of Uen or Uven, opened to Kenneth a way to the Pictish throne, and he immediately prepared to assert his claim against his competitor Wred, the son of Bargoit, who had succeeded Uen. While the strength of the Picts was divided in resisting the ravages of the Danes on their coasts, Kenneth marched over the mountainous ridge of Drum-Alban, gained a great battle, and seized upon the crown. The feeble Wred appears to have retreated to the south, and to have demanded assistance of the Angles of Northumbria, and in conjunction with them to have made head against Kenneth during three years. At length, after a sanguinary and desolating war, Kenneth, in 843, made good his claim to the throne of all the kingdoms to the north of the Tyne, and thus for the first time was Scotland united under one head. The Scots from Ireland had gained the supremacy over all the native tribes, and, although the name of Picts remained for some time, in the sequel that of the conquerors was applied generally to the people of the United Kingdom.

We can say little of the manners or condition of the people of North Britain during this period, but from what we know they appear to have been raised but a step or two above absolute barbarism, nor do they appear as yet to have been much improved by the introduction of Christianity, which, since the preaching of Columba in the sixth century, had spread itself over the whole northern peninsula. The possession of the

sacred island of Iona, the head seat of Christianity in the north, appears to have contributed not a little towards the establishment of the superiority of the Scottish race over that of the Picts. We know little of the influence of the clergy of the north at this period, but the circumstance that Kenneth's conquest of the Picts, and his assumption of the supreme rule of the united races is said to have been foretold by the abbot Adamnan, would lead us to believe that the church was no stranger to the contest which ended in the destruction of the Pictish dynasty. In fact among the Irish and Scots at this early period the Christian monks appear exactly in the position with regard to the people which had been held by the Druids of old; it was their special office to support the authority of the chiefs, by giving to it the sanction of religion, and to encourage the people in their warlike expeditions with prophecies of their success. The enmity which existed between the churches of the Scots and the Saxons was as great as the hostility between the two races. The latter, supported by the church of Rome, looked upon their rivals as heretics, whom it was their duty to convert or subdue, and their memorable disputes in the seventh century about the time of celebrating Easter fill many chapters of the Ecclesiastical History of venerable Bede.

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTLAND FROM THE REIGN OF KENNETH MAC ALPIN TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

KENNETH MAC ALPIN ruled the united kingdom of the Scots and Picts vigorously and successfully during sixteen years. He frequently invaded the Saxon province of Lothian; and, during the embarrassments of the kingdom of Northumbria, he burnt the fortress of Dunbar, and plundered the abbey of Melros. But he made no attempt to retain possession of these districts, and he was probably called to defend his own territory against the attacks of more formidable enemies. The Britons of Strathclyde appear to have burnt Dunblane; whilst the Danish pirates, under their ferocious leader, Ragnar Lodbrog, advanced into the interior of ancient Caledonia, as far as Clunie in Stormont, and Dunkeld on the Tay. Kenneth found leisure, in spite of these turmoils, for works of a more peaceful character; for in 850 he removed the reliques of St. Columba from Iona to a church which he had built at Dunkeld, and he is said to have carried the "fatal stone," on which the Scottish kings had been crowned, from Argyle to Scone. This latter proceeding was equivalent to making a permanent removal of the seat of power, and accordingly, we find that he died at Forteviot, the Pictish capital. This event occurred on the 6th of February, 859.

Kenneth Mac Alpin was succeeded by his brother Donal Mac Alpin, who held the sceptre four years. The Picts had not yet become reconciled to Scottish rule, and Donal seems to have been fully occupied in repressing the turbulence of his own subjects. Some of the rebellious Picts fled to the Northumbrians, who assisted in making war upon him, but without effect. With this exception, he is said to have been at peace with his neighbours; and the most important event of his short reign recorded by the chroniclers, was the re-enactment of the laws of Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha III. Constantine, the son of Kenneth, next occupied the throne of a country which was now torn to its vitals by the ravages of the Danish invaders. During half a century, the northern pirates had been gradually establishing themselves in the maritime districts of Ireland, from whence they were now enabled to harass the western coasts of Scotland with continued attacks. They found in the Clyde a commodious inlet into the country, and soon ravaged the territory of the enfeebled Britons of Strathclyde; while the Firth of Murray, the mouth of the Tay, and the estuary of the Forth, offered them advantageous harbours on the east. In 866, the Danes of Ireland, under Anlaf, ravaged the Scottish coasts, from the first of January to

the seventeenth of March, when they returned to Ireland laden with spoils. Four years later, Anlaf and his brother Ivar sailed to the Clyde with a much larger force, and besieged Alcluyd, the metropolis of the Britons, which they took and plundered after a siege of four months. They then overrun a great part of North Britain, and did not return with their plunder and captives to Ireland till 871. The Scottish king seems to have taken advantage of the weakened state in which the Britons of Strathclyde were left by their Danish plunderers, to strike at their independence, for in 871 their king, Artga, was slain by the procurement of Constantine. New invasions by the Danes followed. In 875, they issued from Northumberland, under their leader, Halfdene, and ravaged Strathclyde and Galloway. In 876, they again invaded North Britain, where they remained amidst doubtful conflicts for several months. They returned in 881, with a mighty host, and the Scottish king, encountering them bravely on the shores of the Forth, was defeated and slain.

On the death of Consantine, the crown was assumed by his brother Aodh, or Hugh, a weak, and perhaps an effeminate prince. The district between the Dee and the Spey was at this time ruled by a chieftain named Grig, an artful and unprincipled man, who raised up as a competitor for the crown so feebly worn by Aodh, a prince named Eoacha, the son of Ku, the British king of Strathclyde, and grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth Mac Alpin. The contending parties fought at Strathalan, and Aodh, dangerously wounded in the battle, was carried thence to Inverurie, where he lingered two months, and then expired, after a troubled reign of only one year. Grig immediately placed the crown on the head of his protegee, Eoacha, and governed jointly with him, or rather solely in his name. Grig's tyranny gradually wearied the patience and excited the indignation of his subjects, who rose in 893, drove their two rulers from the throne, which was given to Donal IV., a son of Constantine. Grig was allowed to live the remainder of his days in the castle of Dunadeer, in Aberdeenshire, where he died in 897. In the midst of his vices and cruelty, Grig patronized the ecclesiastics, and in return they have left a magnificent encomium of him, in which they represent him, under the Latinized name of Gregory, as overwhelming the Picts, crushing the Britons, conquering England, and subduing Ireland. To palliate his treason and usurpation, they charge his unfortunate predecessor with vices, of which we have reason to believe that he was innocent.

Donal IV. proved his courage, not only in the manner by which he acquired the sceptre, but by his vigorous resistance to the invasions of the Danes. These depredators landed from the Tay, with the intention of plundering his capital Forteviot, or Dunkeld; but Donal raised his people, and, hastening to defend the "fatal stone," met them in the neighbourhood of Scone, and inflicted upon them a severe defeat. In 904, the Danes again came in great force from Ireland, resolved to carry away with them the plunder of Forteviot, the Scottish capital, and had nearly reached that place, when they were bravely and successfully encountered by Donal, who slew their leader, but he himself fell in the engagement. Constantine III., the son of Aodh, immediately assumed the sceptre. He had only held it three years, when the Danes made a general descent upon North Britain, and appear even to have plundered Dunkeld, before Constantine could assemble warriors sufficient to oppose them. But in an attempt upon Forteviot in the following year, they were entirely defeated by the Scots, and the land was for a while freed from their ravages. But, about the year 918, the Irish Danes, under their king Reginald, landed again from the Clyde, and began to devastate the country. The Scots, assisted, we are told, by some of the northern Saxons, marched against them, and encountered them at Tinmore. The Danes on this occasion are said to have been drawn up in four divisions, the first conducted by Godfrey, son of Ivar, the second by earls, and the third by chieftains, while Reginald himself commanded the fourth, which he placed in ambush as a reserve. Division after division were beaten back by the furious attack of the Scots, who were checked with difficulty by the unexpected appearance of Reginald with his reserve. But during the night the Danes retreated to their ships, and they did not venture to attack Scotland again for many years.

The Scottish king, thus relieved from the Danes, was destined soon to encounter a new and more formidable antagonist. In 924, Northumbria was visited by the victorious arms of Edward the Elder, and the Danish kings who had established them-

selves there, Sihtric, Uhtred, and Reginald, and had obtained possession of York, submitted to him, and we are told that even the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde acknowledged king Edward as their father and lord, and concluded a firm alliance with him. This alliance was not destined to last many years. In 925, the great Athelstan succeeded to the English throne. One of his first acts was to give his sister in marriage to Sihtric, the Danish king of Northumbria, who was baptised, and received, as a vassal of the English king, that part of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria which extended from the Tees to Edinburgh. Sihtric died within a year, upon which Athelstan seized the favourable opportunity of incorporating that country with his other states, and expelled Guthfrith and Anlaf, the sons of Sihtric by a former marriage. Anlaf fled to Ireland; while Guthfrith, who was the elder brother, took refuge with Constantine, king of Scotland, and Eocha, or Eugenius, king of the Cumbrian Britons, who were ready to deliver up the fugitive, had he not again made his escape. Guthfrith attempted to raise his countrymen in Northumbria, and made an unsuccessful attack upon York, and finally betook himself to the sea. The great power of king Athelstan now alarmed his weaker neighbours, and when they saw how he was strengthened by the final expulsion of Guthfrith, Owen Dha, the lawgiver, the most powerful of the princes of Wales, Owen, king of Gwent, Constantin, king of Scotland, and Ealdred, the Saxon chief of Bamborough, entered into an alliance against him. But the army of the Saxon monarch was victorious, and those princes were compelled to sue for peace, and to renew their oaths and pledges. The Scottish king was now more alarmed than ever, and he began to prepare for a more decisive struggle. In the autumn of the year 934, Constantine, as the feudal dependent of Athelstan, attended a Saxon parliament at Buckingham, on his return from which the revolt broke out. Eocha was at that time king of the Britons of Strathclyde, in virtue of a disposition of Constantine, by which this kingdom was assigned to the tanaist, or presumptive heir of the Scottish crown, till his accession to the latter, and this prince now acted in concert with the Scots. But Athelstan was prepared for the emergency, and marching with his army into Scotland, he laid waste the country to Dunfoeder and Wertermore, while his fleet ravaged the coast as far as Caithness. Constantine seems to have remained quiet in his fastnesses behind the firths, till the storm of war was past, and then he appeased the English monarch by submitting and sending his son as a hostage.

While Athelstan was occupied in continental negotiations, the Scots recovered their courage, and a new confederacy was formed against him. Anlaf, a son of Guthfrith, had married a daughter of Constantine, and the latter combined with the Danes of England and Ireland, and other kindred states, to restore him to the Dano-Northumbrian kingdom. In 937, Anlaf appeared in the Humber with six hundred and fifteen ships, and immediately joined his forces with those of his father-in-law, Constantine, of Eocha of Strathclyde, and of many other petty princes of British race. Athelstan marched at the head of a well-appointed army to oppose them, and encamped near Brananburh, in Northumberland, a place of which the exact site is not now known with certainty. It was here that the crafty Anlaf made use of the same stratagem formerly employed against the Danes themselves by king Alfred, but not with the same success. In the disguise of a harper, he gained admission to Athelstan's camp, where he played before the king and his guests during their repast, and marked well the position of the king's tent and other circumstances necessary for his design. When he departed, disdaining to carry with him the paltry reward he had received from the Saxon monarch, he buried it in the earth; but, while engaged in this operation, he was observed and recognised by a soldier who had formerly served under him. This man communicated his discovery to the king, and when the latter upbraided him for not having caused the Dane to be seized before he left the camp, the man replied, "O king, the same oath that I have taken to you I took to Anlaf; had I violated it in regard to him, you might have expected similar treason towards yourself; but deign to listen to the advice of your servant; move your tent to some other spot, and there await in patience the arrival of your reinforcements." The king followed the soldier's counsel, and in the evening Werstan, bishop of Sherburne, arrived with a body of forces, and established his quarters in the place previously occupied by the king. The same night, Anlaf, with a strong body of Danes, forced his way into the

camp, and his first victims were the bishop and all his attendants; but when he followed up his success by attacking the quarter then occupied by the king, he was opposed with vigour and driven away. Two days after was fought the memorable battle of Brananburh, which was long celebrated as one of the great conflicts of the middle ages. Five kings, seven earls of the Danes and their allies, a son of the Scottish king Constantine, and an immense number of warriors, are said to have fallen in the conflict. The victory was partly owing to the valour and skill of Athelstan's cousin and chancellor, Thurcytel, who led to the war the citizens of London and a body of merchants under Singin. Thurcytel slew the son of Constantine with his own hand. Constantine and Anlaf fled with such of their followers as escaped the slaughter to their ships; the latter hurried back to Dublin, while Constantine sought his own dominions to brood over his disaster, and his spirit appears to have been so broken, that he did little during the rest of his reign but listen to his monks and ecclesiastics. At length, in 944, after a reign of forty years, he relinquished his diadem for the cowl, and retiring to the monastery of St. Andrew's, became there abbot of the Culdees.

On the voluntary abdication of Constantine, the crown was placed on the head of Malcolm, the son of Donal IV., the beginning of whose reign was disturbed by the turbulence of some of his subjects. But the most important event of this reign was the obtaining of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons from the English king Edmund, in 945. Northumbria had been now inhabited for years by a large mixture of Danes in its population, and had become a sort of Danish kingdom, as troublesome to the Scots as to the English. The Cumbrian Britons were frequently involved in the hostilities of the Danes, and as the Scottish monarchs had long had an eye upon their district, as well as upon that of the Saxons of Lothian, as advantageous appendages to their own kingdom, they felt personally when the English monarchs marched into the territory north of the Tyne. In 945, king Edmund, in retaliation for some hostilities of the Britons, invaded and ravaged the territory of Strathclyde, and then, foreseeing the trouble which it would give to the English crown to keep possession of this distant kingdom, he gave it to Malcolm, the king of the Scots, on condition that the Scottish sovereign should enter into a close league of alliance, and assist him in defending Northumberland whenever it should be attacked. In the following year Edmund was murdered, and his crown was given to his brother Edred, who was soon called to defend his territory in the north, which was again agitated by Anlaf. On this occasion the Scottish king fulfilled his promise without hesitation, and marching to co-operate with the Saxon army, he overrun Lothian, which then formed part of England, and entering Northumberland, laid waste large tracts of country, and returned to Scotland laden with plunder and captives.

The part which Malcolm acted on this occasion drew upon him the hostility of the Danes, who began again to infest the coasts of Scotland, and at the same time he was forced into a civil war with some of his own turbulent subjects. The men of Moray, at the instigation of their chief Cellach, had rebelled against him at the beginning of his reign, but they had been suppressed. They now rose again, but Malcolm marched against them, and Cellach was defeated and slain in battle. In a subsequent year the men of Moray marched southward to revenge the death of their chief, and were met by Malcolm in the Mearns. Here, at a place called Fetteressoe, Malcolm fell a sacrifice to the treason of some of his own followers. He was succeeded on the throne by Indulf, the son of Constantine III., who prosecuted and punished the murderers of his predecessor. It is stated by the Scottish chroniclers, that in the reign of this king, who ascended the throne in 953, Edwines-burh, which had been nearly ruined in the preceding wars, was at length relinquished by the English king Edwy, amid the distractions of Northumbria, and it probably remained in this state of desertion until at a subsequent period it was formally resigned to the Scottish monarchs. Indulf's chief troubles arose from the invasions of the Danes, who now driven from England by the vigorous government of king Edgar, transferred their depredations to Scotland, and landed at Gamrie in Buchan, but they were repulsed with considerable slaughter by the chieftain of that district. In 961, the Danes returned in greater numbers, and landed within the bay of Cullen in Banffshire. Indulf, who had hastened to meet them, encountered these predatory enemies on the moor to the west of Cullen, and ob-

tained a sanguinary victory, but, in pursuing the vanquished Danes to their ships, the king was unfortunately slain.

According to the constitutional system of succession to the Scottish throne, Indulf was succeeded by the tanist Duff, the son of his predecessor Malcolm. But an ambitious ecclesiastic, Doncha, abbot of Dunkeld, whom Scottish writers have compared with his English contemporary Dunstan, instigated Indulf's son, Culen, to claim his father's sceptre. Both parties flew to arms, and they met at Duncrub, in Stratherne, where Duff was victorious in an obstinate and sanguinary engagement. The abbot Doncha and Dubdou, chief of Athol, were slain in the battle. The friends of the pretender and the ecclesiastical party were still however strong enough to drive the king from Forteviot into the north, where he was assassinated in the year 965 at Forres. The reign of Culen, who now seized upon the throne, was of the same duration as that of his predecessor, but much less honourable, for the new monarch disgraced the throne by his vices, and at length lost it by his own baseness. To gratify his reckless lust, he offered violence to the daughter of his kinsman Andarch, the dependent king of Strathclyde, on which the Britons took up arms to defend the wrongs of their prince. In a battle in Lothian, the Britons were victorious, and Culen and his brother Eocha were slain.

This event took place in 970, when Kenneth III., the brother of Duff, succeeded to the throne. This prince renewed the war with the Britons of Strathclyde, who, after a short but brave struggle for their independence, were overcome by the superior power of the Scots, and their kingdom was finally annexed to the territories of the Scottish kings. Kenneth acknowledged the superiority of the Saxon Edgar. The Saxon chronicle tells us that, in the year following Kenneth's accession to the throne, Edgar "led all his ship forces to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land." The principal of these was Kenneth, king of the Scots, who had with him his sub-king Malcolm of Strathclyde. William of Malmsbury tells us that the six kings showed their respect to king Edgar by rowing him in a boat on the river Dee.

Kenneth was soon involved in fierce hostilities with the Danes. In 973, king Edgar was compelled by the turbulence of the Northumbrians to require his performance of the terms on which Strathclyde had been given to the Scottish crown, and having sent the Britons of that kingdom to harass the Danish settlements as far as Stanmore, he marched himself through Lothian, and penetrated into Deira, where he plundered and wasted the country, and carried away the son of the Northumbrian ruler as his captive. This expedition seems to have given new provocation to the Danes, who, after some partial attacks on the north-eastern coast of Scotland, sailed into the Tay with a numerous fleet, and landed a great force. Kenneth, with such chiefs as he could hastily bring into the field, marched against them and met them at Luncarty, in the vicinity of Perth. In this great battle, the tanist Malcolm commanded the right wing of the Scottish army, and Duncan, the chief of Athol, the left, while Kenneth placed himself in the centre. After a long and obstinate struggle, the two wings of the Scots gave way before the fury of the Danes, but they rallied behind the centre, and renewed the fight on better ground, and the Danes in their turn gave way, and were at length defeated with great loss.

This great victory gave the Scottish king leisure to apply himself to the internal regulation of his kingdom. The great project of his life was the abolition of the old law of tanistry, and the introduction of the principle of a direct lineal succession to the crown. It is said that a law to this purpose was introduced by the king, and agreed to by his nobles, but it was not carried into effect, and the attempt led to many troubles, and was the cause of many crimes. To clear the way for it, he procured the untimely death of the then tanist Malcolm, prince of the Strathclyde Britons. It was perhaps the attempt to change the law of succession, which was seized upon as the pretence for an insurrection in the turbulent district of Mearns, in the course of which he put to death in the palace of Dunsinane, the only son of Finella, the widow of the chieftain of the Mearns, and daughter of the chieftain of Angus. Finella was implacable in her desire of revenge, and she watched anxiously for the opportunity of gratifying it. At length the king, who was, according to some, carried away from his chief retinue in the pursuit of the chase, or, according to others, performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Paddy at Fordun,

was induced to accept the hospitality of Finella, in her castle of Fettercairn, and she immediately led him into a private apartment, where he was murdered. When the king's followers were informed of what had taken place, they hastened to revenge his death on the murderess, and, finding that she had fled, they burnt her castle to the ground. The lady was pursued, and, her retreat being soon discovered, she was put to death as a punishment for her crime, and her name was long remembered as odious among her countrymen. Kenneth was murdered in the year 994. He was succeeded by Constantine IV., the son of Culen, whose pretensions to the sceptre were disputed by Kenneth the grim, the son of Duff. In a conflict between the rival pretenders, near the river Amon, in Perthshire, in 995, Constantine lost his life, and his opponent immediately seized the sceptre, and began to reign as Kenneth IV.

Kenneth was no more than his predecessor destined to hold, without dispute, the kingdom he had obtained by violence. Malcolm, the son of the murdered Kenneth III., who, as his father's intended heir to the throne, had been made sub-king of the Cumbrian Britons, was only hindered from asserting his claims for a while by foreign hostilities. The English king, Ethelred, had adopted the dangerous policy of buying off the Danish hostilities with money, and in the year 1000 he sent a message to Malcolm, demanding that the Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom should contribute their share of the Danegeld, on pretence that they were bound by the treaties with the English kings to assist in resisting the Danish invaders. Malcolm refused to acknowledge himself a tributary, and Ethelred, who charged him with breaking his agreement and assisting his enemies, marched into the north, and overrun his territories. At last, the English fleet not having been able to proceed from Chester to co-operate with him on the coast, Ethelred consented to make peace with Malcolm, and the old league was formally renewed. No sooner were the forces of Ethelred withdrawn, than Malcolm declared his intention of enforcing his claim to the Scottish crown. The contest was soon decided in favour of Malcolm. The chroniclers tell us that Kenneth began hostilities. The two antagonists met at Monivaird, in the upper part of Stratherne, and Kenneth, after fighting with extraordinary bravery, was slain in the field.

The reign of Malcolm II. was a continued scene of trouble and turbulence. The Danish pirates continued to infest his coasts in every quarter, and they succeeded in establishing themselves at the Burghhead of Moray, where they found a commodious and an impregnable retreat. Uhtred, the Danish earl of Northumberland, invaded the district of the Cumbrian Britons, and fought a battle with the Scots, near Burgh-upon-Sands, the result of which was doubtful. In the north, Sigurd, earl of Orkney, directed the attacks on the shores of the Moray firth, and collected an immense quantity of plunder from the surrounding districts. Even after he had married Malcolm's daughter, his new relationship with the Scottish king placed no restraint on his depredations. But in 1010, Malcolm gained a decisive victory over the invaders at Mortlach in Moray, which relieved that part of the kingdom from the visits of these ferocious marauders. In gratitude for this victory, Malcolm soon after built a church, and endowed a monastery at the place where the battle was fought.

While the Danes were thus desolating the countries bordering on the firth of Moray, other parties visited the coasts of Angus and the shores of Buchan, but they were met and defeated by the Scots at Aberlemno, in the county of Forfar. A new body of Danes, under a leader named Camus, landed near Panbride, on the coast of Angus, to revenge their comrades, but they had not penetrated far into the country when they also were encountered and defeated by the Scots. They attempted to make their retreat towards the north, but they were overtaken by the Scots, and in another conflict, Camus himself was slain, with most of his followers. Another party of Danes, who landed about a mile west of Staines Castle, on the coast of Buchan, were defeated by the governor or chieftain of that district. So many repulses checked the ardour of the invaders, and the evacuation of the Burgh-head of Moray was obtained by a convention with Swegn before his death, which took place in 1014. The sword of the Scottish king was now turned against his Northumbrian neighbours, in consequence of a dispute with their earl, Uhtred. In 1018, Malcolm marched to Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank

of the Tweed, where he fought a desperately contested battle with Uhtred. The latter claimed the victory, though it was a doubtful one, and Malcolm kept possession of Lothian. Uhtred was soon after assassinated, and the earldom descended to his brother Eadulf, who entered into a close alliance with the Scottish king, to whom he ceded Lothian for ever. This district henceforward became a part of Scotland, and Malcolm placed over it one of his princes, Eocha the bald.

Malcolm had next to contend with a new and more powerful antagonist. It seems to have been the ambition of Cnut to add Scotland to his already extensive dominions, and he is said to have contemplated an expedition against North Britain at an earlier period of his reign. He now, in the year 1031, undertook, in common with the Danes of Dublin, an expedition against Duncan, Malcolm's nephew, who, as tanist of Scotland, enjoyed the government of the Cumbrian Britons. Malcolm vainly hastened to the assistance of Duncan, and he was compelled by Cnut to renew his engagements with the English crown, upon which the Saxon army was withdrawn. The expedition thus ended in consolidating Malcolm's rule over his new possessions, and he became the first monarch who governed the whole extent of country which has since been included under the name of Scotland.

In spite of his vigour and his successes, the reign of Malcolm was not free from domestic turbulence, which helped to embitter his latter days, and gave rise to feuds the effects of which were felt long after his death. Finlegh, the chieftain of Ross, and the father of Macbeth, was slain in consequence of some sedition, in 1020, by the concurrence or orders of the king, and left his son to revenge his death when the time of vengeance came. In 1032, Maolbride, the chieftain of Moray, was burnt in his rath, or fortress, with fifty of his clan. There are two accounts of the manner of Malcolm's death, the most probable of which seems to be, that he died quietly, at a very advanced age, in the year 1032. Fordun says that he was treacherously assassinated. The numerous benefits he conferred on the church, and the marriage of one of his daughters to the powerful abbot of Dunkeld, secured him the favours of the church, and, therefore, the encomiums of the ecclesiastical writers.

Duncan, the prince of the Britons of Strathclyde, at once succeeded to the throne, apparently without any opposition, although tradition said that his kingdom was disturbed both by some unimportant attacks of the Danes on the coasts of Moray, and by symptoms of internal dissension. The desire of vengeance against the new king for family injuries, lurked in the breasts of two persons who became allied by the closest of ties, that of marriage. Macbeth, who had inherited the territory of Ross from his father, looked forward in secret impatience to the moment when he might avenge his death; while Gruoch, the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV., who was slain at the battle of Monivaird, had to mourn, in addition to the death of her ancestor, that of an only brother, slain by order of Malcolm in 1033, shortly before his death. The first husband of the lady Gruoch was the chieftain of Moray who had been burnt in his castle, and by her second marriage with the celebrated Macbeth, she joined her wrongs to his, and brought her first husband's territorial influence to increase his power. For on this marriage, Macbeth became chieftain of Moray, during the infancy of his wife's son, Lulach. We are assured by some of the historians, that Macbeth himself was the son of Doada, a daughter of Malcolm II., and, therefore, he might well enter into competition with Duncan for the crown. We are told by Fordun, that it was a custom with Duncan to make progresses through his kingdom, in order to hear the complaints of his subjects, and give them redress, and that it was in the course of one of these circuits, that he went to Bothgowanan, near Elgin, in the year 1039. He was there within the territorial government of the lady Gruoch and Macbeth, and the latter attacked him unawares, and left him mortally wounded. His followers carried him to Elgin, where he died.

Macbeth had, according to some accounts, as good a claim to the throne of Scotland as Duncan himself, and he was supported by two of the most powerful clans in Scotland, and by all the partisans of Kenneth IV., who had been slain by Duncan's grandfather. On Duncan's death, he hastily marched to Scone, and was there inaugurated as king of the Scots, apparently to the satisfaction of every one. Duncan had married a sister of Siward, king of Northumberland, by whom he left two infant sons,

Malcolm and Donald, the last of whom fled to the Cumbrian Britons, while the other sought an asylum in the Hebrides.

It appears from all accounts that the administration of Macbeth was vigorous and beneficent. His subjects are said to have enjoyed during his reign the blessings of peace and plenty; justice was administered with an even hand, and the turbulence of the chieftains was restrained by his courage and authority. Duncan's aged father, Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, headed the friends of the late king in a vain attempt to restore his children, and is said to have been slain in battle. Other feeble attempts of a similar character only contributed to establish Macbeth more firmly on the throne. He was supported by the clergy, whose favour he had gained by his great liberality to the church. But after a while, aware of the plots against him which were forming on every side, he became more rigorous in punishing his enemies, and his wrath was especially turned against the possessions of Macduff, the ruler of Fife, who had escaped to England, where he joined the exiled Malcolm. The latter had escaped from Scotland to seek a refuge with his kinsman earl Siward, by whose advice he repaired to the court of Edward the Confessor, and was received there with every mark of interest and favour. With Edward's approval, and probably by his command, Siward conducted a numerous army into Scotland in the year 1054, and penetrated far into the country, probably to Dunsinane. He was there encountered by Macbeth, and in the obstinate battle which followed three thousand Scots and fifteen hundred Saxons are said to have been slain. Among the latter was Osbert, the son of earl Siward. Macbeth, defeated, retired into the north, where he had many friends, and earl Siward, having left Malcolm in possession, returned to Northumberland, and died at York in 1055. Macbeth was not discouraged by his misfortune, but he continued the contest with Malcolm, until at last he was slain in a skirmish at Lumphanan, by the hand of his bitter enemy Macduff, on the 5th of December, 1056.

Such is the veritable history of a chieftain who, from the circumstance of his having been made the hero of one of the best known tragedies of Shakespeare, has become one of the most celebrated of the earlier Scottish kings. It will be seen that most of the incidents of Shakespeare's play have no foundation in history, though some of them are taken from the fables of the later chronicles. Instead of being hated by his subjects, the name of Macbeth was long popular in Scotland as that of one of the best of their kings, and the Scottish people felt the indignity of a foreign intervention in their domestic affairs.

History tells us nothing of the fate of Macbeth's queen, but her son Lulach, on the death of his step-father, assumed the sceptre, and continued the war against Malcolm, whose title to the crown was not so good as his own. For a few months Lulach maintained the struggle against his enterprising competitor, who was supported by foreign mercenaries, but on the 3rd of April, 1057, he was slain in the decisive battle of Essie, in Strathbogie, and his opponent, without further opposition, ascended the throne as Malcolm III.

Malcolm began his reign by rewarding all those who had supported him in his arduous struggle of two years, and by exerting himself to calm the spirit of the nation, which had been so much agitated by it. He appears to have maintained peace with England during the reign of Edward the Confessor, or perhaps rather as long as he found it necessary for his own support; but, when this was no longer the case, it required a slight provocation to drive him to hostilities, and he broke the peace of St. Cuthbert and wasted Northumberland. In 1066, when Tostig, the brother of Harold, fled from the battle of Stanford-bridge, he found an asylum at Malcolm's court; who also, two years afterwards, afforded a refuge to Edgar Atheling, the Saxon pretender to the English throne, and his sister Margaret, whom Malcolm soon afterwards married. The Scottish king now took suddenly a more active part in the troubles of the south, and in 1070 he marched through the district of the Strathclyde Britons into Teesdale, and thence continued his devastating progress through Cleveland and Durham, not even sparing the churches in his fury. He carried back with him so many captives, that for years afterwards English servants or slaves were to be found in every village, and almost in every house in Scotland. Gospatric, earl of Northumberland, meanwhile invaded the Cumbrian kingdom, and committed the same devastations on the Scottish subjects. In 1072, king William, in revenge for this attack, invaded Scotland by sea and land, and advanced as far as

Abernethi in Dumfries-shire, where Malcolm met him to confer on terms of peace. Malcolm agreed to do homage for the territories which he held in England, and gave his son Duncan as a hostage, and it was probable on this occasion that the English monarch deprived Malcolm of the Cumbriran territory, which he gave in fee to Ralph de Meschines. Edgar Atheling left Scotland in the following year, probably in consequence of the treaty. After remaining in peace seven years, Malcolm seized the occasion of king William's absence in Normandy in 1079, for a new invasion of Northumberland, which he ravaged as far as the Tyne, and when, next year, the Anglo-Norman monarch sent an army against him under his son Robert, he remained behind the Forth, and left the invaders to waste their strength in overrunning the district to the south of that river. The Scottish king recommenced hostilities soon after the accession of William Rufus, and he invaded England in the May of 1091, during William's absence in Normandy, but when he had reached Chester-le-Street, he was informed that an English army was advancing rapidly against him, and he thought it prudent to secure his retreat without risking a battle. William marched into Scotland in the year following, and Malcolm came into Lothian to oppose him; but the two kings were reconciled by the intervention of Robert duke of Normandy and Edgar Atheling, and they agreed to a peace, Malcolm promising the same duty which he had yielded to the conqueror, while William Rufus engaged to restore to Malcolm twelve manors which Duncan had held in England, and to pay him twelve marks of gold annually. Each king was still distrustful of the other, and in the year following William offended Malcolm by fortifying the city of Carlisle. Another effort was made to reconcile the two kings, and in the August of 1093 Malcolm came to the court of the English king, at Gloucester, and found a new ground of offence in William's pretensions and insolence. He returned home to raise an army, with which he invaded Northumberland, and attacked the castle of Alnwick. This fortress was bravely defended by Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who, sallying forth on the 13th of November, 1093, attacked the Scots by surprise, and slew Malcolm and his eldest son, Edward. Queen Margaret, who had borne him six sons and two daughters, was so much affected by the untimely fate of her husband, that she survived him but a few days.

Malcolm, who is generally designated by the title of Ceanmore, or the great-headed, was succeeded on the throne by his brother Donal-bane, the children of the late king being all under age. He began his reign with gratifying the Gaelic hatred of foreigners, by expelling all the English who had lived under the protection of his predecessor. But there was a son of Malcolm's still living, named Duncan, who was either, as some imagine, his offspring by a former obscure marriage, or a natural child. This Duncan had been sent as a hostage into England in 1072; he had subsequently married a daughter of earl Gospatrick; and he was now serving as a military commander under William Rufus. Having obtained the king's permission, he entered Scotland in the May of 1094, with a numerous army of English and Norman adventurers, and found no difficulty in wresting the sceptre from the hands of Donal-bane. But the new king had only a feeble hold upon the affections of his people; they compelled him, when he assumed the crown, to promise that he would not again introduce among them English or Normans; and after a reign of six months, Maolpeder, the chieftain of the Mearns, having drawn him on some business or other into the territory of his clan, slew him at Monachedin, on the banks of the Bervie. Donal-bane thus recovered the throne, which he again occupied for two years. Edgar Atheling then assembled an army, with the permission of William Rufus, and marched into Scotland to the relief of the family of Malcolm. Donal was surprised and taken prisoner by the invaders in a sharp conflict in the September of 1097, and they deprived him of his eye-sight, and threw him into prison. He died from the effects of this act of savage barbarity, at Roscobie, in Forfarshire.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION AND MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE; LAWS; THE CHURCH; LANGUAGE; THE SAXON COLONIZATION.

Our information on the condition and manners of the ancient inhabitants of North Britain, is very scanty and vague. The slight notices in the classical writers represent them as existing in the lowest grade of barbarism; and, though these statements may be often exaggerated or incorrect, we can have little doubt that the wilds and mountains of Caledonia supported a population which must have made very slight advances towards civilization. The few relics of these early times which the earth from time to time yields to the antiquary, differ so little from the remains of a rude state of society in other countries, that we cannot learn from them any distinguishing characteristic of the people to whom they belonged.* The intercourse with other races must have gradually introduced some of the elements of a higher civilization, but in the remoter districts the Scottish highlanders preserved down to a very late period much of their original barbarism. They owed something of improvement to the Roman, to the Saxon, and to the Irish Scot; from the latter especially the laws and the national customs, at the period when we first know much of their history, were chiefly borrowed, and from them they received the light of the gospel. Among these customs was that of clanship, which existed in Scotland in full force, until its ill effects were felt in the rebellion of 1745, in consequence of which it was finally proscribed. Connected with this was the custom of fostering, which prevailed in Scotland in the same force as in Ireland, and which led to complicated family alliances and divisions that filled the country with perpetual feuds. The natural condition of the people, indeed, seemed to be that of war, for which they were always ready, and which was provoked between clan and clan by the slightest circumstances. The moment the *slogan*, or war-cry of the clan, went forth, every warrior of the tribe hastened to the known place of rendezvous, where the head of the clan was prepared to lead them. The Scots of the early periods of which we have been treating, appear not to have possessed money as a circulating medium; and they had only two ways of obtaining property, by robbery or by exchange. There is said to be no word for money in Gaelic, and the names for current coins in that language were all derived from the Anglo-Saxon. It is supposed that the modern highland dress represents that of the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, but this opinion is founded chiefly on conjecture. Some peculiarities of their early paganism may be still traced in the popular superstitions of their descendants, among which one of the most remarkable was their reverence for fish. Formerly, when the people of the north wished to speak of the Saxons of the south with contempt, they applied to them the epithet of fish-eaters; and in the last age the prejudice against catching and eating fish was still strong.

Law, among a rude people, is only custom long established, and generally varies in every class or district. The Pictish kingdom was no doubt ruled by laws or customs of that people, which had been preserved from the more remote age of Celtic independence. The Scottish settlers from Ireland brought over the laws of the latter country, which, as the Scots obtained the superiority, became in a manner the law of the land, and the older Pictish usages became in some measure amalgamated with them. The Irish customs, however, at that period predominated, and that of tanistry was strictly observed. With most people, in the condition in which the Celtic and Teutonic nations were when we first become acquainted with them, royalty was hereditary in the blood, but not strictly in the direct line; on the death of the reigning monarch, a popular assembly was held, and the one of his sons best fitted to govern was chosen to succeed him; and in case none of them were capable, the successor might be taken from a collateral branch of the family. This custom opened a way to personal ambition, and led to per-

* The best book on the primitive antiquities of Scotland, is the recently published work of Mr. Daniel Wilson (the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh), entitled "*The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland.*" Royal 8vo, Edinb. 1851.

petual troubles and revolutions; for the death of the reigning monarch would be most commonly the signal for civil war. To avoid this inconvenience, it was usual with the Irish and Scots to choose the successor or heir-apparent of the reigning monarch immediately after the accession of the latter to the throne, and this heir-apparent, or tanist, as he was called, became usually the ruler of a subordinate kingdom or district. We have seen plenty of instances of this in the foregoing history. The custom of tanistry itself was the cause of a perpetual series of civil commotions, and we have seen instances where, to establish peace between two collateral branches of the royal family, it was arranged that when the reigning monarch belonged to one family, the tanist, or heir-apparent, should be taken from the other, so that, instead of son succeeding father, the nephew succeeded the uncle.

The cause, however, of the greatest evils in the constitution of Scotland during the Anglo-Saxon period of the south, was its division into so many separate districts, having all independent laws, and ruled by *maormors*, or chiefs, who were similarly independent. There were ten of these districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyde. Of these, Fife is perhaps the one best known, from the circumstance that one of its maormors was the celebrated Macduff. Stratherne, Menteith, and Breadalbane, included the country between the Forth and the Ochil hills on the south, and the Tay on the north. Athol and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and the Badenoch. Angus comprehended the country extending from the Tay and the Ila on the south to the northern Esk. Maern, or Merns, comprehended the district between the north Esk and the Dee. Another independent district, that of Aberdeen and Banff, lay between the Dee and the Spey; it was the government of the maormor who, in the latter part of the ninth century, usurped the throne and reigned under the name of Grig, or Gregory the Great. The important government of Moray comprehended the extensive country between the Spey and the Farar or Beauly, and extending westward to the limits of northern Argyle. The maormors of this district were among the most powerful of the early Scottish chiefs. Argyle extended from the Clyde far into Ross, and comprehended the numerous isles in the surrounding sea. Ross, the government of Macbeth, consisted of the greater part of Ross and of Cromarty. The powerful maormors of Argyle and Ross were actively engaged in the struggle against the Danish invaders. The tenth and last of these divisions was Sutherland and Caithness. Each of these districts possessed rights which the whole kingdom could hardly control; they were governed by their own customs, and ruled by their own chieftains, and the former could not be altered, or the latter appointed or displaced, by the king himself.

The apostle of Scotland was the Irish saint Columba, and his foundation in the island of Iona, or, as it is now called, I-colm-kill, in the Hebrides, was the centre of religion and learning in the northern parts of Britain. The saint established himself in this spot soon after the middle of the sixth century, and in the century following we find the church of Scotland holding common cause and common sentiments with that of Ireland. His monks, who were known afterwards by the Gaelic appellation of Culdees, or livers in solitude, soon spread themselves from this point over the greater part of Scotland; although the southern districts, Lothian, Galloway, and the Cumbrian kingdom, belonged to the Saxon church, at least as to ecclesiastical government, the former to the bishopric of Lindisfarne and to its successor Durham, and the two latter to the ancient bishopric of Whitherne. These districts had probably all been divided into parishes, and they contained many churches, with a considerable number of religious houses, such as those of Mailros, Coldingham, Tyningham, Pefferham, and Abercorn, but these were all more English than Scottish in their character. To the north of the firths the Culdees held the superiority in religious affairs at the time of the union between the Scots and the Picts, and Kenneth, under whom this union took place, signalised his accession by building a church at Dunkeld to receive the relics of their saint, Columba. This church of Dunkeld, built in 849, became for several ages the seat of the primacy of Scotland, until it was supplanted by St. Andrews, when St. Andrew became the patron saint of the kingdom. The abbots of Dunkeld were powerful chieftains, who acted a prominent part in all the political troubles of the north. Kenneth is said also by tradition to have been the founder of the

see of St. Andrews, though it seems to have been in truth founded later in the same century. The relics of St. Andrew the apostle, which were said to have been brought to Scotland by St. Regulus or St. Rule at the beginning of the ninth century, were deposited there.

Both these bishoprics originated in abbeys; and several other religious houses—in fact, most of those of any importance, were, during the early period of which we are treating, gradually erected into episcopal sees. Such was the case at Brechin, Dumblane, Abernethy, Mortlach, and Aberdon. Some of these soon ceased to exist as bishoprics, but others continued after the Norman period. But all matters connected with the history of the early Scottish church are involved in much obscurity; and though we know that the kingdom did contain dioceses and parishes before the period of history on which we are now going to enter, we are very imperfectly acquainted with the extent to which those ecclesiastical divisions were carried.

The early Scottish monks, as we have already intimated, were known by the name of Culdees, a word that signifies in Gaelic persons who live retired from the world, and which has been the subject of much speculation among antiquaries, though it seems merely to have signified a monk, and to have been used in the Celtic church generally. After the Norman period they were gradually reformed according to the notions of the Romish church, and changed for or into canons regular. Chalmers has enumerated thirteen early Scottish monasteries, or houses of Culdees, independent of the primitive establishment at Iona, namely, at Abernethy, Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane, Brechin, Mortlach, Aberdon, Lochleven, Portmoak, Dunfermline, Scone, and Kirkcaldy. In the monastery of Abernethy, founded during the Pictish period and dedicated to St. Brigid, the Culdees were not suppressed till the thirteenth century. In the powerful abbey of Dunkeld they continued to exist till the reign of Malcolm IV., the middle of the twelfth century. The Culdees were superseded by canons regular at St. Andrews in the year 1140; at Brechin they were not "reformed" till the time of Robert Bruce; those of Dunblane were "reformed" towards the middle of the thirteenth century. The early monastery of Culdees on an island in Lochleven, dedicated to St. Severn, and enriched by the benefactions of several monarchs, was granted by David I. to the priory of St. Andrews; and from that time the monks of Lochleven were continually at variance with the canons of St. Andrews, until the former were expelled. The religious house at Portmoak, on the shore of Lochleven, founded by the Pictish king Ungus, in the ninth century, became also the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews. The other houses of the Culdees were in a similar manner delivered over to the canons regular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, until the last traces of the old Scottish monks were lost. They had no doubt preserved many customs and traditionary articles of belief of an earlier and less corrupt period of the Romish faith, which were unpalatable to the church as it existed at the period of their reformation or suppression. The churches of the Culdees were almost universally dedicated to the holy trinity.

During the dark period of which we have been speaking, learning was at a very low ebb in North Britain. The clergy appear to have been more generally occupied with the intrigues of state, than with the instruction of the people; the ancient school of Iona, founded by Columba, and which had produced names like that of Adamnan to be respected even by the Saxon princes and ecclesiastics, had disappeared amid the ravages of the Danes, and its place was but ill supplied by the schools which were subsequently established at Abernethy. The few who sought learning went to England, or to France; and learning became so rare, that when in 1074, queen Margaret caused a council to be convened to inquire into the abuses which were said to have crept into the Scottish church, it was found that the clergy could speak no language but Gaelic. A strange difficulty thus presented itself, for Margaret herself, who was to be the chief prolocutor, could speak to them only in Saxon, and her husband, king Malcolm, who happened to know Saxon as well as Gaelic, was obliged to act as interpreter. It was not until David I., the reformer of the Celtic church, introduced foreign scholars, that in Scotland learning assumed a substantial form.

This absence of learning helped to preserve, more than anything else, the old customs and traditions of the people. The Druids had been superseded by the Christian monks, who assumed to themselves

many of their attributes and functions, but the bards still remained to hand down from generation to generation the earliest of all literatures, the popular poetry of the race. This literature was an unwritten one—preserved only in the memory, and therefore modified by a multitude of circumstances from age to age, though in the wilder parts of the country it preserved its original character in an extraordinary degree, and fragments may still be gathered among the Gaelic population of the highlands which are no doubt of great antiquity. Some of these are supposed to have been strung together by Macpherson, and worked up into what he put forth as the poems of Ossian. But the controversy on this subject is too extensive to allow us to enter upon it in a work like the present. Further inquiry, however, seems to prove, that what we call the Gaelic is an Irish Celtic dialect, different from that which was spoken by the Picts, which it had superseded, as the Scots, who brought it in, gradually obtained the superiority. Its poetry, therefore, had probably the same origin, and could contain no allusions to the wars between the Romans and the Caledonians.

Till the twelfth century the Gaelic was the only language spoken to the north of the two firths, or in Scotland proper. To the south, the population and the language they spoke were Saxon, though the Gaelic might even there be heard in some districts, where the Scots had settled. Already, however, a great change in the condition of Scotland had begun. The marriage of Malcolm Ceanmore with the Saxon princess Margaret opened the door to a new Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic colonization. An Anglo-Saxon dynasty, occupied the throne, and the Celtic customs and government were gradually superseded by an Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, accompanied with the civilization of the south. Anglo-Saxon refugees from the north of England, flying before the tyranny of Norman conquerors, were allowed to settle in Scotland, and their example was soon followed by Normans, who found in Scotland a new field for their exertions. This influx of strangers was looked upon with jealousy by the old inhabitants, and, though long protected by the virtues of the Saxon queen, on the death of Malcolm, the English and Norman followers of queen Margaret and her brother Edgar Atheling were driven away. This, however, was but a temporary check to the stream of emigration which had now set in, and turbulent Norman as well as Saxon families gradually established themselves, and laid the foundations of the great Scottish houses of a subsequent period. Among the greatest of the settlers from Northumbria, was the earl Gospatrick, who, being deprived of his English estates in 1072, obtained from Malcolm extensive landed possessions in the Merse and Lothian, which he left to his son. A Northumbrian chief named Arkel, who likewise fled from the power of the Conqueror, obtained lands in Dumbartonshire, and his descendants became earls of Lennox. Similar settlements at this period brought into Scotland numerous families of southern origin. But the tide of colonization from the south set in when Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, was established on the throne of Scotland by means of an Anglo-Norman army, and it flowed still more largely in the reign of his brother, the first David, who like his brothers, was educated at the English court, and who signalized himself by the introduction of English laws and church government. Among the immense number of Anglo-Norman settlers who followed the standard of David, Hugh Moreville, of Burg in Cumberland, obtained vast possessions in Lauderdale and Cunningham, and founded the powerful Scottish family of the Morevilles. The Ridels from Yorkshire settled in Roxburghshire, and spread into Mid-Lothian. The Corbets, a Shropshire family, established themselves in Teviotdale. The Lindsays are said to have derived their origin from the county of Essex. Branches of the Percies of Northumberland settled in Roxburghshire; while the Scottish Somervilles came from Staffordshire, the Sulens from Northamptonshire, the Umphravilles, like the Percies, from Northumberland, and the Avenels, the Alifards, the Giffards, the Says, and their descendants the Setons, the Keiths, the de Quincies, the Maules, the Berkeleys, the Cunninghams, the Lockharts, the Hays, and a great number of others, came from different parts of south Britain. The progenitor of the Ruthvens was a Northumbrian of Saxon or Danish blood; and the first of the Ramsays was an Englishman who settled in the Lothians under David I. The Abernethys were descended from a Northumbrian; and other names equally well known in Scottish history, the Grays, Kers, Colvilles, Gordons, Grahams, Sinclairs, Rosses, all came from

Norman or English settlers, chiefly of the reign of king David. Such also was the origin of the great family of Fraser. That of Cumyn is traced back to a Northumbrian house, which furnished David I. with a chancellor and a bishop. The Baliols, who came from Barnard Castle in Durham, were also brought into Scotland by David I. Robert de Bruis, or Bruce, was a Yorkshire baron, who, in the time of the Domesday survey, held large possessions in that county; his son Robert formed an intimacy with earl David at the court of Henry I., and on David's accession to the throne of Scotland, he obtained from him a grant of lands in Annandale, and thus laid the foundation of the great Scottish house of Bruce. Another of David's English barons, Walter fitz Alan, who is believed to have been of the family of the Fitz Alans of Shropshire, and of the kindred of the Fitz Alans, earls of Arundel, was the founder of the royal house of Stewart, or Stuart, having obtained from that monarch the hereditary office of steward of Scotland. The progenitors of the no less illustrious house of Wallace were an Anglo-Norman family, who settled under the Stewarts in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew. The Douglases were of Anglo-Flemish descent, their progenitor being one Theobald the Fleming, who, between 1147 and 1160, obtained from the abbot of Kelso a grant of lands on the Douglas water in Lanarkshire, known as Douglasdale. The Hamiltons, the Grants, the Campbells, and many others, are proved to be Normans by their names and genealogies. The Leslies, the Flemings, the Freskins, and others equally numerous, owed their origin to the Flemish colonists, who settled first in England and then migrated to Scotland. Such was the beginning of nearly all the families who now begin to stand prominent in Scottish history.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF MALCOLM AND MARGARET; BATTLE OF THE STANDARD; BATTLE OF ALNWICK; DISTURBED REIGN OF WILLIAM THE LION.

We are now entering upon an entirely new era of Scottish history. The southern attachments of Malcolm, the influence which queen Margaret gained by her piety and goodness, the examples of the numerous Normans as well as Saxons who were drawn or driven to their court, all combined to lay the foundation of an extensive reformation in the constitution and manners of North Britain. If he did not, as is by some pretended, establish the feudal system in Scotland, Malcolm at least began to introduce the custom of feudal investitures, which led gradually to the assimilation between the systems in the two countries.* This first attempt naturally led to a reaction; for the new system was looked upon as chiefly represented by the strangers who almost alone received the feudal investitures, and no sooner was Malcolm dead, than a rebellion of the old national party arose, which ended in the elevation of the usurper, Donald Bane, to the throne, and an edict for the banishment of the foreigners. The popular prejudice was so strong, that even when Donald Bane was driven from his usurped power by the illegitimate Duncan, he was obliged to enter into a sort of stipulation with his subjects, binding himself to introduce no more foreigners. After the murder of Duncan, and the restoration of Donald, the anti-improvement policy again prevailed, until Edgar, the third son of Malcolm and Margaret, succeeded in wresting the sceptre from his hands.

Edgar, who became king of Scotland at the Michaelmas of 1097, owed his throne to the favour of William Rufus, who assisted him with an Anglo-Norman army, under the conduct of his Saxon uncle, Edgar

* A legend, but a very improbable one, tells us that Malcolm Ceanmore summoned all the Scottish nobility to meet him at Scone, where each surrendered his lands by the symbolical form of giving the king a handful of earth taken from them, in order that he might grant them anew by charter, according to the system of feudal investiture. This earth, thrown together, is said to have formed the "Moothill" of Scone.

Atheling. Donald Bane was captured, and thrown into prison, where by order of his conqueror he was deprived of his eye-sight; and Edgar's brother Edmund, who had been an accomplice in Donald's second usurpation, was condemned to close confinement. The latter, in token of his sincere penitence for having been accessary to the murder of Duncan, ordered the fetters which he had worn in his prison to be buried with him in his coffin.

Edgar appears to have been a just and cautious ruler, but he was not a strong one; yet he was scarcely on the throne, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion by Magnus, king of Norway. Fortunately, the Norwegians began by a descent in the north of Ireland, where they were defeated, and their king slain. In other respects, as far as we can judge, this reign was a peaceable one, and some writers have imagined that the government was paralyzed by the insubordination of the old clans, and that through a great extent of Scotland, the authority of this monarch was scarcely recognised. Edgar cherished friendship with the king of England, which was strengthened by the marriage of Henry I. with his sister. Thus encouraged, the Normans began again to resort to his court, and the customs of the south once more prevailed. It was the love for these customs that now caused the Scottish monarchs frequently to make their residence to the south of the firths, in the fortress or town of Dunedin, or Edinburgh, which subsequently was made the capital of the kingdom. It was here that Edgar died, on the 8th of January, 1107, leaving no children. He was considered as a lover and benefactor of the church, though no great ecclesiastical endowment gave lustre to his reign. By his will, the kingdom was to be divided between his two brothers, Alexander and David, the former of whom was to enjoy as king the country to the north of the firths, while all the southern districts, except Lothian, were resigned to David.

Alexander, who appears not to have been of a warlike disposition, acquiesced at once in this arrangement; yet in his disputes with the two English archbishops, he shewed that he was not deficient in courage and firmness. At the conclusion of the preceding reign, the see of St. Andrews had remained vacant, as the disputes between the emperor and the pope had prevented the consecration of Godric, the bishop elect. The English archbishops of Canterbury stepped in and claimed the right of consecration with a general spiritual superiority over the church of Scotland. Alexander resolutely withstood this claim, and he adroitly took advantage of the conflicting pretensions of the two archbishops to evade their demand. This prince was once called into the field to suppress a rebellion, which was excited in Angus with the object of overthrowing his authority, and he proceeded against the rebels with so much vigour, that he is said to have obtained on this occasion his popular title of Alexander the fierce. Alexander cultivated a friendly understanding with Henry I. of England, whose natural daughter, Sibilla, he married. He died at Stirling, on the 27th of April, 1124, leaving the throne to his younger brother, who assumed the sceptre as David I.

Under this monarch, who was distinguished by great talents, and who had been educated at the court of the wisest king of his age, Henry I. of England, the reformation in government and manners in Scotland took a more substantial form. To him the Scottish burghs are said to owe their municipal existence, and it was he who first succeeded in establishing in almost every district of his kingdom feudal barons from the south, who formed the great support of his throne, and who soon superseded the ancient Celtic aristocracy. Nevertheless, David had again to contend with the rebels, who had only been temporarily suppressed by his predecessor. The earl of Moray, who laid claim to the throne as the grandson of Zulach, and who thought to make his way to it by proclaiming himself the champion of the Celtic race against the foreign intruders, raised an army in 1130, and marched to the south. On this occasion David was supported by the barons of Northumberland, under their able leader, Walter L'Espec, and marching with the whole force of his southern dominions, he encountered the northern insurgents at Stracathrow, a pass in Forfarshire, and entirely defeated them.

David I., like his predecessors on the throne, had espoused an English wife, Maude, the widow of Simon de St. Liz, who brought him the earldom of Northampton, and by whom he had a son named Henry. This connection, joined with his partiality for Henry I., carried him frequently to England, where he passed a good

part of the years 1126 and 1127, on which occasion he entered so far into Henry's views with regard to his succession, as to take a solemn oath to sustain the rights of his daughter, the empress Matilda or Maude, to the English throne. When Henry died, in 1135, and Stephen was crowned king of England, David of Scotland took up arms to support the known intentions of king Henry in favour of Maude, seized upon Carlisle and Newcastle, and overran and ravaged the country as far as Durham, with a tumultuary army, which the monkish chroniclers tell us consisted of "Normans, Germans, and English, Cumbrian Britons, Northumbrians, men of Teviotdale and Lothian, Picts, commonly called men of Galloway, and Scots." Stephen marched to the north to put a stop to the atrocities committed everywhere by these barbarous invaders, but the war was carried on without decision, for while Stephen was embarrassed in his movements by the treachery and insubordination of his barons, David found it difficult to manage the miscellaneous and ill-assorted host he had brought together, and which disgusted him by the savage cruelties which were exercised on the unfortunate population of the invaded districts. A treaty was entered into at Newcastle, by which the Scottish king relinquished the country on which he had seized, and Stephen engaged to confer upon prince Henry, the son of David, the honours of Huntingdon, Doncaster, and the territory of Carlisle, for which the prince did homage to the king of England. David had refused to perform this ceremony for his English possessions. Next year king Stephen passed over into Normandy, upon which David broke the truce, and his army again overran the English borders, committing, if possible, greater barbarities than before. When Stephen returned to defend his insulted territory, the Scotch retired before him, and left their southern provinces to cruel retaliation. From defending his country against foreign enemies, Stephen was suddenly called to the south by the outbreaking of those dreadful civil wars which now began to devastate his kingdom. David again seized the moment of his embarrassment to invade Northumberland, in 1138, with a greater army than ever, when he knew that the northern barons were left to protect themselves. These, however, showed themselves equal to the emergency, and hastened to the field without pleading the excuses either of age or infancy. Roger de Mowbray was hardly more than a child, yet he was placed in person at the head of his vassals. Thurstan, archbishop of York, a prelate remarkable equally for his courage and prudence, called the northern barons together in council, and fortified them with his exhortations, and they chose for their leader the aged and experienced warrior, Walter l'Espec.

The English barons assembled on Cuton Moor, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, confident in the skill of their leader, and in the sanctity which the blessings of their archbishop had given to the cause; and in addition to these incentives another and more extraordinary step had been taken to inspire the combatants with courage. A sacred standard, composed of the mast of a ship fixed on a four-wheeled carriage, displaying the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, surmounted by a pix containing the consecrated host, was wheeled into the field and displayed in the midst of the English army. While the barons were rallying round this holy ensign, the Scots were gradually approaching them. The commander of the Galwegians, William mac Duncan, the son of David's illegitimate brother, was detached with a large body of his savage followers, into Lancashire, where he defeated a considerable English army at Clitheroe. After this exploit, he joined the main body, and then David marched forwards towards Northallerton with so much rapidity, that he nearly took the English army by surprise.

Among the English barons, there were several who held lands in both kingdoms, and who therefore owed allegiance to both kings. Some were even David's personal friends, such as the aged Norman baron Robert de Brus, the lord of Annandale, who was selected by Walter l'Espec to be sent on an embassy of peace to the Scottish king. He represented to David the ungenerous policy he was pursuing in thus oppressing the English and Normans, who had so often supported the Scottish throne with their arms, and he reproached him with the atrocities committed by his soldiers, which were neither befitting a Christian nor a knight. Finding that his expostulations were in vain, Bruce formally surrendered all the lands he held of David, renounced his homage, and declared himself his enemy. The king was moved, and both

he and Bruce shed tears on parting; but the defiance of an old man produced little impression on the Scottish warriors, and William mac Duncan openly called him a false traitor. The intractable character of the Scottish army was shown in the council of war the same evening, when the Galwegians put forward their claim to lead the van, in contradiction to the king's determination to begin the battle with the archers and men-at-arms, who composed the regular strength of his army. The Galwegians, who were rendered presumptuous by their recent success, urged their demand clamorously. One of the old Celtic chiefs, Malise, earl of Stratherne, exclaimed, "why this confidence in these men who are cased in mail? I wear none, yet will I advance further to-morrow than those who are thus clad in steel." One of David's knights, Alan de Percy, a natural brother of the great Northumbrian baron, retorted on Malise, saying that he had boasted more than he dared to make good. The dispute was put an end to by the interference of the king, who unwillingly yielded the van of the battle to the Galwegians.

On the morning of the 22nd of August, 1138, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle. The Scots formed in three lines, the first containing the Galwegians, under their leaders Ulrick and Dovenald. The second line consisted of the men-at-arms and the archers, with the Britons of Cumberland and Teviotdale: it was commanded by prince Henry. The third line was composed of the men of Lothian and the Hebrides. A select body of English and Normans, with the Scots, properly so called, and the men of Moray, formed a body of reserve, which king David commanded in person. The English were formed in one compact body round their holy banner, with their cavalry in the rear. While the Scots were arranging their order of battle, they were occupied in receiving the blessing of their aged archbishop, who, unable to give it in person, had sent as his delegate the titular bishop of the Orkneys. As it had been agreed, the battle was commenced by the men of Galloway, who rushed on the English line with their war-cry, "Albanich! Albanich!" and threw themselves on the spearmen opposed to them with such fury, that the latter were for a moment staggered. But the English archers galled the Galwegians so dreadfully with their well-directed shower of arrows, that they broke, and would have quitted the field, had not prince Henry arrived with the Scottish men-at-arms to rally and support them. The tide of war seemed now to turn against the English, who were hard pressed and thrown into some confusion, but the battle was still obstinately disputed, when a report suddenly spread over the field that king David was slain. The king himself, who saw at once the disastrous effects which this report was producing, rode with his head uncovered through the ranks, to convince them of its falseness; but it was too late, for the whole Scottish army was by this time thrown into the utmost confusion, and the king himself was at length forced from the field of battle to secure his personal safety. The English fell upon their flying enemies, and slaughtered them without mercy.

Such was the event of the famous battle of the Standard, as it was named from the consecrated banner around which the English army fought. David made his retreat with some difficulty to Carlisle, where he took advantage of the humiliation of the Galwegians to attempt to impress them with the necessity of humanity and discipline. A council of the Scottish prelates and nobles having been held under the presidence of Alberic, the pope's legate, many abuses were corrected, and the various races who composed David's army, were induced to promise the legate that in future they would neither violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children. David continued for a while in arms, and we find him soon after reducing the castle of Werk; but the war had become disastrous to him, and, while he on one side was anxious for peace, Stephen himself was not so much elated by his victory, as to be unwilling to listen to the dictates of moderation. After a short truce, a treaty was concluded at Durham on the 9th of April, 1139, by which Stephen agreed to surrender to prince Henry of Scotland the whole earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the castles of Bamborough and Newcastle; the barons who held lands of the earls of Northumberland, were now to hold them of prince Henry, saving their allegiance to king Stephen; and the laws which had been established in Northumberland by Henry I. were enforced. David, on his part, engaged to maintain perfect amity with Stephen, and to give hostages for his faithful performance of the treaty.

In 1141, David repaired to London to witness the short-lived triumph of his niece, the empress Matilda; and he attended her in her sudden flight to Winchester. Finding the imperial lady unwilling to give an ear to the councils of moderation which he suggested, he soon left her in disgust, and returned to his own dominions. It is not quite clear how he reconciled his behaviour on this occasion, with his recent obligations by the treaty of Durham; but a few years afterwards his disregard for his royal promises was shown in a transaction of a still more remarkable character. During the Whitsuntide of 1149—this was one of the great mediæval festivals—Henry of Anjou, Maude's son, visited David at Carlisle, and received from him the honour of knighthood; in return for which, Henry promised on his oath that, in case of his accession to the crown of England, he would restore Newcastle to king David, and cede to him for ever the whole country between the Tyne and the Tweed. By another part of this secret treaty, David entered into a conspiracy for dethroning Stephen, in order that Henry might the sooner arrive at the crown.

After the disastrous battle of the Standard, David occupied himself chiefly in plans for the internal improvement of his kingdom. But his reforms were not palatable to the Celtic portion of his subjects, and these were always ready to rebel against innovations which they did not understand, but which were odious to them because they were identified with foreign influence. In 1134 an adventurer named Wymund presented himself to the people of the northern parts of Scotland under the name of Malcolm, as a son of the earl of Moray, then dead, and declared his claim to the throne. The turbulent Gaels arose at once and rallied round his standard, and it occupied the force and wisdom of David during twelve years to reduce this rebellion, and bring the pretended earl of Moray to a sort of compromise.

Sorrows of another kind awaited the declining years of the Scottish king. His only son Henry, a youth of great promise, died on the 12th of June, 1152, leaving three sons and as many daughters. Malcolm, the eldest of David's grandsons, was at this time in his eleventh year, and the king's mind was troubled with the anticipation of evils which his kingdom might experience under the disadvantages of a minority. To guard as much as possible against the still greater calamity of a disputed succession, he caused young Malcolm to be led through every district of Scotland in a solemn progress, under the guardianship of Duncan earl of Fife, to be proclaimed and acknowledged as the rightful heir of the crown; and he presented his second grandson, William, to the Northumbrian barons, to be invested with the border territories, and receive their promises of allegiance. The king's anticipations with regard to himself were soon realized, for in the following year (1153), on the 24th of May, he died at Carlisle, at the advanced age of seventy-three. David's extraordinary liberality to the church was signalized in the munificent foundations of Kelso, Melrose, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and some other religious houses, and merited for him from Rome a place in the long calendar of popish saints. He is looked upon as the author of all those great improvements which laid the foundation of Scottish civilization, and he certainly deserves to be considered as one of the greatest and wisest of the Scottish kings. To him we owe, in a great measure, the introduction of the English language at the Scottish court, which gradually led to its adoption as the spoken language of the kingdom; and his attachment to Edinburgh, where he frequently resided, and where he founded the abbey of Holyrood, gave that city first an importance which ultimately made it the metropolis of Scotland.

At this time a king under age was an anomaly in the government of Scotland, and it required some solemnity more than usual to make such a government palatable to a large mass of the people. Malcolm IV. was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his grandfather on the throne in 1153. He was inaugurated at Scone, with the ancient ceremonies observed from time immemorial by the Hiberno-Celtic race in the appointment of their kings, being placed on the fated stone brought by the Dalreadic colony from Ireland, while one of the chief bards stood forward and chanted to the people a Gaelic poem, setting forth Malcolm's descent from Fergus, the son of Erc, who led the Irish colony into Scotland. This poem, which is really a catalogue of the Scottish kings previous to the reign of Malcolm, has been preserved, and it has become one of the chief authorities

of early Scottish history. All these precautions, however, did not ensure the young monarch against the discontent of his subjects. The impostor, Wymund, who had assumed the name of Malcolm, married a daughter of Somerled, the "lord of the isles." The independent lords of the Hebridean islands had recently infested the western coasts of Scotland with their piracies, which were committed almost with impunity by means of their "birlies," or light galleys. Wymund was dead, and Somerled now espoused the pretended rights of his children, which he made the excuse for a hostile invasion of Scotland in the November of 1153. After several conflicts the Hebrideans were repulsed, but Somerled's power was, at this moment, so formidable, that the young Scottish king was glad to conclude a peace with him before the end of the year.

In 1154, the death of king Stephen of England opened a new field for action and intrigue. It had long been the ambition of the Scottish monarchs to add the whole of Northumberland to their crown, a pretension which showed an imperfect understanding of the real interests of the country, and which was the cause of much hostility and bloodshed. We have seen how, in 1149, Henry of Anjou had sworn, that if he ever obtained the English crown, he would put the king of Scotland in possession of Carlisle, and all the country between the Tyne and the Tweed. Now, however, that he had gained his wish, Henry II. was so far from fulfilling his promise, that he actually demanded of Malcolm the surrender of all that the Scottish kings still held in the northern counties. Malcolm appears to have shared in the attachment of his family for the Anglo-Normans, and Henry II. is said to have exercised a personal influence over him, so that it was no difficult thing to persuade him to relinquish claims which, with a powerful monarch like the one who then ruled England, it would have been impossible for him to enforce. In 1157 Malcolm yielded up all his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland, and he even did homage to the English king for Lothian.* Nevertheless, king Henry was not so far satisfied with the Scottish king, as at once to grant his earnest desire of receiving knighthood at his hands, and although the latter went so far as to quit his kingdom to serve in Henry's army during his campaign in France, it was only on their return that the English king knighted him at Rouen. Malcolm's absence on this occasion gave so much dissatisfaction to his nobles at home, that they were only restrained from open rebellion by the influence of the clergy and by the return of their king. But soon afterwards, the old jealousy of foreign influence drove two districts of the kingdom into open rebellion. The Celtic population of the mountains of Galloway, who had always maintained a turbulent independence, were indignant at the attempt to introduce among them the Anglo-Norman laws, and Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman settlers, and they raised the standard of revolt. Malcolm marched against them, but his own army appears to have been partly paralysed by discontent, and he was twice repulsed. In a third attempt he was more successful; the insurgents were defeated in battle, and Fergus, their lord, submitted, gave his son Uchtred as a hostage, and retired himself to the abbey of Holyrood, where he died soon after, in 1161. The insurrection in Galloway was hardly quelled, when the men of Moray followed the example of the Galwegians, in rebelling against foreign laws and foreign settlers, but they also, after a violent struggle, were reduced to obedience.

The insurrection of the Moray men occurred in the year 1161, and three years after the Hebrideans, under Somerled, made a new attempt on the Scottish coast. This restless chieftain entered the Clyde with a formidable armament in 1164, and landed near Renfrew, but being boldly encountered by the inhabitants, the invaders were entirely defeated, and Somerled and his son, Gillecolane, were among the slain. Malcolm was not spared to enjoy long the tranquillity which these successes seemed to promise; for on the 9th of December, 1165, he died at Jedburgh, of a lingering disease. This king was known popularly as Malcolm the Maiden, probably from the gentleness and flexibility of his character; for the fact

* The Scottish historians of the last century, scandalised at this latter concession of the young king, attempted to make out another Lothian in the north of England, which they supposed to have been the one relinquished by Malcolm; but they were evidently wrong. It must be remembered that Lothian, at that time, was not considered as an integral part of Scotland; it had been ceded to Malcolm II. by a Saxon earl of Northumberland, Eadulf Cudel, having been part of the Northumbrian kingdom.

that he is known to have had at least one natural son, forbids our supposing that this title was given to him for his continence.

Malcolm's brother William received the crown on the 24th of December, 1165. Following a line of policy different from that of his predecessor, he no sooner felt himself secure on the Scottish throne, than he repaired to the court of Henry II., to obtain the restitution of Northumberland. William's claim was personal as well as national, for he had been formally invested with the earldom of Nothumberland by his grandfather David, and in order to conciliate the English monarch, he, like his brother, passed over into France to serve under his banner. He soon found that all his attentions were in vain, and, disgusted with the little success that attended his demand, he formed an alliance with the king of France against king Henry, hoping thus to force the latter to compliance. But a few years after this, William's eagerness to secure possession of Northumberland led him into a more disastrous engagement. In 1173, the sons of Henry II., supported by the French king, planned a rebellion against their father in Normandy. Among those who had joined in this conspiracy were several of the English nobles, especially the earl of Leicester, with king William of Scotland (popularly known as William the Lion) and his brother David, who were to be paid for their services by the concession of the northern counties. The events of the war in which the Scottish king thus engaged have been told in detail by a writer who was present, and whose narrative has come down to us written in Anglo-Norman verse.* The preparations of the conspirators having been completed during the winter, the Scottish king, who had made several petty inroads into the English territory during the preceding year, crossed the border in the summer of 1174 with a numerous army of Scots, Galwegians, and Flemings, committing everywhere the same horrible havoc which had characterized all the invasions of the savage warriors who then composed the mass of a Scottish army. We are told that king William was drawn into hostilities on this occasion by an urgent message from the king of France, who, alarmed at king Henry's successes against the rebels in Brittany, wrote to him in the name of the king's sons, reproaching him for his inactivity, and promising that if he would immediately invade England from the north, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, should be delivered up to him. William is represented as entering into the war with reluctance, and as acting only by the advice of his council. At the suggestion of Duncan, earl of Fife, who represented that by the rules of chivalry he should not break his allegiance to king Henry till he had first demanded his rights, and on their refusal sent him his defiance, messengers were sent to the king of England in Normandy, under the direction of a monk, who is named by the old writer, William Dolepene, and who is said to have addressed the monarch in the following terms:—"The king of Scotland, who sends me to you, charges me to tell you, that as an affectionate and faithful relative, he is fully inclined to aid you in the difficult circumstances in which you are placed; that within a month he can come to your assistance at the head of a thousand armed knights and thirty thousand men not mounted; and for this he demands no remuneration from you, further than that he claims from you what is lawfully due to him, that is to say, first of all, Northumberland, to which no one has so good right as himself, as he offers to maintain and prove immediately by a single knight in combat against whoever ventures to affirm the contrary. If you determine to keep back his inheritance from him, and refuse to grant him his demand, I am to return you his homage, which he renounces."

King Henry met the demands of William the Lion with a direct refusal, and the latter immediately sent a messenger to the king's son, declaring his readiness to assist him against his father on the conditions promised. The king of France undertook to see these promises fulfilled, and assured king William's messengers that their master should have all the territory he demanded, and the count of Flanders promised to send to his assistance a powerful body of Flemings. The Scottish king needed no further incitement, but, encouraged by the warlike tone of his chiefs, he assembled his army at Caldenle in Selkirkshire, and marched to the border to attack the castle of Wark. This fortress was weakly garrisoned under a brave and loyal baron, Roger d'Estuteville, who, convinced of his inability to support a

* His name was Jordan Fantosme, and his rhyming history was printed by the Surtees Society, with an English translation, in 1840.

siege without a considerable reinforcement, demanded a truce of forty days, that he might proceed to Normandy to consult king Henry, promising that if he were not succoured within that time, he would surrender Wark castle without further delay. The Scots appear not to have been well furnished for sieges, and William, anxious to obtain possession of the castle of Wark on any terms, yielded to Roger d'Estuteville's demand. The latter sent a messenger to the king in Normandy, to acquaint him with the invasion of the Scots, and went himself into England to obtain immediate assistance, so that before the expiration of the forty days he had collected so many stout combatants in Wark castle that he might set king William at defiance.

Despairing of success against Roger d'Estuteville, William relinquished his design upon Wark, and proceeded to Alnwick, which was commanded by the young and brave William de Vesci, and on which he made as little impression as upon Wark. He was more successful at Warkworth, which was so much out of repair and so ill-garrisoned, that it could not be defended. The siege of Newcastle was too bold an undertaking under present circumstances, and the king, at the suggestion of his chiefs, determined to try his fortunes at Carlisle, and so anxious were they to arrive there, that they would not agree to halt on the way, even to attack the castle of Prudhoe. The march of this wild army was attended with ravages and atrocities of the most horrible description, in which the Flemings far exceeded their Scottish allies.

William pressed the siege of Carlisle vigorously, but it was only to meet with a new disappointment. The grand justiciary of England, Richard de Lucy, having received intelligence of the devastation which the Scots were perpetrating in the north, hastened against them with an army which had just been engaged in wresting the town of Leicester from the partizans of the princes, and was joined on his way by the grand constable, Humphrey de Bohun. On his approach, the Scots drew off in great haste, and made their retreat to Roxburgh, leaving the English army to ravage the Lothians unopposed. They were called off from their work of destruction by the insurrection in Suffolk and Norfolk, and hostilities between the two countries were for a while suspended. Soon after, however, the king of Scotland having invested his brother David with the earldoms of Lennox in Scotland, and Huntingdon in England, David went at the head of a numerous suite to take possession of his English honours. Huntingdon lay near the seat of the recent half-suppressed outbreak, and the vassals of the earl of Leicester, who had himself been made a prisoner in the battle near Bury St. Edmunds, persuaded him to make himself their leader. The rebellion took new life, and at the head of an army raised hastily, David ravaged the towns around, including those of Nottingham and Northampton.

After Easter, the Scottish king again crossed the border, with a numerous army of Scots and Flemings, and began with a new but equally unsuccessful attempt on the castle of Wark. The Scots had fixed their head-quarters at Berwick, from whence they proceeded to Wark with the intention of besieging it, but they were almost immediately withdrawn to march against Bamborough, which was delivered up to them by treachery, and they entered it by night and slew the garrison in their beds. In the morning they destroyed the small town of Belford, and spread themselves over the country, plundering and devastating in the most horrible manner, and when nothing was left to carry off or destroy, they marched away with their spoils to their camp at Berwick. From thence they returned to Wark castle, which king William was determined to take. In the first assault, which was carried on for a long time with great obstinacy, the Flemings, who, as more skilled in sieges, were entrusted with the conduct of it, were defeated with great loss, and several other attempts were equally fruitless. King William saw himself again under the necessity of retreating to Roxburgh. Here he was joined by Roger de Mowbray, and others of the English barons who had joined in the rebellion against the king of England, and on whose arrival the Scots determined to enter England again. This time they marched direct to Carlisle, and, confident in the power of his English allies, William summoned the governor of that important fortress, Robert de Vaux, to surrender it into his hands, threatening with destruction himself and family if he refused. The interview between the messengers and Robert de Vaux is graphically described by Jordan Fantosme. They found the sturdy baron clad in his hauberk, leaning on one of the battlements of his

castle, and fondling his sword, which he held unsheathed in his hand. As the messenger approached Robert asked him his business, and urged him to tell it briefly, and without ceremony. This was said in rough manner and phrase, so that the messenger conceived that he was insulted. "That," said he, "is not courteous; a messenger carrying his message should not be insulted or ill-treated; he may say what he likes." In reply, Robert de Vaux invited him to approach, and speak without fear. The envoy then delivered his message as follows:—"Sir Robert de Vaux, you are valiant and wise; I am the king's messenger, he is my protector; he sends you, by me, salutation and friendship. Restore him the castle, which is his inheritance; his ancestors held it long in peace, but the king of England has disinherited him of it wrongfully and sinfully, thus he sends you by me. You yourself know that this is the truth; you were not a child of tender years, that you and all the kingdom were not witnesses of it. Now show our king love before his baronage; surrender him the castle and its dependencies, and he will reward you with sure coined money. Surrender the castle, and become his liegeman on these conditions, and he will give you more money than I can reckon. If you refuse, and persist in disinheriting him, you must expect no mercy from him. He will besiege your castle with his people, so that you will not be able to quit it with impunity. And if he gain the castle by force, you will not be protected from his vengeance by the king of England or all his gold." Robert's answer was simple and direct. "We care little," he said, "for your threats, for we have brave men within to defend our trust; shame to him who talks of surrender as long as we have provisions. Go, messenger, to the king of Scotland, who is your lord; say from me that I hold of him neither honour, nor fee, nor inheritance, nor will I ever hold any of him; but let him go to king Henry, and let him make his complaint that I hold the castle and tower of Carlisle by force against him as a true warrior; and if my lord the king be angry with me for it, let him send me his messenger, but no traitor, who may tell me from him to give up this honour willingly and cheerfully, without hesitation. Then I will do it; or let him make a covenant with me; give me a truce till I pass the sea, and state the case to my lord king Henry; then, if he order me to surrender it, I will do so loyally; but if his will be otherwise, I will not surrender the king's castle as long as I have life to defend it."

These details are interesting, because they are characteristic of the times, and are told by one who witnessed the events he describes. When king William received this bold message from Robert de Vaux he did not continue the siege of Carlisle, but hurried to Appleby, which was surrendered without resistance by its keeper, Gospatric, the son of Orm, "an old grey-headed Englishman," who had no efficient garrison. Brough castle was next taken, but not till after a very obstinate defence, in revenge for which the fortress was dismantled. These successes of the Scots alarmed the loyal barons in the north, especially as the siege of Carlisle was now turned into a blockade, and the place was so surrounded with enemies that Robert de Vaux could no longer communicate with his friends without. In this extremity messengers were sent to king Henry in Normandy, telling him of the danger of his barons in the north, and urging him to give them speedy assistance. Henry hastened back to England, to disconcert his domestic enemies by his presence, but he had hardly reached his capital when the fortunes of war turned strangely to his advantage.

After again summoning the garrison of Carlisle, with as little effect as before, the Scottish king laid siege to Prudhoe, which was also bravely and successfully defended. Obliged, after persevering three days, to relinquish this object also, William proceeded to attempt Alnwick, and his army spread itself over the country, plundering and massacring. Meanwhile Odinel de Umfraville, the lord of Prudhoe, had ridden south in search of assistance, and being joined by William d'Estuteville, the celebrated lawyer Ranulph de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci, he returned with them to the succour of his castle. On their arrival at Newcastle they learnt that the king of Scotland had gone with a small party of knights, accompanied chiefly by his Flemings and Frenchmen, towards Alnwick. It was determined to follow him and watch his movements, and they proceeded towards Alnwick in the night, sending a spy to observe the numbers and position of the Scots, who reported that the king lay carelessly with about five hundred knights and his Flemish auxiliaries, waiting for the reunion of his army, that he might assault the castle. He

was aroused from his security by hearing the war-cries of Baliol, Glanville, and the other English barons, close to his camp, and he boldly rushed forth to meet them. Not only had he to contend with some of the brightest names in the English chivalry of that day, but the advantage of numbers was against him; yet William the Lion fought bravely, until his horse was slain under him, and he fell helpless to the ground, where he was unable to stir till the horse was dragged away by his enemies. The Scottish king surrendered to Ranulf de Glanville, most of his barons were captured by the other English leaders, and his Flemish allies were slaughtered without mercy. King William was carried by his captor first to Newcastle, and thence to Richmond in Yorkshire, both strong fortresses, and thence he was soon afterwards carried south, to be presented to the English monarch. Henry was overjoyed at the news of this occurrence, but almost at the same time he received intelligence that his city of Rouen was threatened by his continental enemies, and he found it necessary to hurry back to Normandy to resist them. He sent pressing orders to Ranulf de Glanville that he should bring his royal prisoner to Southampton, to be presented to him before he embarked, but when Ranulf and his captive arrived at that town, king Henry was already departed for Normandy, whither he was followed, without loss of time, by Glanville and the king of Scots. Jordan Fantosme's narrative shows us the inaccuracy of the ordinary statement, that the Scottish king was presented to king Henry at Northampton, and that he was taken over with him to Normandy as a spectacle of triumph; and it certainly is remarkable, that one who was a witness of what he relates, and has descended to such minute particulars, says nothing to confirm the popular story that the captive was led along in an ignominious manner, with his legs tied under the belly of his horse.

On the capture of their king, the Scottish army dispersed in the utmost haste, every one anxious to reach his own home with his plunder. The government of Scotland was thrown into so embarrassing a condition, that the great barons were all eager for the liberation of their king, but Henry II. was not inclined to release him on easy terms. After some negotiation, the Scottish nobility and clergy were induced to accept the humiliating condition, that William should become the liegeman of king Henry, and that he should do homage for Scotland and all his other territories. By a treaty concluded at Falaise, in Normandy, in the December of 1174, the king of England was declared lord paramount of Scotland; and homage for the latter was duly rendered to king Henry at York, before his prisoner was liberated. The principal castles in Scotland, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were delivered up to the English as pledges, and the king's brother, David, with many Scottish nobles, were sent as hostages, for the full and due performance of this treaty. The freedom of the Scottish church was better preserved, for the clergy contrived to evade a clause in the treaty which was intended to place their church in subjection to that of England; and in a disputed election for the archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1181, king William, with their support, opposed firmly the pretensions of pope Alexander III., who attempted to impose upon them for primate a man of the name of John the Scot. The kingdom of Scotland was immediately laid under an interdict, and remained so until 1188, when a new pope, Clement III., willing to compromise the matter, recalled the excommunication, and formally ratified the privileges of the church of Scotland as subject immediately to Rome, declaring that no sentence of excommunication should be pronounced there except by the pope himself, or his legate *a latere*, such legate to be a Scottish subject, or one specially deputed out of the sacred college.

Whatever we may think of the terms on which it was bought, we must acknowledge that the liberation of the king was absolutely necessary for the quiet of his people, for his captivity had been the signal of insurrection in most parts of his kingdom. Galloway, especially, was the scene of savage strife. Fergus, the lord of this district, who died in 1161, left two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert, between whom, according to the custom of Galloway, the lands of their father were divided. Both attended king William with their fighting men in the invasion of Northumberland, but, no sooner was the capture of William known, than the men of Galloway hurried back to their native wilds, where they slew the English and Norman settlers, expelled the king's officers, and threw down his castles. From rebellion against the crown, they next proceeded to mutual hostilities.

On the 22nd of September, 1174, Gilbert assassinated his brother Uchtred with circumstances of great barbarity. When king William had obtained his liberty, he marched into Galloway to chastise the murderer, but, according to the ancient custom, the only penalty he exacted was a pecuniary fine. As a further security for his person, Gilbert went to king Henry at York, in 1176, where he did him homage, and received his favour and protection, which he is said to have purchased for a thousand marks. Gilbert now, confident in the support of the English monarch, set no bounds to his pride and arrogance. In 1184, he carried devastation into Scotland, and king William was only relieved from his turbulence by his death, which occurred in the following year. Gilbert's brother, Uchtred, had left a son named Roland, who, immediately on his uncle's death, took up arms to recover the rights bequeathed to him by his father. On the 4th of July, 1185, he totally defeated the vassals of the late lord, and slew their leader, Gilpatrick, and soon succeeded in making himself master of Galloway. The English king was incensed at these enterprises of Roland, and assembled an army at Carlisle, in 1186, to invade Galloway. Yet the dispute ended in a compromise; for Roland, who had prepared for an obstinate resistance, offered to submit his cause to the decision of an English judicature, upon which king Henry, satisfied that the authority paramount of England was thus acknowledged, gave him his peace, and king William satisfied the claims of Duncan, the son of Gilbert, by granting him the district of Carrick.

In other parts of Scotland also, the Gaelic race rose up against the Saxon and Norman settlers, and compelled them to seek refuge in towns and castles. In 1179, William was obliged to march with an army into the shire of Ross, where he built two fortresses, which, however, did not ensure the tranquillity of the district. In 1187, Donald Mac William, pretending to be the grandson of the bastard king Duncan, took advantage of the discontent that still prevailed in these parts, to assert his claim to the throne; and he seized upon Ross, and ravaged Moray. William marched against him with an army; but the fate of the pretender was decided by the hand of Roland, the new lord of Galloway, who slew him in an accidental encounter of foraging parties. The year after this event king Henry of England attempted, with very partial success, to enforce on the Scottish clergy a contribution towards the crusades. On the 6th of July, 1189, Scotland was relieved of a powerful enemy by Henry's death.

The new reign in England brought with it a sudden change of policy towards Scotland. Richard Cœur-de-Lion signalized his accession by an act of generosity towards that country, which seemed to have sealed a lasting friendship between the two governments. After a personal interview with the Scottish monarch at Canterbury, Richard voluntarily renounced all the advantages which his father had extorted from William the Lion during his captivity, and by a treaty which was then entered into between the two kings, he re-established the borders of the two kingdoms as they had been at the time of William's disastrous invasion of Northumberland, giving up the frontier castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, which remained in the hands of the English at the time of Henry's death, and reserving to England only such homage as had been required in the time of Malcolm IV. Scotland was thus placed fully in the situation of national independence which it had lost by the treaty of Falaise, and William was still the liegeman of the king of England for Lothian, for the town of Berwick, and for whatever lands he possessed in the realm of England. Scotland was to pay for this ample restitution the sum of ten thousand marks sterling, a large sum at that time, and which could only be raised by an aid granted to the king by the nobles and the clergy, and a part of the burden is said to have fallen on the people in the form of a capitation tax. When the lion-hearted Richard was himself in captivity in Germany, two thousand marks still remained unpaid, at least that sum was then paid by king William, but it is believed by some to have been a voluntary contribution towards the ransom of the English king.

The friendly terms on which William now stood with the English king, enabled him to give all his cares to the internal troubles of his kingdom, which was seldom free from insurrection in some district or other. In 1196, Harald earl of Caithness headed an insurrection in the north, but the insurgents were immediately dispersed. Next year the rebellion was renewed in the neighbourhood of Inverness by Harald's son Torphin, but with no better success

After having defeated this attempt against his authority, the king marched through Ross, and through the earldom of Caithness, and seizing Harald he compelled him to deliver up his son Torphin as a hostage, and deprived him of a part of his territory, which was given to Hugh Freskin. After Harald's death, which occurred in 1206, Torphin rebelled again, and was eventually punished with a cruel death in the castle of Roxburgh.

The accession of king John to the throne of England led to new misunderstandings between the two monarchs. In 1204 the English king built a castle at Tweedmouth, to overawe Berwick; but William immediately caused it to be demolished, and hindered every attempt to re-erect it. At length, in 1209, John assembled an army at Norham, and William collected his warriors at Berwick; but peace was secured by the mediation of the barons on both sides; a treaty was entered into by which the causes of complaint were removed; and William agreed to pay to the king of England the large sum of fifteen thousand marks for his good-will, and for certain favourable conditions. The Scottish king gave hostages for the payment of this money by periodical instalments, and he sent John his two daughters, Margaret and Isabella, as wards. In 1211 William called a great council at Stirling, to ask assistance to complete the payment of the sum stipulated in this treaty, and, with the understanding that it was for the marriage of his daughters, the barons are said to have given him ten thousand marks, and the boroughs six. The same year, Guthred, who professed to be the son of the pretender Mac William, landed from Ireland, and disturbed some of the mountainous districts, but he was eventually defeated, captured, and executed. This is one of the last events of any importance recorded in William's reign. He died at Stirling, on the 4th of December, 1214, at the advanced age of seventy-two, having reigned forty-eight years. With the exception of his rash conduct at Alnwick, and the eagerness with which he sold the freedom of his country to obtain his own liberty, William's reign may be considered a flourishing one, and his kingdom appears to have been advancing in prosperity and strength. He was severe in the exaction of justice, an active and chivalrous warrior, and repressed the turbulence of his subjects with energy, and consequently with success; but his popular title of William the Lion is said to have been given him, not from this circumstance, but because he was the first who assumed that animal as the armorial bearing of Scotland. By his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, he had a son, Alexander, who succeeded him, and two daughters. He left also a numerous progeny of natural children.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGNS OF ALEXANDER II. AND ALEXANDER III.; CONTINUED TURBULENCE OF THE CELTIC POPULATION; INTRIGUES OF HENRY III. OF ENGLAND.

ALEXANDER II. was only in his seventeenth year when he was called to the throne of Scotland, and placed in circumstances which required the prudence and experience of more advanced years. He was crowned at Scone on the 5th of December, 1214. His reign was first disturbed by an attack from another Mac William, named Donald, who also came from Ireland, and who landed in Moray; but he was defeated and slain by Mac Intagart, earl of Ross, and the head of this traitor was one of the earliest offerings to the youthful monarch.

Alexander was soon afterwards involved in hostilities of a more serious character. The desire of regaining the northern shires, assured to him by the promises of the English barons, engaged him to join them in their confederacy against king John, and he crossed the Tweed, and laid siege, without success, to the castle of Norham. In retaliation for this attack, king John marched to the north in 1216, and after wasting Yorkshire and Northumberland, crossed the Tweed with his army of mercenaries, ravaged the country in a manner more terrible even

than the ancient Scottish inroads into England, and burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington. But his armies thus soon destroyed the resources of the country, and were compelled by want of provisions to retreat; in their way back they burnt the priory of Coldingham and the town of Berwick. Alexander, in revenge, entered England by the western marches, and carried fire and sword through the English provinces. The savage Galwegians burnt the monastery of Holmcultram, in Cumberland, and when they had loaded themselves with plunder, they hurried home to secure it; the chroniclers tell us that a thousand of these "wild Scots of Galloway" were swallowed up by the river Eden (more probably, it is conjectured, by the sands of the Solway) on their way back. The king was weary of their turbulence and want of discipline, and having dismissed them entirely from his army, he continued his march southward, to join the French prince Louis and the barons who were in confederation with him. But as he proceeded he received successive intelligence of the death of king John, of the accession of Henry III., and of the defeat of the French prince at Lincoln. Louis made hurried terms of peace, without including the Scots, so that Alexander was left to obtain peace for himself, or to bear alone the consequences of the war into which he had been dragged. But those who now ruled England were willing to avoid the latter alternative, and a treaty was concluded in 1217, by which Alexander gave up the city of Carlisle, and he at the same time did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon, and for the territories which his predecessors had held of the English crown.

The friendship between the two crowns seemed now to be restored, and it was further cemented in 1221 by the marriage of the Scottish king to the English princess Joan. He was thus left at liberty to attend to the turbulence of his own Gaelic subjects, whose hostility to the new principles of justice and order continued unabated. Immediately after his marriage, a rebellion broke out in the wilds of Argyle, which it required all his patience and perseverance to overcome. He confiscated the property of the chiefs, and distributed it among some of his own officers, who, settling there with their followers, enforced obedience to the laws, and gradually spread a taste for civilization. The same year (1222) Alexander was called into the extreme north by a tumult in Caithness, originating in some exactions on the part of the church in the taking of tithes. Adam, the bishop, had been burnt in his palace of Halkirk, and this outrage was said to have been committed with the connivance of the earl. The king was on his way to England when he received intelligence of this tumult, but he immediately returned, and having taken cognizance of the facts, punished with great severity all who were concerned in it, and deprived the earl of Caithness of his estates, which, however, he was allowed afterwards to redeem. In 1228, one Gillascop mac Scolane raised a serious rebellion in Moray, where he burnt some castles, set fire to the town of Inverness, and committed great havoc in the neighbourhood; and the king, who had marched against him with a small force, met with a repulse, for the people refused to obey the summons to attend the royal banner. But the year following, the justiciary of Scotland, William Comyn, earl of Buchan, marched against the insurgents with his own vassals, and having defeated them, he caused Gillescop and his two sons to be executed. In 1231, the turbulence of the inhabitants of Caithness led to another disgraceful outrage. It was the earl who was now the victim, and, it is said, by the bishop and his followers, assisted by the earl's own servants, the latter was murdered, and his castle burnt. This tragedy called again for chastisement on the perpetrators, in the course of which the Freskins are supposed to have been established here, and raised to the earldom of Sutherland, as a check upon the turbulence of the earls of Caithness.

Such were the provocations which the Scottish crown was continually subjected to from its Gaelic subjects, and which led gradually to the destruction of the old native aristocracy of the kingdom. Tumults of a more extensive character took place in Galloway in 1234, arising from the jealousy of foreign settlers. Alan, lord of Galloway, dying in that year, left three daughters by different marriages, and an illegitimate son. The three daughters, by the Norman law, were coheiresses, and Alexander wished to break the turbulence of the Galwegian chiefs by dividing the lordship, and marrying the three coheiresses to foreign settlers. The men of Galloway withstood the partition of their territory, and insisted that it should remain a single fief. They began by petitioning the king to take the lordship of Galloway himself; and then, on his refusal,

they asked for their lord Alan's illegitimate son, Thomas, who had married a daughter of the king of Man. When this petition also was refused, the Galwegians called in the bastard Thomas, who brought with him an Irish chief named Gilrodh, and they raised a formidable rebellion. The king of Scotland marched against these insurgents, and, in consequence of the natural strength of the country they held, he overcame them with difficulty; but his victory was decisive, the people submitted, and the lordship was divided according to the king's wishes. Next year the bastard returned with Gilrodh from Ireland, but the rebels were soon reduced to the necessity of soliciting the royal pardon, which was granted to them; and thus ended the old race of the Galwegian chieftains, whose turbulence had so often disturbed the peace of the kingdom. But the wild Scots of Galloway did not so soon lay aside their rude independence of character. One of their new lords, Roger de Quinci, was proud and harsh in the enforcement of feudal services, and in 1247 they rose against him, and besieged him in his castle. De Quinci sallied out with his adherents, and cutting his way through the besiegers, carried his complaints to the Scottish king, who immediately proceeded into the disturbed district, and reinstated earl Roger in his rights. De Quinci died in 1264, leaving three daughters, which led to a further division of this territory.

Scotland began now to be threatened also by the intrigues of the English monarch, Henry III., who, in the year 1233, attempted by his agents at Rome to have the validity of Alexander's coronation questioned, and to procure a papal acknowledgment of the dependence of that kingdom on the English crown. After some disputes and negotiations, the two kings agreed in 1237 to an adjustment of their mutual pretensions, and it was settled that in compensation for all Alexander's claims, he should receive lands to the amount of two hundred pounds a-year in Northumberland and Cumberland, and thereupon he swore fealty to king Henry for the lands he held in England, according to the ancient practice. A new subject of distrust between the two kings arose in 1284, from suspicions entertained by Henry that his Scottish neighbours were intriguing with France against him. The king of England conducted an army to Newcastle, and the Scots assembled in hostile array on the other side of the border amounting in number, if we believe the statement of the chroniclers, to a hundred thousand men; but any such number must have been made up of wild clans, plunderers, and camp followers, in whom little trust could be placed. However, a collision was prevented by the interference of the English barons, and a hollow appearance of friendship was again made up. It was not till the second Alexander's death that king Henry's designs against Scotland were carried on more openly.

The last act of the life of Alexander II. was, like his first, an expedition against a refractory chieftain. Some of the chiefs of the Hebrides had contrived to keep up a turbulent independence, by transferring their homage from the king of Scotland to the king of Norway, or the contrary, at pleasure; and one of these, Angus, lord of Argyle, now set the former at defiance, pretending that his homage belonged to the Norwegian, as lord paramount of the isles. While engaged in reducing this chief to obedience, king Alexander died, at the remote island of Kerrera, on the coast of Argyle, on the 8th of July, 1249. He was buried in the abbey of Mailros. By his first wife, Joan, the daughter of king John of England, Alexander left no issue; but by his second wife, Mary de Couci, whom he married in 1239, he left a son, named after himself, who was born at Roxburgh on the 4th of September, 1241, and was therefore now in his eighth year.

Thus was Scotland a second time to be governed by an infant king. It was now that the king of England attempted more openly to enforce his claim to feudal superiority over Scotland, and no sooner was he informed of the death of Alexander II., than he made his application to the pope that the coronation of Alexander III. might be interdicted until Henry III. of England should have given his consent. The opposition of the pope was anticipated and counteracted, by hurrying the coronation; but objections were raised even at home. The day fixed for the ceremony, the 13th of July, 1249, was considered, according to the superstitious calendar of the age, an unlucky day, and according to the practice of chivalry, one who, like the young king of Scotland, had not been knighted, was incapable of ascending the throne before that ceremony had been performed. It was usual for a prince to be knighted only by a king, but the difficulty in this case was overcome by the boldness of Walter Comyn, earl of

Menteith, who insisted that the archbishop of St. Andrews should first knight and then crown the heir to the throne; and the primate, calling to mind the example of archbishop Anselm, who had knighted William Rufus, acted on the earl's suggestion. The coronation oath was explained to the young king in Latin and French; and to give the ceremony still greater solemnity, when he was placed on the fated stone, a Gaelic *seanachie*, or highland bard, with a venerable beard and hoary locks, and covered with a scarlet robe, knelt before him and recited the royal genealogy in the language of his Celtic subjects.

Thus every precaution was taken to strengthen the claims of the young monarch to the allegiance of his subjects; yet his reign was one continued scene of intrigue abroad and faction at home, which eventually brought great calamities on his unfortunate country. In 1251, Alexander III. married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III. of England; and on that occasion, while resident at the English court, he did homage to Henry for his English lands; yet, when pressed to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, he contrived to evade the demand, by representing that he came there to be married, and not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take such an important step as that now proposed to him without the approbation of his great council. Nevertheless, Alexander allowed himself to be influenced by his father-in-law, who from this time took an officious interest in Scottish affairs, which gave great offence to the inhabitants of that kingdom, and raised up divisions and factions which continued long to distract it. By these intrigues, the Comyns and the great nobles who had hitherto ruled the kingdom were removed in 1255, and an English faction was raised and entrusted with the government. The discontented nobles, headed by the Comyns, confederated together, and taking up arms, seized the persons of the king and queen, that they might rule in their names. The faction of the Comyns, which included most of the greatest families in Scotland, endeavoured to strengthen themselves by forming an alliance with the Welsh, who were then in arms against their English neighbours; and Henry, believing that his best policy was to yield, agreed, in 1258, to the formation of a regency in Scotland, which, by comprehending the chiefs of the several factions, satisfied them all, and produced a temporary pacification. Alexander and his queen paid not unfrequent visits to the English court, at which the question of homage for Scotland was often pressed, but always steadily refused. The object of some of these visits was to obtain portions of Margaret's dowry, which Henry, pressed by his necessities, was slow in paying. A proof of the little faith which the Scottish government placed in king Henry's honourable intentions is furnished by the conditions of the safe-conducts given on these occasions. When Alexander and his queen went to London in 1260, it was stipulated in the safe-conduct that neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during this visit; and Henry swore that he would detain neither the queen of Scotland nor her child, if she should be delivered in England. There was a formal agreement allowing the queen to be delivered at her father's court, and binding the king to restore the mother and child. He further engaged, in case of the death of the Scottish king, to deliver the infant prince to the regency of Scotland. As appears to have been expected, the queen was delivered in England, but her offspring was a daughter, which was named after the mother, Margaret.

Next year (A.D. 1262) Scotland was threatened with a formidable invasion by Haco, king of Norway, which was averted for the moment by the interference of the king of England. The pretence was to support the interests of the northerns in the Scottish islands, which it had been the continued policy of the Scottish kings for some years to undermine. In 1263 Haco appeared on the Scottish coast with one of the most formidable fleets that had ever left the shores of Norway, and proceeding to the mouth of the Clyde, attempted to effect a landing in the bay of Largs on the 2nd of October, 1263. The weather was very tempestuous, which rendered it impossible for the Norwegian army to land in a body, and made the disembarkation exceedingly difficult and dangerous under any circumstances; while on the present occasion the Scottish army, encouraged by the providential state of the weather, opposed them with resolute bravery. The Norwegians renewed the attempt to land day after day, till, discouraged by repeated defeats, and the loss of great numbers of their warriors, they found themselves obliged to relinquish their design, and to put to sea again with their shattered navy. Haco led his fleet through the strait between the

isle of Skye and the mainland, which has since been called after him Kyle Haken, and after a disastrous voyage reached the Orkney islands, where, soon afterwards, sinking beneath the disappointment and mortification of his defeat, he died. His successor, Magnus, in 1266, relinquished his claims to the islands on the Scottish coast, except those of Orkney and Shetland, in consideration of the payment of four thousand marks, and a quit-rent of a hundred marks a-year.

Alexander was twenty-four years of age when he was thus compelled to place himself at the head of his army to withstand a foreign invasion. His attention was soon called off to other scenes of warfare; for when the barons of England rose in arms against king Henry, his son-in-law of Scotland sent to his aid a considerable body of Scottish troops, under the command of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce; but so distrustful were the Scots of the designs of the monarch they were going thus to assist, that they expressly stipulated that they joined his standard as auxiliaries, and not as feudal vassals, fearing that he might afterwards construe this act into an acknowledgment of his feudal superiority. The three nobles just named, who were at that time the most illustrious barons of Scotland, with many others, were made prisoners at the battle of Lewes, and they only regained their liberty after the battle of Evesham, in the subsequent year. After their return, Scotland enjoyed some years of peace, and Alexander, now arrived at full manhood, was occupied chiefly in resisting the encroachments of the clergy, in which his firmness and prudence were rewarded with success. On the accession of Edward I. to the English throne in 1278, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, was commissioned by Alexander to perform the homage which was due to the English monarch, for the rather extensive possessions held by the Scottish kings in England, and he was drawn by the crafty monarch into declaring his fealty in such general terms as were afterwards interpreted as an acknowledgment of the subjection of Scotland.

After the disastrous expedition of king Haco, the hostilities between Norway and Scotland disappeared, to make way for a friendly alliance, which was cemented in 1281 by the marriage of Eric, king of Norway, with Alexander's daughter, the princess Margaret. The latter died in 1283, leaving only a daughter, called after herself Margaret, and known popularly in Scotland by the title of "the maiden of Norway." Family misfortunes now began to crowd upon the Scottish monarch; he had lost his wife, Margaret of England, and in the begining of 1284 he lost his only surviving son, named after himself Alexander, who a little more than a year before had married a daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders, but he had no child by her. The only descendant that remained to Alexander was his granddaughter, Margaret of Norway. He called his great council, which assembled at Scone, to settle the succession of the crown, and the nobles bound themselves to acknowledge the maiden of Norway as their sovereign, if he left no male issue on his demise. But still wishing to leave a son as his successor, he married, in 1285, Joletta, the daughter of the count de Dreux. Superstitious people observed omens attendant on the marriage festivities which they believed to bode fatal misfortune to the king and to the kingdom, and popular prophecies were supposed to be fulfilled, when, on the 16th of March, 1286, as he was hurrying homewards in the dusk of the evening by a precipitous road along the sea-coast, between Burnt-island and Kinghorn, in the county of Fife, his horse missed his footing and fell with his rider down the cliff, and both were killed. Scotland was filled with mourning at this unhappy event, and, in the midst of melancholy anticipations, the maiden of Norway was called to the throne. Scotland was thus left to the rule not only of an infant (for Margaret was only three years of age), but to a female.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY; INTRIGUES IN SCOTLAND; THE INTERREGNUM; ELECTION OF JOHN BALIOL TO THE THRONE.

MARGARET was at this time in Norway, and it was necessary to appoint some form of government for Scotland during her absence. The parliament assembled for this purpose in the April of 1286, appointed a regency, consisting of six guardians of the kingdom, of whom three, Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, Duncan, earl of Fife, and Alexander, earl of Buchan, were to administer the northern division of Scotland beyond the firth of Forth, while the southern division was entrusted to the care of the other three, Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, and James the high steward.

The position in which the crown of Scotland was now placed, opened a prospect that excited the ambition of various individuals who claimed relationship to the royal family. Foremost stood the two great names of Bruce and Baliol, and in this first parliament there was a warm debate on the succession to the crown between the partizans of these two nobles. Their disputes were viewed with interest by the king of England (Edward I.,) who had already aims of ambition and aggrandizement, to which nothing promised to lead him more directly and surely than Scottish faction. He was at this time absent in France, but not the less eagerly watching the course of events on the other side the Tweed, and waiting for the moment when his interference would necessarily be called for. He, however, entered into closer alliance with the father of the young queen, Eric of Norway, who, himself only eighteen years of age, seemed to cling to king Edward as an adviser, and as the natural protector of his infant child, and who was unwilling to expose her tender years to the fierce turbulence which then awaited her in Scotland. A strong party against her had already been formed, comprising some of the most powerful of the Scottish barons, who met at Turnberry, the castle of Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, on the 20th of September, 1286. Robert Bruce claimed the crown as the descendant of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of king William the Lion, and his cause was supported by some of the first of the Scottish nobility. There appeared at Turnberry, on this occasion, Patrick, earl of Dunbar, and his three sons; Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith; James, the high steward of Scotland, and his brother John; Angus, the son of Donald, the lord of the isles, and his son Alexander, with one or two other chieftains of the family of Bruce. They were joined by two English barons, Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and nephew of Bruce's wife, and Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. These barons entered into an alliance, the real object of which was to support Robert Bruce's title to the throne. In the midst of these intrigues, one of the regents, Duncan, earl of Fife, was assassinated by sir Patrick Abernethy, and another, Alexander, earl of Buchan, died, reducing to four the number of persons in whom the government of the kingdom was lodged. Of these, the steward, as we have just seen, had joined the party of Bruce. Rival claimants were not inactive, and the jealousy of Bruce and Baliol broke out into open war, which disturbed the country during two years.

These commotions were rapidly working out the designs of king Edward of England. On one side they increased, and justified the reluctance of king Eric to send his daughter to Scotland, while on the other, they made the states of that kingdom urgent to obtain some settlement of the government, which might restore tranquillity to the country. With this object, they sent a deputation to the king of England, consisting of the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Jedburgh, and Geoffrey de Mowbray, who were to ask for his direct mediation in composing the Scottish troubles. The king of Norway also sent an embassy to Edward, urging him to interfere in behalf of his daughter Margaret. Edward, who had remained in France, affecting to pay little attention to Scottish affairs, now returned to England, declaring privately to his council, that the time was arrived for reducing Scotland under his power, but proceeding outwardly with the same slow caution which had hitherto characterized

his conduct. These occurrences took place in the spring of 1289. The Scottish regents, at Edward's request, appointed the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale (the father of the earl of Carrick), and John Comyn, to treat with the Norwegian ambassadors in the presence of the king of England, and gave them power to ratify whatever might be agreed upon, saving always the liberty and honour of Scotland, and provided that nothing was proposed injurious to the welfare of that country. The city of Salisbury was chosen as the place of meeting, and king Edward sent as his own agents, to join with the Scottish and Norwegian commissioners in this conference, the bishops of Worcester and Durham, and the earls of Pembroke and Warenne.

The king of England appears from the moment of Alexander's death to have entertained a project equally wise and salutary, which was calculated to bring about the union of the two kingdoms by a more natural way than that of violence and conquest, which he afterwards attempted. This project was the marriage of his son, prince Edward of Wales, with the princess Margaret. Not a hint of this intention had, however, yet been allowed to transpire; though, as the prince and princess were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, Edward had taken the precaution before the assembly at Salisbury to procure secretly from the pope a dispensation for the marriage. The commissioners met in that city at the time appointed, and agreed without difficulty to a convention, of which three copies were made, one in Latin for the king of Norway, and the others in Anglo-Norman for the king of England and the states of Scotland. It was stipulated on the part of the king of Norway, that the princess should be sent into Scotland or England before the feast of All Saints in the following year, and that she should be untrammelled by any matrimonial engagement; and that, if she came to England, king Edward should send her into Scotland, equally free with regard to marriage, as soon as he felt satisfied that that kingdom was reduced to a proper state of tranquillity. The states of Scotland bound themselves to give security to the king of England, before they received their queen, that she should not marry without his consent and that of her father, the king of Norway; and they further engaged that the quiet of the kingdom of Scotland should be established before the arrival of the queen, that she might live in it in freedom and safety. The guardians of Scotland, if they became obnoxious to the king of Norway, were to be removed and replaced by others by the advice of the "good men" of Scotland and Norway, and of English commissioners to be named by Edward, and the latter were ultimately to decide all disputes regarding public measures which might occur between the ministers of Scotland and Norway, as well as differences arising among the Scottish ministers themselves. Lastly, it was agreed that a meeting of the estates of Scotland should be held at Roxburgh in the middle of the ensuing Lent, before which time all the articles of this convention were to be duly fulfilled and ratified in the presence of the English commissioners.

A treaty giving such extensive power to the king of England cannot fail to strike us with surprise, when we consider that the name of Robert Bruce was attached to it on the part of Scotland. Edward had manifestly the authority to keep the princess Margaret in England as long as he thought convenient, under the pretext that Scotland was not sufficiently tranquil for her safe residence, and the cautious stipulations relating to marriage could leave no doubt of the matter which was then uppermost in the king's mind. We accordingly find that from this moment the marriage of Margaret to the prince of Wales was openly canvassed, and the Scottish commissioners are supposed to have received directions from the king to sound the nobility on the subject. The immediate result was a meeting of the estates of Scotland at Brigham, a village near Roxburgh, which, situated on the bank of the river Tweed, was conveniently placed for carrying on the negotiations with England. Hence, in the month of March in the year 1290, they directed a letter to the king of England, signed by the clergy and nobles of the realm, in which they expressed their joy at the intelligence that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope for the marriage of their queen with the prince of Wales, desired to be informed of the progress of this important measure, and assured him of their full concurrence, provided certain conditions were agreed to, of which they would inform him by delegates sent to his next parliament, to be held in London the following Easter. Another letter was sent to the king of Norway, informing him likewise of their ready consent to the proposed measure, and re-

questing that the young queen might immediately be sent over. Eric still seemed reluctant to send his daughter, and his delay added to the impatience of the Scottish states and the English king. The latter sent an able negotiator, Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, to Norway, who at length, by a liberal distribution of money among the nobles, obtained a promise that the child should be sent immediately to England.

Meanwhile the treaty of marriage proceeded rapidly. After the return of the bishop of Durham, that prelate was appointed with five other plenipotentiaries to attend a meeting of the Scottish estates at Brigham, on the 18th of July, 1290, and the treaty was then concluded, which showed the patriotic care of the states to protect the liberties of their country. The principal articles of this treaty stipulated that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to be universally observed in all future times, throughout the whole kingdom and its marches, saving always the rights of the king of England or any other person, which existed before that time, and might come to them subsequently; that, if Margaret or Edward, or either of them, died without issue, the kingdom should return freely and absolutely to the nearest heirs; that the queen, if she survived her husband, should be given up to the Scottish nation, free from all matrimonial engagement. It was stipulated expressly that Scotland should remain for ever separate from England, free in itself, and without subjection, according to its ancient boundaries. Other articles required that the government should be carried on within the kingdom, according to the established laws and customs.

King Edward lost no time in ratifying this convention, but the impatient haste with which he proceeded to exercise his authority spread alarm and dissatisfaction through Scotland. Under the pretext that he could not fulfil the terms of his oath to maintain the ancient laws of Scotland without the presence of an English governor, he proceeded to assume a power which the treaty had not given to him, by appointing the bishop of Durham to the office of governor of Scotland, which he conferred upon him in the name of Margaret and Edward, although they were not yet married. Over confident in the success of his own schemes, or, as it has been supposed, willing to try how far the patience of the Scots would go at this conjuncture, Edward next took a step still more unwarrantable. Under the pretext that he had been warned of conspiracies and dangers which threatened the state of Scotland, he demanded that all the castles and other fortresses of the kingdom should be delivered immediately into his hands. The spirit of the Scottish nobility was roused by this bold attack, and they refused to comply. Three knights who had stood high in the favour of Alexander III., sir William Sinclair, sir Patrick Graham, and sir John Soulis, set the example of disobedience, and were followed by all the other keepers of castles, and the king of England found it advisable to relinquish his demand and to use conciliatory language towards the regency.

All eyes were now turned towards Norway, and every rumour relating to the movements of the young queen was listened to with eagerness. When it was known that the ship which was to bring her over had sailed, preparations were made for her reception by the guardians of Scotland, and English commissioners. But at length, when all was joyful expectation, the melancholy intelligence arrived that she had been attacked with a mortal disease while at sea, and that she had landed in Orkney, only to die there. This event occurred in the September of the year 1290. The whole kingdom was filled with dismay; the crown was left to be disputed by several competitors; and Edward, foiled in his hopes of compassing his grand design by the marriage, had to commence a new series of intrigues in order to effect his object in a different way.

Although the competitors for the crown of Scotland were numerous, the public only acknowledged as legal claimants the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, who was himself grandson of David I. John Baliol, lord of Galloway, now in his forty-second year, was the great-grandson of earl David, by his eldest daughter, while old Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, was the son of his second daughter. Before Margaret's death was known, a convention of the states of Scotland had been called at Perth, to receive and deliberate upon king Edward's reply to the refusal to deliver up the castles. Among the great nobles who refused to attend this meeting, was old Robert Bruce; but no sooner had he learnt the melancholy fate of the young princess, than he assembled his followers in arms, and suddenly came to Perth with

a powerful force, which could leave no doubt of his intention to enforce his own claims. Many of the nobility at once joined his standard, and the earls of Marr and Athol raised their numerous vassals and came to increase his army. Baliol was in England, nearer to Edward, and, therefore, more likely to be influenced by his councils; but he also had his adherents in Scotland, who were hard working for him by intrigues, while his only formidable rival was thus creating respect by show of physical strength. Among those who embraced Baliol's party in Scotland, was one of the guardians of the kingdom, William Frazer, bishop of St. Andrews, who, on the first rumour of the queen's death, wrote a deceitful letter to king Edward, informing him of the troubled state of the country, recommending Baliol to his attention, and advising him to approach the borders with an army, in order, as he pretended, to awe the Scots into peaceful behaviour during the discussion of the claims of the rival competitors. This recommendation agreed exactly with Edward's designs; for he had already assumed the title and character of lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland, as it appears, without any serious opposition. Even Bruce and his adherents, aware of the power of the English monarch, had so far sacrificed their patriotism to their interests, as to make a secret offer of recognising his superiority, if he would support their claims to the throne.

Edward now made no secret of his pretensions. We are told that he assembled his privy-council and the principal nobles of England, and assured them that he intended to reduce Scotland to the same position and dependence as that to which he had brought Wales. He summoned his army to meet him at Norham on the 3rd of June, 1291, and he requested the clergy and nobility of Scotland to meet and confer with him at the same place on the 10th of May, to which they consented. The English king came on the day appointed, accompanied by his justiciary, Roger Brabazon, who had collected together a mass of pretended documentary evidence to support his claim to act as lord paramount of Scotland. The justiciary opened the proceedings with a learned speech, in which he spoke of the qualities and attributes of justice, described the grief of the king, his master, at the troubled state of Scotland, and his wish to remedy it for which purpose he had invited the Scottish nobles to meet him, that he might give judgment, in his character of lord paramount, and without encroaching on the rights of any man. He concluded by stating that, for the accomplishment of this design, the king required their full recognition of his title of lord paramount. The Scots were taken by surprise, and, merely declaring their ignorance that such a right of superiority had ever belonged to the English monarchs, they expressed their inability in present circumstances, without a king of their own to guide them, to give any answer. Edward exclaimed in anger, that he would risk his life in defence of his rights; upon which the assembly, aware that his claims would be backed by a powerful army, which was to assemble there in a few days, asked for time to deliberate with their absent members. At first, Edward refused to give them more than a day for deliberation, but he finally agreed that they should have three weeks to prepare what they had to say against his pretensions, knowing that before the expiration of that term his army would be assembled on the border.

On the 2nd of June, 1291, king Edward again met the Scottish great council, at Upsetlington, on the northern bank of the Tweed; for he seems to have suddenly thought that there was some irregularity in calling such a meeting on the English side of the border. English promises and English gold had meanwhile not been spared, and had been backed by the insidious advocacy of the bishop of St. Andrews. The claimants to the crown, eager to secure the prize, were ready to sacrifice the independence of their country rather than fail in the attempt. On the first day, eight claimants presented themselves—Robert Bruce; Florence, earl of Holland; John Hastings; Patrick Dunbar, earl of March; William de Ross; William de Vescy; Robert de Pynkeny; and Nicholas de Soulis. The proceedings were on this occasion opened, not as before by the justiciary, but by the lord chancellor, the bishop of Bath and Wells. Edward seems now to have considered it politic not to insist on the recognition of his character of lord paramount by the Scottish parliament, but to rest satisfied with the acknowledgment of that title by those on whose claims he was going to sit in judgment. The chancellor accordingly, after having stated that

the king had given them three weeks for deliberation, and finding that they had brought forward no evidence to invalidate his title, it was now his intention, in virtue of this acknowledged right, to sit as judge over the dispute regarding the succession, turned to Robert Bruce, who stood at the head of the claimants, and asked him if he acknowledged the king of England as lord paramount of Scotland, and if he were willing to abide by the judgment which in that character he should give on his claim. Robert Bruce answered, unhesitatingly and explicitly, that he recognised the king's title, and would abide by his decision. The same question was put successively to the other competitors, and received the same answer from each.

The other principal competitor, Baliol, was not present at this meeting, but when the ceremony of acknowledging the superiority of king Edward had been performed by each claimant, sir Thomas Randolph stood up, and stated that John de Baliol, lord of Galloway, had mistaken the day of meeting, but that he would come on the morrow. Next day, accordingly, Baliol appeared, and he recognised in the same solemn manner the character assumed by the English monarch. The chancellor then again addressed the assembly, to inform them that the king claimed a hereditary right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, as well as the right of superiority, and that though on the present case he had only demanded a recognition of the latter, it was by no means to be understood that he waived the other; on the contrary, that he reserved to himself the prosecution of this claim when and how he should judge expedient. The king then addressed the assembly in Anglo-Norman, recapitulating the whole proceedings, and declaring his intention of giving speedy judgment, and of maintaining the laws of Scotland, and restoring that unhappy country to peace. A new claimant to the throne now appeared in the person of John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, known popularly as the Black Comyn, who had married a sister of Baliol, and whose name was added to the list of competitors. They all now put their signatures to an instrument which declared that, "forasmuch as the king of England has shown evidently to us that the sovereign seigniory of Scotland, and the right of hearing, trying, and determining our respective claims, belong to him, we agree to receive judgment from him as our lord paramount; and we are willing to abide by his decision, and consent that he shall possess the kingdom to whom the king shall award it." Commissioners, amounting in number to a hundred and four, were then appointed to report on their various claims.

At the meeting of the 4th of June a second document was signed by the competitors. It was represented that judgment ought to be accompanied with execution, and that execution could not be awarded without previous possession; and, in accordance with this sentiment, the claimants signed a deed, by which the kingdom of Scotland, with all its castles and fortresses, was to be delivered into king Edward's hands, on condition that he should give security to make a full restitution within two months after the date of his award, and that the revenues of the kingdom should be preserved for the future sovereign. On the 11th of June the four regents accordingly delivered the kingdom into the king's hands, and the castles were surrendered to him, with two exceptions, those of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, which were in the keeping of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, who declared that he had received the custody of those fortresses from the estates of Scotland, and that he would not deliver them up but by their command. His objection was removed by a letter of indemnity, signed by the guardians and by the competitors for the crown; and these castles also having been delivered to king Edward, he was satisfied with this practical acknowledgment of his feudal superiority, and restored the custody of the kingdom to the regents, but not without another exercise of his authority; for he caused the regents to name one of his creatures, Alan, bishop of Caithness (an Englishman) chancellor of Scotland, and another Englishman named Walter Agmondesham, to be his assistant. He also, of his own authority, appointed an English baron, Brian Fitz-Alan, to be a fifth guardian or regent.

Edward's tone was now moderate and conciliating. He promised to do justice to the competitors within the kingdom of Scotland, and to deliver immediate possession to the successful claimant; he engaged to waive his claim to feudal services on the deaths of the kings, with the exception of the homage due to him as lord paramount, stipulating that, whenever there should be a disputed succession, the kingdom and its

castles were to be again delivered into his hands, that he might be in a position to sit in judgment on the question. The great seal was now brought from Scotland and delivered to the new English chancellor and his assistant, while the four guardians, and after them, John Bruce lord of Annandale, his son the earl of Carrick, John de Baliol, the earls of March, Mar, Buchan, Athol, Angus, Lennox, and Menteith, Comyn lord of Badenoch, and many other barons and knights, took the oath of fealty to king Edward as lord paramount, in the presence of a great concourse of the English and Scottish nobility. The peace of king Edward was then proclaimed by a herald; and the assembly adjourned to the 2nd of August, when it was agreed that it should meet at Berwick to hear the king's judgment on the succession to the Scottish throne. In the interval, the king made a progress through Scotland, visiting its principal cities and towns in person, calling upon persons of all ranks to do their homage of vassals to the crown of England, and appointing officers to receive the oaths of allegiance in the districts which he did not visit.

There were now twelve rival claimants to the crown of Scotland:—1. Florence, count of Holland, who claimed as the descendant from Ada, the sister of king William the Lion. 2. Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, descended from Ilda, or Ada, daughter of king William. 3. William de Vescy, claiming as grandson of Marjory, another daughter of the same monarch. 4. William de Ross, who traced his descent from Isabella, a third daughter of king William. 5. Robert de Pynkeny, descended from Marjory, a sister of William the Lion. 6. Nicholas de Soulis, descended from Marjory, a daughter of Alexander II. 7. Patrick Galythly, who claimed as the son of Henry Galythly, who, he asserted, was the legitimate son of William the Lion. 8. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Aufrica, who, he pretended, was a daughter of William the Lion. 9. John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, who claimed as a descendant of king Donald. 10. John de Hastings, who was the son of Ada, the third daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of king William the Lion. 11. Robert de Bruce, the son of Isabel, second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon. 12. John de Baliol, the grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon. Most of these claims were easily disposed of, for the pretended daughters of William the Lion were notoriously illegitimate, and and when there were direct representatives of that monarch's brother, the descendants of his sister could put forward no legal title before them. In fact, it was clear that these numerous claimants were raised only by king Edward's intrigues, to give an apparent difficulty to the question, and to be thrown aside the moment they were no longer useful to him.

On the third of August the prelates and nobles of both countries assembled in the castle of the chapel of Berwick, and king Edward opened the proceedings himself. The commissioners then received the petitions of the various claimants, and after they had been severally read, the king recommended them to make a careful investigation of the claims of each, and to prepare a report to be given in at his next parliament, to be held at Berwick on the 2nd of June in the following year (1292). When the parliament met, a new competitor, Eric, king of Norway, put forward his claim as the heir of his daughter Margaret. His title and those of most of the other claimants were, however, soon set aside, and the king commanded the commissioners to consider only the claims of Baliol and Bruce. The whole matter now resolved itself into the question whether the grandson of the eldest daughter, or the son of the second daughter, had the preferable title, and according to the general practice of the day, Baliol's title was best. But from the beginning, Edward's policy had been to delay giving judgment as long as possible, probably for the purpose of accustoming the Scottish people to regard him as their lord paramount. The commissioners were evidently little better than tools in his hands, and we can hardly doubt that their proceedings on the present occasion were prompted by him. The number of claimants having been thus reduced to two, the king required an oath from the Scottish commissioners that they would faithfully advise him by what laws and usages the question should be determined. In reply to this question, they replied with affected diffidence, that they were not agreed as to the application of the laws and usages of Scotland to this question, and that they required the assistance and advice of the English commissioners. When the delegates of the two nations came together,

the English imitated the modesty of the Scots, and said they were unwilling to decide until the question had been debated in the English parliament. On receiving this answer, the king called a parliament to meet at Berwick on the 15th of October, and declared his intention to consult the learned in foreign parts upon a subject which seemed to admit of so easy a decision.

When this parliament met, the king put two questions to the commissioners; he asked them, in the first place, by what laws and customs they ought in this case to give their judgment, and what was to be done if there were no laws applicable to such a point, or if the existing laws of the two countries were at variance; and, secondly, if the kingdom of Scotland was to be regarded as a common fief, and the succession to the crown regulated by the same principles which were applicable to other fiefs. The reply of the commissioners was just such as he wished, and such as might be expected. They said that the laws and usages of the two kingdoms must regulate their judgment; that if none existed applicable to this particular case, he must make a new law; and that the succession must be decided on the same principle as the successions to earldoms and other fiefs. The two rival competitors were then called upon to state their titles, which they did at considerable length; Bruce contending that the son of the younger daughter was nearer in blood to the crown than the grandson of the elder, and that the succession ought not to be judged according to the rule of ordinary fiefs. The king then demanded of his council a decided answer as to the preference of the grandson of the elder sister to the son of the younger, and they replied unanimously that the grandson of the elder daughter was preferable. The king then recommended his council to reconsider the whole case, and adjourned the meeting to Thursday, the 6th of November. When that day came, Edward gave it as his judgment that Bruce's claim must be set aside. Bruce now declared that he intended to present his claim in another form, and John de Hastings, who, as we have seen, was descended from the third daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, rose and asserted that the kingdom of Scotland was partible, and that it ought to be divided equally among the descendants of the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon. Bruce seconded this application, and demanded for himself one-third of Scotland, conceding to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, the title of king over the whole. Here was a new question for the consideration of the council, which however replied, that neither the kingdom of Scotland nor its revenues were divisible. The king now took a further delay to examine again the whole question, and appointed the 17th of November for the last hearing of the cause. On this occasion, the other claimants having formerly withdrawn, or given up their case by not attending, the king declared his judgment, that the kingdom of Scotland belonged to John de Baliol, with a reservation of the rights of the king of England; and he exhorted Baliol to govern his people in such a manner, that there should be no necessity for the interference of the lord paramount. He ordered the five regents to give their new king seisin of his kingdom and of its castles. The great seal of Scotland was broken into four, and deposited in the treasury of the English king, as evidence of his sovereignty over Scotland; and Baliol having sworn fealty to Edward next day in the castle of Norham, was crowned at Scone on St. Andrew's day, with the ancient ceremonies of investiture. He soon afterwards passed into England, and on the day after Christmas paid his homage to the king of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Thus ended a transaction, in which Scotland was betrayed by those whose duty it was to protect her, and which was only introductory to long years of national calamity.

BOOK II.

FROM THE REIGN OF JOHN BALIOL TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF JOHN BALIOL; QUARRELS WITH EDWARD I.; CAPTURE OF BERWICK; BATTLE OF DUNBAR BALIOL SUBMITS AND IS DEPOSED.

The position which the kings of England and Scotland held towards each other on the accession of John Baliol to the crown of the latter country could not last long. A step only had been gained in Edward's projects of ambition, and it was certain that he would take the first opportunity to advance, while Baliol was in a place of nominal sovereignty and actual servitude, between the disgust of his subjects on one side and the arrogance of his superior on the other, which could not be long tenable. A subject of dispute occurred almost at the outset of his reign. A citizen of Berwick, named Roger Bartholomew, who felt aggrieved at a judgment of the regents during the interregnum, appealed against it to the king of England, after Baliol had obtained the crown. Baliol expostulated, and reminded Edward of the article in the treaty of Brigham which specially provided that no Scottish subject should be called beyond the bounds of the kingdom to answer in any criminal or civil court, and of his own promise to observe the laws and usages of Scotland. But the English king assumed the right of judging in this case, because, he said, being one which had occurred during the interregnum, the complaint lay against the ministers who held their commissions directly from him as sovereign lord of Scotland, and therefore he alone could have cognizance of their acts. He then, with an affectation of impartial justice, asked for the opinion of some of the ablest of the Scottish lawyers, and directed his council to decide according to the judgment given by them. But he showed his anger by declaring through his justiciary Brabazon that, in spite of any temporary concessions, it was his fixed intention to entertain appeals from Scotland, and give judgment upon them; and, having summoned Baliol and his council to Newcastle he there caused Brabazon to repeat his declaration, which he backed by a brief address of his own in Norman French. "These," said Edward, "are my firm determinations with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary. I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified; I shall exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the king of Scotland himself into my presence with the kingdom of England." Baliol seems to have been cowed by this bold assumption of superiority, and he and his nobles at once consented to renounce all the stipulations in favour of their laws and liberties contained in the treaty of Brigham. To show his satisfaction at this act of submission, Edward ordered the records of the kingdom of Scotland, which had been formerly taken away from Edinburgh, to be restored; and he further gave Baliol possession of the Isle of Man, which had been given up to the king of England during the late troubles.

A new case of appeal soon occurred to embarrass the relations between the two kingdoms, arising also out of the lawlessness of the interregnum. On the death of the earl of Fife, during this period, his uncle Macduff seized upon the inheritance, to the prejudice of the earl's son Duncan, who, a minor, was left to the protection of the bishop of St. Andrews. Macduff was ejected by the bishop, on which he carried his complaint to king Edward, who, glad of every opportunity of exerting the power he had usurped, caused him to be restored to the estates by the sentence of the guardians or regents. In Baliol's first parliament, Macduff was found guilty of infringing the

rights of the crown in entering forcibly the lands of a minor, and he was punished with imprisonment. He appealed to the king of England, and the latter not only listened to his complaints, but ordered the king of Scotland to repair to England in order to answer them. Baliol on this occasion disregarded the commands of his superior lord, on which the king of England procured an act of his parliament, making it obligatory on the king of Scotland to appear in person to answer every such case of appeal. The character of Baliol was weak and undecided, and as usual the spirit he had shown in resisting the order at first fell considerably before the stern will of the English monarch; he appeared in the English parliament, which was held after Michaelmas, in the year 1293. Macduff also was there, and the Scottish chief having stated his grievance, the king asked Baliol what he had to say in reply. He stepped forward, and said, "I am king of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to any matters respecting my kingdom, I dare not make an answer without the advice of my people." Edward asked angrily and haughtily on what grounds the man who had acknowledged himself his liegeman, done homage to him, and obeyed his summons to come hither, refused to plead in his court. Baliol's patience, it appears, could endure no more; he replied firmly, "Where the business respects my kingdom, I neither dare nor can answer in this place without the advice of my people," and he evaded an artful proposal to adjourn the decision of the cause to a future day. Judgment was given against the king of Scotland, and the parliament declared him guilty of contempt and disobedience to his sovereign lord; reminded him that he had come into Edward's court as a vassal to claim the crown of Scotland, and recommended to the English king to seize three of the principal castles in Scotland as a security for his future good conduct. But Edward seems to have thought that his parliament had gone too far, and he listened to Baliol's expostulations, and delayed all further proceedings till the summer of 1294, before which time Edward found himself involved in a serious war with France.

The French war dragged Scotland into a series of disastrous hostilities. The Scots had been gradually goaded into a spirit of patriotic resistance, to which they were perhaps encouraged by French agents; and now, instead of obeying his summons to assist him in the war, they assembled in parliament at Scone, and passed an act dismissing all Englishmen from Baliol's court, where they were regarded, probably with justice, as so many spies on his conduct. They then entered into an alliance with France, and prepared for a war with England. Their first steps, however, had the effect of creating that disunion which, in the sequel, proved their weakness. They began by confiscating all the estates in Scotland which belonged to English barons, and then they treated in the same manner the estates of those Scottish nobles who continued to profess fidelity to the oath of allegiance they had given to king Edward. Among the latter was Robert Bruce, whose lordship of Annandale was taken from him and given to John Comyn earl of Buchan, and he took possession of his castle of Lochmaben with so much eagerness as to provoke the lasting and bitter hatred of the Bruces. Edward, who was at this moment engaged in hostilities with the Welsh, in addition to his war with France, was not dismayed by the intelligence from the north, but he proceeded with artful dissimulation. He received the nobles who had been deprived of their estates with special favour, and promised them full compensation. To Robert Bruce he professed his repentance for the favour he had shown to Baliol, and for giving him the crown; declared that he would depose him from a throne of which he was unworthy, and promised to make him king in his place. This promise, joined with Bruce's hostile feelings towards Comyn, who now ruled in the Scottish councils, decided some of the influential nobles in Edward's favour; and Robert Bruce, of Annandale, with his son, as well as Dunbar earl of March, and Umfraville earl of Angus, went to Edward and renewed their oaths of homage to him.

Another source of division among the Scottish nobles arose from their distrust of their king, whom they feared on account of his notorious want of decision. Fearing that he might be induced to submit, they deprived him of power, confined him in a distant fortress, and chose a regency of twelve of the leading nobles, who were appointed guardians of the kingdom. These new rulers began by drawing up an instrument in the name of the king of Scotland, recounting the injuries received from the king of England, and renouncing all fealty and allegiance to him. They then con-

cluded a treaty with the French king, by which Baliol's son was to marry the niece of that monarch, and the French were to help the Scots in their war against England with a body of troops. Thus encouraged, and irritated at new demands of the king of England, the Scottish government proclaimed war, and a numerous army, weak by its want of discipline, was led by John Comyn earl of Buchan into Cumberland. After ravaging the country on their way, the Scots made an attempt to storm Carlisle, and were beaten off with disgrace by the citizens. This occurred on the 28th of March, 1296. Comyn marched his tumultuous army thence into Northumberland, but he appears to have been as much deficient in military capacity as his army in discipline, and they were soon obliged, on the approach of the English army, to retreat into Scotland, without performing any exploit worthy of mention.

Edward had assembled a numerous and well appointed army, consisting of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he had marched toward the Scottish border. On his way he was joined by the bishop of Durham, the warlike Anthony Beck, at the head of a thousand foot and five hundred horse. On arriving at Newcastle, Edward caused Baliol to be formally summoned to appear there and plead his cause against Macduff, and after waiting a few days, he advanced to the Tweed, which he passed with his main army below the nunnery of Coldstream, while the bishop of Durham passed the same river at Norham. They then advanced along the northern bank of the Tweed to Berwick, which was then one of the richest mercantile towns in the island, which was defended by a strong dike and by a formidable castle. The town was summoned to surrender on terms, which, after two days' consideration, were refused. Edward was irritated against the citizens, because they had recently taken and plundered some of his merchant ships which had unsuspectingly entered the port, and he was determined to reduce the town before he proceeded further. He drew off his army to a position about a mile from the town, where he made his dispositions for the attack unobserved, and thence he marched at the head of the storming column, while orders were sent to his fleet to attack the town at the same time from the sea. The latter was beaten off by the citizens, with the loss of several ships burnt; but the land attack was more successful. The king himself was the first to leap the dike, and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, rushed into the town with so much fury, that nothing could resist them. The hatred which the English populace at this time bore to the Scots, whom they had learnt to regard as nothing but murderers and plunderers, increased the savage ferocity which too generally characterized the wars of the middle ages, and the English soldiery spared neither man, woman, nor child, until the streets of Berwick were literally flooded with the blood of no less than seventeen thousand of its inhabitants. The only effective resistance was offered by the Flemish merchants, who held a factory in Berwick on the condition of defending their hall, a strong building called the Red Hall, against the English, and thirty of them performed their duty so well, that the English, after attacking the building all day in vain, set fire to it at night, and burnt both the fortress and its defenders. Berwick was thus taken on the Good Friday of the year 1296. It was exposed, during two days, to the utmost horrors of a town taken by storm, and so thoroughly plundered, that it never recovered its ancient importance. The commander of the castle, sir William Douglas, surrendered, and swore fealty to king Edward; and the garrison was allowed to march out with military honours, after taking an oath not to serve against England.

The war against the Scots was popular in England, and the capture of Berwick was a subject of general exultation, and was sung in the streets and highways, in songs filled with scornful boasting. The practice of lampooning each other in satirical ballads, which was common among the borderers, had been adopted by the two nations; we are told that Edward's anger had been provoked by some personal satires set abroad against him by the people of Berwick, and we have still remains of songs of that time, which show that the English were not backward in retaliating. It seems that the Scots of Berwick had jeered king Edward in some of these popular rhymes, for intrenching himself, while they placed too much confidence, as the event proved, in their own dikes; but now he turned the tables upon them, and they were seized with dismay when they saw how, after he had turned the Scots out of the town, he began to surround it with more formidable

defences, to prevent their recovering it.* The king remained some days employed in directing these works, and probably watching the effect produced in Scotland by his first success, and by the terrible massacre which had attended it. Baliol seems to have been roused to unusual resolution by the general indignation of his subjects; and while Edward remained still at Berwick, the abbot of Arbroath, with three of his monks, arrived with a written instrument in which the Scottish king, after enumerating the injuries which he and his kingdom had received, formally renounced his homage, and declared his intention of resisting this attack to the last. Edward treated with the utmost contempt the missive of the "mad traitor," as he designated Baliol, adding, in allusion to his summons to Baliol to appear at Newcastle, "Since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A threat which he executed with a rapidity that spread terror through the kingdom.

The Scottish barons had, in the mean time, collected a numerous force, and prepared to resist Edward in his progress. While he remained at Berwick, the earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, at the head of a formidable army, marched across the border, and ravaged Redesdale and Tynedale in the most merciless manner. Villages and towns were committed to the flames, their inhabitants were slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, and they even burnt to the ground the two ancient monasteries of Hexham and Lanercost. Returning thence with their plunder, they gained possession of the strong and important castle of Dunbar, which belonged to Patrick earl of Dunbar, who was at that time serving in king Edward's army. This nobleman was one of those who kept his allegiance to the English king; but his countess, who held the castle, hated the English party, and she now secretly delivered it up to the Scottish leaders. The earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, and the barons, John Comyn, William Sinclair, Richard Seward, and John de Mowbray, according to an understanding with the countess of Dunbar, suddenly entered the castle with a strong force, and expelled the few soldiers of the garrison who remained faithful to their lord and his English allies.

King Edward was mortified at the loss of Dunbar, and resolved that it should be retaken at all risks. For this purpose he sent the earl of Warenne, with some others of the English barons, and a force of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, who summoned the garrison to surrender, which they agreed to do in three days, if they were not relieved within that time. The Scottish leaders lost no time in hastening to the assistance of the garrison of Dunbar with all their army, and they encamped on the high ground above the castle with forty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. The soldiers in the castle, now confident of victory, mocked and insulted the English from the walls; but their joy was of short duration. No sooner was the earl of Warenne aware of the approach of the Scottish army, than he marched from his camp to attack them. To approach the high ground occupied by their opponents, they had to pass through a valley, in which they were crowded and embarrassed, so that the Scots, perceiving their confusion, and imagining that they were struck with fear, left their strong position, and rushed with loud shouts down the hill. When they reached the bottom, they found the small English army,

* The following sample of a song made on this occasion, in reply to the insults of the Scots, is preserved in the *Metrical Chronicle* of Peter Langtoft. We give it first in the original language of the time:—

Piket hym and diket him,
On scorne saiden he,
Hu best hit mai be.

He pikes and he dikes,
On lengthe alle him likes,
Als hy mowe best y-se.

Scatered heir the Scotes,
Hodred in the hottes,
Never thai ne the:

Ritht if y rede,
Thay toumble in Twede
That woned bi the se.

It may be modernized as follows:—

Let him dig with pick and make dikes,
They said in scorn,
How it may best be (*i.e.* as much as he can.
He picks and he dikes,
In length as he likes,
As they may best see.
Scattered are the Scots,
Huddled in their huts,
They never thrive:
Right if I read,
They tumble in Tweed,
Who dwelt by the sea.

The last line probably alludes to the throwing of the dead bodies into the river.

It may be observed that the number of the slain at Berwick is rated much lower by Peter Langtoft, a nearly contemporary writer. We follow the generally received account.

which had passed the valley, drawn up in compact order, and advancing against them. In the surprise and hurry of the moment, the leaders found it impossible to restore order to their columns, broken and disordered in their descent from the hills, and the English, falling upon them with great fury, after a short struggle, put them to flight with great slaughter. Upwards of ten thousand Scots are said to have been slain in the battle and the flight, and some of the chief of the Scottish nobility were among the multitude of the prisoners. The English ridiculed the Scots for their pusillanimity on this important occasion, in a multitude of songs and epigrams. One man only was mentioned as a noble exception—sir Patrick de Graham, who, disdaining to turn his back or ask for quarter, was slain on the field. Next day Edward, as soon as he received intelligence of this great victory, marched to Dunbar with the rest of his army, and the castle was immediately surrendered. The earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, with the barons and knights who had entered the castle with them, were added to the long list of prisoners, who were sent over the border, and confined in various castles in England and Wales.

The battle of Dunbar decided the fate of John Baliol's kingdom. King Edward marched thence to the castle of Roxburgh, which was held by James, the steward of Scotland, who surrendered without a struggle, and renewed his oath of fealty to the English monarch. His example was quickly followed by many others of the Scottish chieftains. Ingelram de Umfraville gave up the castle of Dunbarton, and delivered his two daughters as hostages. The strong castle of Jedburgh was also delivered, without an attempt at resistance. Edward next advanced to Edinburgh, the castle of which surrendered after a siege of eight days; and he found Stirling abandoned by its garrison. Before marching to Edinburgh, the English army had been reinforced by the arrival of a body of fifteen thousand men from Wales, which enabled the king to send back to England the troops which had suffered most from the fatigues of his march; and at Stirling he was joined by a still larger force, consisting of thirty thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the earl of Ulster. He was now irresistible, and he continued his victorious march to Perth, where he kept the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist with great splendour. In the midst of these festivities, a messenger came to announce the submission and penitence of Baliol, and the king sent him word to repair to the castle of Brechin, where he was to receive from the bishop of Durham an intimation of the humiliating conditions on which only he could be received. There, at the beginning of July, 1296, in the presence of the bishop of Durham and the barons of England, he was stript of his royal robes, and compelled to do penance with a white rod in his hand: he confessed his offences against his liege lord, recapitulated his various pretended transgressions, and acknowledged the justice of the English invasion. Three days after he resigned his kingdom of Scotland into Edward's hands, and delivered his eldest son Edward as a hostage. Both father and son were sent to London, and confined for three years in the Tower

CHAPTER II.

SUBJECTION OF SCOTLAND BY KING EDWARD; INSURRECTIONS; WILLIAM WALLACE; BATTLE OF STIRLING; INVASION OF THE ENGLISH BORDER.

Thus ended disgracefully a reign which had commenced in the betrayal of national independence. The deposition of Baliol appears to have excited little sympathy for his personal humiliation, in Scotland or in England. In the latter country he was looked upon merely as a servant who had rebelled against his master—a vassal who had betrayed his lord—and those who regarded his character in the most favourable light, only pitied him, because they said he had been drawn into rebellion by

the artifices of the turbulent barons of Scotland.*

Scotland was now again not only without a king, but it was almost without claimants to the crown. It is said, that after the battle of Dunbar, Robert Bruce reminded king Edward of his promise to place him on the throne, and that the reply was a proud remark of the monarch, that he did not conquer kingdoms to give them away. In fact, Edward saw that at last he had reduced the Scottish people to utter prostration, and he seemed to think that he could now keep them under the government of his own officers, without the intermedium of a deputed sovereignty. He saw no signs of resistance, as he continued his march from Perth to Aberdeen, and from thence to Elgin, in Moray, and his court was crowded with Scottish barons, who came to renounce their allegiance with France, and to take the oath of fealty to himself. On his return towards the south, he carried from Scone the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been consecrated for so many ages, with the Scottish sceptre and crown, and he gave them to the abbey of Westminster, as an offering at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. The stone remains there still, and the monarchs of Britain continue to sit upon it at their coronation. King Edward is accused of having mutilated the chartulary of the abbey of Scone, because it contained records of national independence, and of having, during his progress, cautiously sought out and destroyed the ancient monuments which might remind the Scots of their former freedom.

A parliament was held at Berwick on the 28th of August, 1296, to receive the fealty of the Scottish clergy and laity, and so numerous were the men of all ranks who crowded to make this humiliating submission, that the lists of names who took the required oaths, which were afterwards popularly called Ragman rolls, still preserved in our national archives, extend to thirty-five skins of parchment. Having thus secured his conquest, Edward proceeded to take measures for restoring order among his new subjects, and to substitute gentleness and moderation for the severity which had hitherto marked his progress. He ordered the sheriffs of the several counties in Scotland to restore their forfeited lands to the clergy. He granted new privileges to the bishops. Most of those who held office under Baliol were retained, and there was no unnecessary interference with old jurisdictions and titles. The estates of the barons who had died before the French alliance, were restored to their widows, if these had not subsequently married the king's enemies. Edward now treated Scotland as a part of his own dominions,† and gave it merely a subordinate government. John de Warenne, earl of Warenne and Surrey, the victor of Dunbar, was appointed to the office of guardian of Scotland; Hugh de Cressingham was made treasurer, and William Ormesby, justiciary. Another Englishman, Walter de Agmondesham, was appointed chancellor, and a new great seal was made, as the ancient seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol in the castle of Brechin, had been broken to pieces. Warenne's nephew, lord Henry Percy, was appointed keeper of the county of Galloway and the sheriffdom of Ayr. The important castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh, were also committed to the charge of English keepers.

What king Edward gained by his own prudence, he lost by the negligence or imprudence of some of his officers. The earl of Warenne lived chiefly in England, and the government of Scotland was left almost entirely to the treasurer, Cressing-

* This sentiment is not unfrequently expressed in the popular English politics of the day. Thus, in a contemporary Latin ballad, we have the following account of the reign of John Baliol:—

Johannes jam Scotiæ clemens rex et castus,
Regni tenens regimen, ut rex erat pastus,
Hunc tanden deposuit gentis suæ fastus.
Exulat ejectus de sede pia protoplastus.
Exulat et merito, quia, sicut legi,
Spopondit homagium Anglicano regi;
Declinavit postea frango, frangis, fregi:
Omnia quæ pepigi prodendo pacta peregi.
Pactum prætergressus est princeps prænotatus,
Quando non compescuit pravorum conatus;
Vox in Rama sonuit, fletus et ploratus;
Mitis prælatus facit ignavos famulatus.

† People in general looked upon this apparent union of Scotland with England as a fulfilment of a prophecy of Merlin, that two waters should run into one:—

Deus! cum Merlins dist sovent veritez
En ses propheciez! si cum vous lisez.
Ore sunt le deus ewes en un arivez,
Ke par graunt mountaignes ount esté severez,
Et un realme est fet de deus diverse regnez,
Ke solaint par deus rays estre governez.
Ore sunt les insulanes trestuz assemblez,
Et Albanye rejoynte à les regaltez.

PETER LANGTOFT.

ham, and the justiciary, Ormesby, who irritated the people, the one by his oppressive exactions, and the other by the severity with which he enforced the oath of fealty. The general discontent broke out in petty insurrections, and, in spite of the desertion of their nobility, the people of Scotland seemed to be animated by a general spirit of resistance. At first this feeling was shown by the numerous parties of outlaws and banditti, who infested the roads, and plundered the English wherever they found them, sometimes burning and robbing their houses. These bands of marauders became gradually more numerous; they ventured even to attack castles, and to make prisoners of their garrisons; and they often committed atrocious acts of barbarity. Young men of respectable families, who had nothing to hope from the English government, and with whose wild and restless dispositions this lawless life agreed well, joined the insurgents and became their leaders. Among these was one who soon rose to the highest pitch of fame, and who was, for a while, looked upon with justice as the saviour of his country.

William Wallace (or de Walays), was the second son of sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a knight of small estate, but of an ancient family. Young Wallace was remarkable for his strength and stature; and, hasty and violent in his passions, he appears to have spent rather a turbulent youth. His hatred to the English was said to have been encouraged and fostered from his childhood by one of his uncles, a priest, who had perhaps suffered from the new state of things, and who instilled into the youthful mind of his nephew the love of freedom, and the hatred of oppression. Wallace soon became a marked man in his native district, and he seems to have associated with men of the same temper and sentiments as his own, whose conduct was equally suspicious. According to popular history, he seems at this time to have lived a life worthy of Robin Hood and his foresters. One day he was insulted by some English officers in the town of Lanark, and his resentment led to a street feud, in which he was overpowered, and would have been slain, but he escaped into the house of a woman who was his mistress, and by whose assistance he succeeded in making his escape to the woods in disguise. The English sheriff forced his way into the house, and cruelly put the woman to death; in revenge for which Wallace soon afterwards attacked and slew the sheriff. The consequences of this bold act might easily be foreseen. Wallace was proclaimed a felon and traitor; a price was put on his head; and he was thenceforth obliged to make his home of the woods and mountains. There he found companions who had been already driven to the same course, and joining with these, he became the chief of one of the small plundering bands which overrun the kingdom. Wallace's band was seldom unsuccessful in its enterprises; and the young hero already discovered a talent for war, which gained him distinction among other bands of outlaws, as well as with his own immediate followers. These gradually united themselves under his command, and he in a short time found himself at the head of a little army of outlaws, whom he accustomed to discipline and obedience to their leader, as well as to those rapid and decisive movements which were necessary to ensure success in the kind of warfare in which he was now engaged. He now openly declared war on the English, and he was joined by a few persons of more consequence, who hoped that they might thus assist in liberating their country from the English domination. Among the first of those was sir William Douglas, a baron of influence in Clydesdale, who had been taken prisoner by the English at the siege of Berwick, and had been liberated on his taking the oath of fealty to king Edward.

The addition of the numerous vassals of Douglas to his already considerable force, encouraged Wallace to attempt some bolder enterprise. It happened, fortunately for his design, that Ormesby, the English justiciary, was holding his court at Scone, with no great force to protect him, while the guardian of Scotland was attending the English parliament. Wallace marched suddenly to Scone and surprised the justiciary, who escaped with difficulty, leaving a rich booty and many prisoners to the assailants. The latter now openly plundered and ravaged the country, putting all the English they found to the sword, and acting sometimes collectively, and sometimes in separate parties. They soon, however, collected all their forces into one army, and, leaving the scene of these exploits, threw themselves into the western districts of Scotland. This movement had, no doubt, been concerted with some of the great

Scottish barons, who were weary of English rule, for Wallace had no sooner shown himself in the west, than he was joined by the steward of Scotland, and his brother, sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindesay, sir Richard Lundin, Wishart bishop of Glasgow, and other men of influence. The insurrection had now taken a formidable character, and Wallace, at the head of a considerable force, began to clear the districts in his power from the English. In doing this, acts of great atrocity were daily perpetrated. The rage of the Scots was directed especially against the English clergy, and the victorious insurgents even amused themselves with torturing helpless women.

There was one man on whom all eyes were turned, and whose conduct had been hitherto indecisive. This was Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who was at this time with king Edward. Young Robert Bruce was powerful by his extensive possessions, and by the number of ready vassals he could bring into the field, and he was looked on by the English rulers with so much suspicion, that they summoned him to Carlisle, where he went with a numerous retinue, and made oath on the consecrated sacrament and the sword of Thomas Becket, that he would be faithful to the king of England. As a further proof of his zeal for the English government, he raised his own vassals, invaded and ravaged the lands of Wallace's companion, sir William Douglas, and carried his wife and children prisoners into Annandale. Bruce had no sooner performed this exploit, than he privately conferred with the retainers of his father, and tried, but in vain, to persuade them to rise and go with him to join the other insurgents against the English. Perhaps he felt that he had now too far compromised himself to remain any longer inactive; for he raised his own tenantry, and joined the standard of Wallace and Douglas.

The confederacy which had now formed round Wallace was, however, weak and uncertain. Success had given Wallace power, but the great barons who had joined in the revolt were ill contented to be serving under the banner of one who, without the set-off of high blood and extensive estates, stood proclaimed as an outlawed felon. Many of them were willing to fight for their country with a probable chance of success, but they were not willing to share the fortune of this leader in case of defeat; and it cannot be denied that a great number of them were strongly influenced by a feeling of their own personal interests. Such was in no small degree the case with Bruce himself, whose ambition was stirred up by his own proximity to the throne, and his eye seems to have been directed constantly to the prize which John Baliol had carried off from his father. He had discovered that it was not likely to be the reward of his fidelity to king Edward, and he now thought that he might obtain it by serving his country.

Intelligence of this revolt reached king Edward as he was preparing to sail for Flanders, and although it excited his anger, he seems to have been too much convinced of the weakness and desolation of Scotland to imagine that it need give him any serious alarm. He sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, and from him he learnt that the insurrection was more serious than it had at first been represented to him. He then commanded the earl of Warenne and Surrey, his guardian of Scotland, to assemble an army on the north of the Trent, and march against his Scottish enemies. The earl was stricken with years, and was hardly equal to the quickness that was necessary in such an emergency; but he sent before him his nephew, Henry Percy, with an army of forty thousand foot and three hundred horse. The English, who seem to have looked at Bruce as the most important of their enemies, marched rapidly through Annandale to take possession of the castle of Lochmaben. It was night when they arrived there, and the Scots, who had been watching their movements, took advantage of the darkness, and made a furious attack on their camp. The English, unable to distinguish friend from enemy, on account of the dense darkness, and not knowing where to rally, because they could not see their banners, set fire to the wooden houses in which they were lodged, and by this light repulsed their assailants. They then marched towards Ayr, to keep the men of Galloway in allegiance, but they were stopped on their way by the intelligence that the main army of the Scots was near at hand.

At break of day Percy led his army in the direction where he had been told that the Scottish army was posted, and after a march of three or four miles he discovered them drawn up at Irvine, on the banks of a

small lake. This was the first time that the insurgents had faced a regular disciplined army, and the hearts of many of the leaders, who distrusted one another, suddenly failed them. Their principal anxiety seemed to be to make their peace with the English and save their estates. The Scots were equal in numbers to the English, and they had little to fear in risking a battle, had they been unanimous, but there was no unanimity among the insurgents. A Scottish knight, who had hitherto resisted the English domination, sir Richard Lundi, set the example of desertion: he said there was no safety in a host which was divided against itself, and he went over with his men to the army of Henry Percy. Robert Bruce, the steward of Scotland, Alexander de Lindesay, sir William Douglas, the bishop of Glasgow, and others, followed his example; and all these chiefs affixed their signatures and seals to an instrument in Norman French, in which they entreated forgiveness for their rebellion. It was dated at Irvine, on the 9th of July, 1297. Wallace was indignant at the desertion of his noble allies; and, resolutely refusing to join in their submission, he placed himself at the head of his own faithful followers and as many of the others as would serve under him, and made his retreat towards the north. The only person of any note who accompanied him was sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. The treaty of Irvine was said to have been negotiated by the bishop of Glasgow, against whom the anger of Wallace was especially raised on this account; and he stopped in his retreat to wreak his vengeance on the prelate, by attacking his castle, ravaging his lands, and carrying his household into captivity.

The barons who thus submitted at Irvine seem to have been confounded at their own act; and although the king had accepted their submissions, they hesitated to send in their hostages, under pretence that they waited for some security that the liberties of their country should be preserved. Two, however, sir William Douglas and the bishop of Glasgow, kept strictly to their engagements, and, finding they could not fulfil all the articles of the capitulation, they voluntarily surrendered their persons. The bishop seemed to have lost the confidence of all parties, and Edward looked even upon his surrender with suspicion, and seemed to think that he meditated treachery. Robert Bruce had now become an object of more especial distrust, and he was only received into the king's peace after the bishop with the steward of Scotland and Alexander de Lindesay had agreed to be his sureties until he delivered his daughter Marjory as a hostage. In spite of this outbreak, Edward, who was occupied with a continental war, continued to follow a conciliatory policy. He liberated from prison the barons who had been captured at the battle of Dunbar, making it a condition with those whose patriotism was best known, that they should serve him in the Flemish war in which he was then embarking. Others were allowed to return to their country, on promising that they would use their endeavours to suppress the rebellion. The king was so much offended at the dilatory conduct of the earl of Warenne, both in his military movements and in carrying into effect the articles of the capitulation of Irvine, that he deprived him of the office of guardian of Scotland, and appointed Brian Fitzalan in his place, though he still retained the earl in the command of the army. Edward still thought lightly of the Scottish insurrection; yet before his departure for Flanders (August 22nd, 1297), he sent some of his most warlike English barons with all the horse and foot they could muster to reinforce the army under the earl of Warenne.

In the meanwhile Wallace in the north soon recruited his army, and recovered his confidence. The Scottish barons had deserted him, but most of their retainers, perhaps with the connivance of their lords, continued to follow his banner. The populace everywhere began to regard him as their protector and destined deliverer, and the army which looked upon him as its sole commander was increasing rapidly during the summer months. He had already reduced the English garrisons who held the castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, and had driven them from nearly all the strongholds to the north of the Forth. He was commencing the siege of the strong castle of Dundee, when he received intelligence that the English army, under Warenne and the treasurer Cressingham, was marching to Stirling on its way against him. With the army which now obeyed his command, and the ardour with which his successes had animated it, Wallace was not afraid to meet the enemy, and he knew that the ground about Stirling, if he could select his position, was more favourable

than any spot he might have it in his power to choose, for a tumultuous host to engage a disciplined army. He, therefore, marched southward with all his force, after charging the citizens of Dundee with the siege of the castle, and threatening them with his utmost vengeance if they discontinued it; and he was fortunate enough to reach Stirling in time to make his dispositions before the English army arrived.

The English army was superior in numbers as well as in discipline to that opposed to it, for while but forty thousand foot and a hundred and eighty horse followed the banner of Wallace, Warenne led into the field a force of fifty thousand foot and a thousand horse. But the English were embarrassed by the disagreement between their leaders, the earl and the treasurer Cressingham, the latter an overbearing ecclesiastic, who loved the profession of war better than the church, and who was hated by the Scots for his cruel tyranny. But for this cause, and for the earl's want of vigour, the English would, perhaps, have reached Stirling before Wallace. It was the passion of Cressingham to hoard up the king's revenue in his treasury, and he grudged the necessary expenses for the war. When the army marched towards Stirling, Henry Percy left Newcastle to join it, with a reinforcement of eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, but Cressingham ordered these troops to be disbanded, speaking of it as an unnecessary waste of the king's treasure, and declaring that they had men enough for their purpose.

The English army came in view of the Scots before Stirling on the 11th of September, and they found, to use the description of a contemporary chronicler, that there was not a better place in all Scotland for the defeat of a powerful army by a handful of men, than that occupied by their enemies, whose force was concealed from their view by the nature of the ground. Instead of acting with the prudence which the knowledge of this circumstance ought to have ensured, the English leaders showed a great want of caution. Warenne and Cressingham seem to have imagined that the enemy would surrender with the same pusillanimity as at Irvine, and they delayed attacking the Scots, until the steward of Scotland, the earl of Lennox, and other Scottish barons who had accompanied the army, were sent to Wallace's camp, to try to bring him to terms. They returned to inform the English commander of the failure of this attempt, which only made the Scots more confident, and they then promised that they would next day join the English with sixty armed horse. The English soldiers, it appears, were suspicious of the designs of these Scottish barons, and were dissatisfied at not having been led against the enemy at once, and a party of them returning from forage in the evening met them as they were leaving the camp, and from some accident or other, a skirmish arose, in which the earl of Lennox stabbed an English soldier in the throat. This encounter, in which probably the barons were not the aggressors, raised a tumult in the camp, and the soldiers cried out that they were betrayed by the Scots, and carried their wounded soldier before their commander, calling for vengeance upon the treacherous nobles who they said had only obtained his confidence to deceive him. Warenne merely urged them to remain quiet till next day, assuring them they should have ample vengeance if the Scottish barons broke their promise; and he gave orders to be ready to pass the bridge over the river Forth, which separated the two armies, early in the morning. The apparent listlessness of the old warrior dispirited his men; while his want of vigilance gave the enemy time and opportunity to tamper with the Scots who were in his army, to gain information as to his numbers and intentions, and to lay their own plans and make their dispositions accordingly.

The whole course of the engagement which took place next day was a series of blunders on the part of the English commanders. By sunrise, five thousand English footmen and a large body of Welsh soldiers had passed the bridge, but finding that they were unsupported, they repassed it. It was not till an hour after this that the earl of Warenne awoke, and then the army was drawn up, and some new knights were made. The time was now at hand when the Scottish barons were to return with their sixty horsemen; but after waiting for them some time in vain, the English commander became convinced of their treachery, and gave the order for passing the bridge, which, however, was recalled before the movement could be executed, as the steward of Scotland and the earl of Lennox were seen approaching the camp. They informed the earl of Warenne that they had made new efforts to persuade

Wallace to agree to terms of pacification, but without success, and that they could prevail upon none of his followers to desert him. It seemed as though the report of Wallace's refusal to treat made the English commander more wishful to avoid a battle. He now sent two friars to Wallace to propose terms, but they only brought back a defiance. The English soldiers had now become furious in their cries to be led on to the attack; when a Scottish knight of the English army, sir Richard Lundi, one of those who had deserted Wallace at Irvine, came forward, and cautioned them against the imprudence of their proceedings. He told them that if they attempted to pass the bridge, over which the men could only cross two abreast, it would be a useless sacrifice of life; but he said that he knew a ford near at hand, over which they could pass, sixty at a time, and if they would give him five hundred horse and a small body of foot, he would cross there and turn the enemy's flank, while the rest of the army might pass the bridge in security. The earl seemed inclined to listen to this sound advice, but some of his followers were too eager for the combat to allow of any delay, and their impatience was increased by the scornful expostulation of the self-sufficient Cressingham, who was, perhaps, actuated mainly by the love of contradicting his colleague. "Why," he cried, "do we protract the war, and spend the king's money? Let us pass on as becomes us, and do our duty." The earl allowed himself to be overruled, and gave the order for passing the bridge. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight of tried courage, with Cressingham himself, who was not wanting in the same quality, led them on, and when scarcely half the army had passed, Twenge, observing that the Scots still remained on the heights, and attributing their inactivity to fear, rashly gave the order to advance up the hill.

This was exactly the movement that Wallace desired. He had sent a part of his army by a circuitous route to possess themselves of the foot of the bridge, by which the communication between the two divisions of the English army was entirely cut off, and when he saw that this object had been effected, he ordered his men to attack the division under Twenge and Cressingham. The Scots rushed down impetuously from the hill upon the troops, which were already in disorder and soon threw them into inextricable confusion. Among the first who fell was Cressingham the treasurer. Multitudes were slain around him; for the English soldiers seemed almost paralyzed, and numbers of the heavy-armed horse threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the attempt to swim over. The earl of Warenne remained on the other side of the river, a spectator of the destruction of his men, and when he sent over the standard bearers with another division, it was only to increase the disaster. Twenge, with one or two of his companions, cut his way through the columns opposed to him, and crossed the bridge to rejoin his commander; after which the bridge itself broke down, or was destroyed, thus rendering the fate of one portion of the army more hopeless, although it facilitated the flight of the others. These, however, were exposed to an attack from new enemies, for when their allies, the earl of Lenox and the steward of Scotland, who had, as was suspected, been in secret negotiation with Wallace, saw that their countrymen had the victory, they threw off the mask, and led on their followers to destroy and plunder the flying English. The English commander ordered Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling, and then fled without halting till he reached Berwick, followed by what remained of his army.

Wallace's victory was complete. The loss on the side of the Scots was inconsiderable, but he had to lament the death of his faithful associate, sir Andrew Moray. The English estimated their own loss at five thousand foot and a hundred horse, but in all probability it was much more considerable. The plunder which fell into the hands of the victors was immense. In their hatred of the English, they made few or no prisoners, but slew all who fell into their hands, and they even indulged their fury by mutilating the dead. In their detestation of Cressingham, the Scottish soldiers threw themselves on his body, mangled it, and tore the flesh from his bones. His skin was taken off, and cut to pieces, and it is even said that Wallace ordered a piece sufficient to make a sword-belt to be reserved.

The battle of Stirling was for a moment fatal to the English domination in Scotland. It struck terror into the English garrisons, and not only Dundee, but all the other fortresses in the kingdom, were surrendered to Wallace. He dismantled the castles of

Edinburgh and Roxburgh, as though apprehensive that his triumph might not be lasting, and that they might again serve the purposes of Edward's tyranny. Even Berwick was deserted by its English garrison, and Wallace sent a Scottish knight, named Henry de Haliburton, to take possession of it.

Thus Wallace on a sudden found himself in full possession of the whole of Scotland. That kingdom was at this moment suffering from a visitation of dearth and famine, and for this reason, as well as to indulge the predatory habits of his followers, the Scottish chieftain determined to profit by the terror caused by his present success to invade the northern counties of England. He ordered for this purpose a general levy of soldiers throughout the kingdom; every county, barony, town, and village being required to send a certain proportion of its fighting men to march under his banner. In the execution of this order, Wallace soon found how little substantial assistance he was likely to reap from the barons, who were already jealous of his power, and were unwilling to acknowledge for their superior a man of so mean an origin. Many of them, moreover, had estates in England, which they were unwilling to risk by taking a decided part against king Edward. It was looked upon as a grave infraction of their feudal rights for any but themselves to summon their tenantry in arms. The consequence was that Wallace's levies were made slowly and imperfectly. Mortified at the lukewarmness of the nobles, most of whom remained at least professing allegiance to the English king, Wallace now proceeded to adopt measures of coercion, and, causing gibbets to be erected in each barony and county town, he threatened with death all who disobeyed his summons to join the army. Some burgesses of Aberdeen were hanged; but in general this threat seems to have produced its full effect, and he soon found himself at the head of a vast though disorderly host. With these, taking as his associate in command Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the son of the Moray who had been slain at the bridge of Stirling, he marched towards Northumberland. The population of that county, struck with terror, deserted their homes, and with their families, cattle, and household furniture, sought refuge in Newcastle. The Scots had sent their scouts before them, and by these they were informed of the flight of the inhabitants, and, as plunder was their main object, they put a stop to their march, as though they intended to proceed no further. But no sooner had the Northumbrians, imagining the danger was over, returned to their homes, than Wallace marched his army suddenly and rapidly across the border, and during several weeks the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland were plundered and ravaged in the most horrible manner. These wild invaders, unrestrained in their ferocity, laid the country waste with fire and sword, and subjected its inhabitants to every cruelty and outrage that their passions could devise. In this way, from the middle of October to near the middle of November, the Scots roved over these two counties, with no other check than the occasional destruction of a few straggling Scots by the garrison of Alnwick and other border fortresses. The county of Durham was only saved from the invaders by the approach of winter, which set in with such severity, and at the same time the scarcity of provisions became so great, that multitudes of the Scots perished by cold and famine. Wallace thus found it necessary to retreat. Towards Christmas, lord Robert Clifford raised the men of Cumberland, and joining them with the strong garrison of Carlisle, had twice invaded Annandale, which he ravaged with fire and sword, in retaliation for the attack on the English border. The lands of Robert Bruce suffered on this occasion, and he made it a pretext for deserting the English party and joining Wallace.

Soon after Wallace's return to Scotland, an assembly was held at the Forest Kirk, in Selkirkshire, which was attended by the earl of Lennox, sir William Douglas, and other great barons, and their victorious leader was there elected governor or guardian of Scotland, in the name of king John, for Baliol was still acknowledged by the Scots as their king. Wallace held this high office "with the consent of the community of Scotland." In fact, though the lesser barons and gentry now joined him in great number, the earls of Scotland and the greater barons still held aloof, and were unwilling to acknowledge his superiority. But Wallace now began to exert the authority which had been placed in his hands with vigour and prudence, though perhaps with a little leaning to tyranny, though this may be excused by the turbulence of the people he had to govern. His attention was especially directed to the military con-

dition of the kingdom; and he divided it into military districts, ordering in each shire, barony, lordship, town, and burgh, a muster-book to be kept of the number of fighting men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and from these he drew, under pain of heavy penalty, whatever recruits he considered necessary. He proceeded at the same time to introduce a stricter discipline into his army, and endeavoured to restrain the licentiousness of the soldiers. His firmness compelled the greater nobles to submit, at least in appearance, to his authority.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND AGAIN; BATTLE OF FALKIRK; INTERFERENCE OF THE POPE; BATTLE OF ROSLIN; NEW INVASIONS BY KING EDWARD; SIEGE OF STIRLING; CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF WALLACE.

We have traced the progress of Wallace to the summit of his power, and we have now only to follow him in his descent. The success of the Scottish rebellion at this moment was, politically, of great service to the people of England, for it enabled them to secure their own liberties against the encroachments of the crown. Edward was detained in Flanders, and the government of England was entrusted to a regency, who, alarmed at the disastrous intelligence from the north, hastily called a parliament, which met on the 10th of October, 1297. There it was determined, under the influence of the earls of Norfolk and Hereford (the marshal and the constable of England), that no aids should be granted against the Scots until the king had solemnly ratified magna charta, and the other grand protections of the liberties of the kingdom. Edward, still detained on the continent, and conscious of the embarrassing position in which he was placed, acceded to the demand of his barons, and then commanded them to assemble with all their force at York on the 14th of January, to march thence against the Scottish insurgents. At the same time he summoned the Scottish barons to the same meeting, on their fealty and on pain of being proclaimed public enemies. On the day appointed the military strength of the kingdom mustered at York in great force, but they waited in vain for the Scottish nobles. A day was then appointed for assembling their forces at Newcastle for the invasion of Scotland, and there appeared at this grand muster the earl marshal and the great constable of England, the earls of Warenne, Gloucester, and Arundel, the lord Henry Percy, John de Wake, John de Segrave, Guy, son of the earl of Warwick, and many other earls and barons. The army which accompanied them counted not less than a hundred thousand foot, with two thousand heavy armed cavalry, and the same number of light horse.

It appears that in the interval since the battle of Stirling, the English had obtained possession of the castle of Roxburgh, and that they had rebuilt and garrisoned it. Wallace hastened to invest it with a large force, but the English garrison made a brave defence, and it had now sustained a long siege, and was reduced to great distress. The earl of Warenne, who was by his office the commander-in-chief of the English army, proceeded at once to raise the siege of a fortress which it concerned so much the English interests to preserve, and at the approach of this mighty host the Scots made a hasty retreat. Skirmishing parties were sent forward as far as Kelso, but after having relieved the garrison of Roxburgh, the English returned to relieve a post of no less importance, the castle of Berwick. The garrison of this fortress had held out during the whole time the Scots were in possession of the town, and the arrival of Warenne's army was a very seasonable succour. The Scots abandoned the town on his approach.

In the meanwhile king Edward, who was still detained in Flanders, but anxiously hurrying his departure to join his army in Scotland, concluded a truce with the king of France, and soon afterwards landed at Sandwich, to the great joy of his subjects. He had written to the earl of Warenne from

Flanders, commanding him to delay his expedition into Scotland till he arrived to take the command in person, and the earl immediately dismissed the numerous troops that attended upon him, keeping only a small part of them at Berwick. The king, immediately after his landing, sent forth his writs calling a parliament at York, and summoning the military force of the kingdom to meet him there on the feast of Pentecost. He commanded the nobility of Scotland to come to this assembly, but they paid no more attention to this summons than to the former. Edward then advanced to Roxburgh, where he found himself at the head of eighty thousand men, mostly Welsh and Irish, and seven thousand horse, three thousand of which were heavy armed. These were soon afterwards joined by a powerful reinforcement from Gascony, with five hundred horse. When Edward prepared to leave Roxburgh, the constable and the marshal refused to advance with the troops, unless he ratified again the great charter and the charter of forests, and the king was obliged to give security for his performance of this condition on his return. Having overcome this difficulty, Edward commenced his progress to the west, laying waste the country as he advanced. He had directed his fleet, with supplies for the army, to sail round the firth of Forth, and attend upon his motions.

The selfishness of the nobles, who refused to compromise themselves by acting with Wallace, again proved the ruin of their country. Most of them deserted him in his need, and Robert Bruce shut himself up with his vassals in the castle of Ayr, in mysterious neutrality. The only great nobles who joined Wallace and acted with him, were the younger John Comyn, of Badenoch, sir John Stewart of Bonkill, sir John Graham, of Abercorn, and Macduff, of Fife. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to raise an army to contend with so formidable a force in the field, and Wallace adopted the prudent policy of avoiding a battle, while he harassed the invaders by wasting the country through which they had to march, until they should be obliged to retreat from want of provisions, and so give him the opportunity of attacking them at advantage. Edward thus continued his march through Berwickshire to Lauder, and thence to Kirkliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, without meeting with an opponent, or finding any one who would tell him where the Scottish army lay. Here he determined to wait the arrival of his fleet with provisions, and he sent the bishop of Durham with a strong force to reduce the castle of Dirleton, with two small fortalices, the Scottish garrisons of which had given some annoyance to his rear. Dirleton castle was a fortress of unusual strength, and it long resisted the attacks of the assailants; and the English army began to suffer severely from the want of provisions. Three of the king's ships, however, at length made their appearance, and the timely supply they brought restored the drooping spirits of the soldiery. A new assault was now made on Dirleton castle, and it was compelled to surrender; the two fortalices were at the same time abandoned by their garrisons. Still the fleet was detained by contrary winds, and the army could not advance for want of provisions. Again a few ships brought a very insufficient supply, and the sufferings of the soldiers were so severe, that they could hardly be restrained from mutiny. The Welsh troops, of which there were about forty thousand, either suffered more than the others, or bore it with less patience, and they seem to have thought that their English comrades were treated with undue partiality. To conciliate them the king sent them a present of wine, which they drank to intoxication, and in this state they rushed furiously by night into the English quarter, and murdered eighteen priests. The English cavalry, indignant at this unprovoked attack, flew to their weapons, and falling upon the Welsh, killed eighty men. The Welsh next morning drew up in a hostile attitude, demanded vengeance, and threatened to go over to the Scots. Edward was unmoved by this threat, and merely answered contemptuously, "Let them go, if they like, and join my enemies; I trust soon to see the day when I shall chastise them both!" The Welsh, when their passion calmed, returned to their obedience, but the want of provisions became unbearable; there was no news of the fleet, nor of the Scottish army, and the country around them was a desert. In anger and mortification, Edward gave orders to retreat to Edinburgh, in the hopes of hearing something of his fleet at Leith.

But just as preparations were making for this retrogade movement, two Scottish lords, the earls of Dunbar and Angus, came secretly by day-break into the quarters of the bishop of Durham, and gave him informa

tion that the whole Scottish army was encamped, not far off, in the forest of Falkirk, waiting to pursue and harass the English in their retreat. When this welcome news was communicated to the king, his countenance brightened, and he burst out into an exclamation of joy. "Thanks be to God," he said, "who has hitherto extricated me from every danger. They shall not need to follow me, for I will immediately go and meet them." Instant orders were given to the troops to arm, and prepare to march, and Edward himself, armed and mounted, rode backwards and forwards, hastening their execution. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the army was on its march, slowly and steadily, most of the soldiers entirely ignorant of the cause of this extraordinary alteration in the plans of their commander. At nightfall they reached a heath near Linlithgow, where they, by the king's orders, lay down to sleep on the ground in their arms, himself setting the example. Towards morning, Edward's horse, which was lying by his side, started, and turned suddenly over, striking the king violently with his foot. His cry aroused those who were near him, and the alarm went through the army, the soldiers snatching their weapons and preparing for battle, imagining that they were attacked by the enemy. But the cause of the disturbance was soon explained, and the king, who found that he was only slightly hurt, mounted his horse and gave orders to march. Just before sunset, when they had passed through Linlithgow, they saw a hill before them lined on its summit with troops. The column in advance hurried up to dislodge them, but they found that it was only an advanced guard of the enemy, which had fallen back on the main body at their approach.

It was the 22nd of July, 1298, and being the feast of St. Mary Magdelane, the king ordered a tent to be raised, that he and the bishop of Durham might hear mass. While they were thus employed, daylight appeared, and the Scottish army was seen in the distance, drawn up in lines and preparing for battle. Wallace, betrayed by the two earls, and taken by surprise, had wished at first to effect his retreat, but he found this was impossible, on account of the proximity of the enemy; and in despite of the disparity of numbers (his force amounted to not more than a third of that of the English), and of his distrust of a part of his troops, he resolved on hazarding a battle, and chose an advantageous position for receiving the English if they attacked him. The chief strength of the Scottish army was in its infantry, armed with lances, which Wallace arranged in a line in four compact divisions, with their lances pointing obliquely outwards, and so close together, that it seemed impossible for any force to break through them. The archers were placed in the spaces between these divisions; and the horse, about a thousand strong, were drawn up in the rear.

The king, after hearing mass, reconnoitred the enemy's position, and convinced of its strength, and of the formidable preparations for defence, wished to give his men and horses time to take food and refreshment before leading them to the attack, but he was overruled by the eagerness of his officers to engage. Then, without further delay, the army was marshalled in order of battle, and told to advance. The first division was commanded by the marshal of England and the earls of Hereford and Lincoln, who led them in a direct line against the enemy, but their progress was suddenly arrested by an extensive moss which lay between them and the Scottish position, and they were obliged to march round it to the westward to arrive at the Scottish line. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the second division of the English army, had observed how the march of the first was impeded by the moss, and he therefore marched round its eastern extremity, and soon approached the Scottish line. Here the bishop would have halted till the third and last division, led by Edward himself, came up to support him, but he could not restrain the impetuosity of his officers, and they were almost immediately engaged with one extremity of Wallace's line, while their companions, who had extricated themselves from the moss, attacked the other extremity. The moment the engagement had commenced, the whole of the Scottish heavy horse, which was commanded by the barons, who were faithful neither to king Edward nor to their country, fled without striking a blow. The infantry stood firm in its impenetrable columns, but the archers, after a short struggle, were driven away with loss. A few of the armed knights, faithful to the cause in which they were engaged, remained with them, and encouraged them. Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill, was slain while using his efforts to keep the archers from the forest of Selkirk in their ranks, and many of them fell round him in his defence. For

some time the spears of the infantry offered an impenetrable obstacle to repeated charges of Edward's heavy horse, until they were at length broken by the tremendous volleys of arrows and stones from his archers and slingers. The cavalry now rode in among them, and made dreadful havoc. Macduff was slain, with most of his vassals from Fife; and the entire loss of the Scots on this disastrous day is believed to have been not less than fifteen thousand men. Wallace reached a neighbouring wood with the remains of his army, and succeeded in making his retreat from thence without further loss. He went first to Stirling, where the Scots burnt the town, that it might not afford any advantage to the English. The town of Perth was treated in the same manner.

The loss of the English in this engagement was not great, and only two men of any note were slain. Sir Brian de Jaye, the master of the Scottish templars, was killed in pursuing the fugitives, and a companion of the same order, of high rank, fell in the battle. From the sanguinary field of Falkirk, Edward resumed his march into the interior of Scotland. He reached Stirling four days after it had been burnt by the Scots, and took up his lodging in the convent of the Dominicans, which alone had escaped the flames. Here he remained a fortnight, to recover from the hurt he had received from the kick of his horse, while a portion of his army crossed the Forth into Clackmannanshire and Menteith, and after plundering those districts, entered Fife, which was laid waste with studious severity, in revenge for the part which Macduff and the men of Fife had taken in the war. Wherever they went, the English found neither resistance nor support. The city of St. Andrews was deserted by its inhabitants, and they committed it to the flames. They then pushed on to Perth, in the hopes of procuring provisions, but they found that place already burnt by the Scots; and unable to support themselves in a deserted country, they were obliged to return to Stirling. After placing a strong garrison in Stirling castle, the king led his army to Abercorn, near Queensferry, in the vain hope of finding his fleet with supplies from Berwick. Disappointed again, he marched through Clydesdale, towards the district which was held by the younger Bruce, who burnt his castle, and fled into the fastnesses of Carrick. Edward then marched into Bruce's country of Galloway, to wreak his vengeance on his property and people, but the want of provisions compelled him soon to turn his course homewards, and marching through Annandale, where he captured the castle of Lochmaben, he returned with his army to Carlisle, thus closing a campaign which had been most disastrous to Scotland, without producing any permanent advantage to the invader. A parliament was held at Carlisle, in which the estates of the Scottish nobles were confiscated, and Edward, though not in possession, conferred them upon his own earls and barons, in reward for their services. The king had reached Durham, on his way southward, when he was stopped by intelligence that the Scots were again in arms. His army was reduced by the departure of some of his great barons, and the soldiers who remained were weakened with the hardships which they had already endured, and were not in a condition to march into Scotland again; but the king issued his writs, summoning his barons to meet him in arms at Carlisle on the eve of the day of Pentecost in the following year.

The good fortune of William Wallace sank with the fatal battle of Falkirk. The nobles, who despised him for his ignoble birth, appear to have been plotting his overthrow, even when he was in the zenith of his power, and the coalition against him became doubly powerful after his defeat. The Comyns threatened him with impeachment, and the Bruces laid aside their hatred of the Comyns to join them in persecuting the man who had restored Scotland to independence. With the pure spirit of patriotism, which seems to have characterized all his actions, Wallace preferred the interests of his country to his personal feelings, and attempted to save it from the consequences of domestic feud, by giving up his power to the barons. He preferred, to use the words of the old historian Fordun, to be a subject with the commonalty rather than to be their governor, and bring upon them ruin and distress. Accordingly, not long after the battle of Falkirk, he voluntarily resigned the office of governor of Scotland. He not only gave up his power, but from this moment his name disappears for several years from the annals of his country. How he was employed during that period has not been explained; an old account, of which the authority seems to be doubtful, pretends that he entered the service of the king of France, and that he signalized

himself by his exploits against the pirates who infested the coast of that kingdom, and these stories are introduced into the legendary history of the Scottish hero. On Wallace's resignation, the Scottish barons met at Perth, and elected John Comyn, of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis, to be joint governors or regents of Scotland, in the name of their captive king, John Baliol. After some time, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, were joined with them in the regency.

Baliol, as we have just observed, still remained a prisoner in England, and excited commiseration by his misfortunes rather than by his conduct. When the truce was concluded in 1297, between the kings of England and France, the latter tried to obtain his liberation, and proposed also to include the Scots in the articles of pacification. Edward evaded the subject, until he had invaded Scotland and gained the battle of Falkirk, and then he refused firmly to listen to either of these proposals. The pope was next applied to, and his mediation was so far effective, that the English monarch, who professed great reverence for his spiritual father, consented to deliver Baliol into the hands of the papal legate. Accordingly, the deposed king was committed to the charge of the constable of Dover, to be by him carried over to Whitsand, and delivered to the legate. Baliol was treated with every mark of contemptuous disrespect. Before embarking, his boxes were searched, and a crown of gold, with the great seal of Scotland, being found in them, both were seized for the king, who ordered the crown to be hung up at the shrine of St. Thomas the martyr. Edward stipulated that the pope should not interfere in Scottish affairs, but he gave him, nominally, the disposal of Baliol's estates in England. Baliol was himself sent to his castle of Bailleul, in France, where he passed the remainder of his life in retirement, forgotten equally by his subjects and his enemies.

The liberation of Baliol took place in the year 1299, when Edward was preparing for a new campaign in Scotland. The greater part of the year was spent in negotiations with France, in disputes with his barons, and in his marriage with the sister of the king of France, but the war of Scotland was always uppermost in his mind, and he called a parliament at York, on the 10th of November. Meanwhile, the Scottish regency had made an attempt to imitate the vigour of Wallace. They raised an army, and undertook the siege of Stirling, and the army encamped in Torwood, in a position where cavalry could not act against them, and where any assailants would have to encounter the Scottish spearmen at great disadvantage. When the regents heard of the parliament at York, and of the preparations on the other side of the border, they sent a letter to Edward, claiming to be included in the treaty with France, and proposing a cessation of arms. But Edward returned no answer. After acquainting his parliament with his intentions in regard to Scotland, he assembled a powerful army at Berwick, to march to the relief of Stirling, in spite of the approach of winter, and then to complete the reduction of Scotland under his domination. But when he reached Berwick, his barons, who were dissatisfied at his conduct with regard to the grand charter and other bulwarks of the national liberties, refused to march any further, and withdrew with their followers to their estates. Edward, angry and disappointed, marched into Scotland with the troops which remained, but when he was informed of the strong position occupied by the Scots, he was convinced that the risk of a battle would be too hazardous, and he returned with his army to Berwick. The garrison of Stirling, which had made a long and brave defence, were now almost reduced to extremities, and, with king Edward's permission, they surrendered the castle to sir John de Soulis, one of the regents, who committed it to the keeping of a Scottish baron, sir William Olifant.

Next year, however, Edward marched again with his army into Scotland. He directed his march towards the country of the Brucès, and on the 6th of July entered Annandale, where he besieged and took Lochmaben. He next reduced the strong castle of Caerlaverock, on the coast of the Solway Firth. The Scots, according to the system of warfare they had now adopted, wasted the country and retired before him, so that he had to depend for his subsistence on his supplies from England. In Galloway, where he now led his army, he had an interview with the Scottish bishop, who made a vain attempt to mediate a peace. The Scottish barons had been much more provoked by the confiscation of

their estates in the preceding year, than by the injuries inflicted on their country, and two of their number, the earl of Buchan and John Comyn, of Badenoch, now sought an interview with the king, in which they demanded that Baliol should be allowed to resume the sceptre, and that their estates should be restored. But after an angry meeting, in which the king treated them contemptuously as rebels, they parted unsatisfied. The king then marched to Irvine, where he encamped eight days, while provisions were brought up the river from his ships. The Scottish army made its appearance on the other side of the river of Irvine, to watch his movements, but when attacked by the English, they made a hurried retreat into the mountains, where the English soldiers could not follow, and the Welsh, who were more accustomed to mountain fighting, refused to go. The king now moved his head-quarters to Dumfries, where he could easily receive supplies from England, and employed himself in reducing the people of Galloway to obedience.

Edward was arrested in his further progress by the unexpected interference of the pope. Commissioners had been sent to Rome by the regents, in the earlier part of the year, to endeavour to obtain the pope's protection, by representing Scotland as a fief of the holy see; and it is said that Boniface VIII., who then occupied the papal chair, was gained over as much by their gold as by their persuasions. The pope addressed an admonitory bull to king Edward, setting forth his own claims to sovereignty over Scotland, its independence of England, complained of the aggressions of the English monarch, and ordering him to desist. The bull was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was directed by the pope to deliver it to the king. The archbishop accordingly proceeded to Scotland, and after a harassing and perilous journey, found Edward encamped near the castle of Caerlaverock. The archbishop there presented the imperious mandate of which he was the bearer, in the presence of the English nobles, and he recommended it with some admonitions on the duty of obedience to Rome, adding that "Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Sion, those who trusted in the Lord." Edward was offended, not less with the archbishop's observations, than with the document itself, and he exclaimed, with a great oath, "I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Sion or for Jerusalem; but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, I will defend what all the world knows to be my right." Then becoming calmer, and feeling the importance, at that moment, of keeping fair with the pope, he desired the archbishop to retire, while he consulted with his nobles. On his readmission, the king addressed him as follows:—"My lord archbishop, you have delivered me, on the part of my superior and reverend father, the pope, a certain admonition touching the state and realm of Scotland. Since, however, it is the custom of England, that in matters relating to the state of that kingdom, to consult with all those who may have an interest in them, and as the present business affects not only the state of Scotland, but the rights of England, and since many prelates, earls, barons, and magnates, are at this time absent from my army, without whose advice I am unwilling to give a final answer to my holy father, it is my intention to hold, as soon as possible, a council with my nobility, and by their advice and determination to send an answer to his holiness by messengers of my own." The archbishop was thus dismissed; and the king, embarrassed by the interference of the pope, gave up his purpose of continuing the war during the rest of the year. He pretended suddenly to be moved by the intercession of the ambassadors sent by the king of France to negotiate a peace, and professing that he yielded to Philip's wishes as his friend and kinsman, and not as the ally of Scotland, he granted the Scots a truce to endure till Whit-sunday, 1301.

King Edward was all this time moving slowly about on the Scottish borders. At the end of August, 1300, he proceeded to Holmcultram, in Cumberland, and he remained there and at Carlisle, until the 16th of October, when he returned to Dumfries. Here the truce with the Scots was concluded on the 30th of the last-named month, and, after it had been proclaimed, the king proceeded to Carlisle on the 3rd of November. At the same time he disbanded his army, and issued his writs summoning a parliament to meet at Lincoln, on the 31st of January. He also wrote to the chancellors of the two universities, commanding to send some of their ablest civilians to the parliament to declare their

opinion, and to the heads of religious houses, with injunctions to search their chronicles and other records for evidence, on his right to be lord paramount of Scotland. As Edward had now to defend his own independence against an attempted assumption of undue authority on the part of the pope, and he wished to throw the main responsibility on his nobles and people, he proceeded to conciliate them by a full and free confirmation of the great charters of liberties and of the forests. When parliament met, and the pope's bull was read, the question of right was warmly and learnedly discussed by the lawyers. According to the sentiments of the time, each party sought justification in the antiquity of their claims, rather than in the absolute justice of their proceedings, and while the king derived his rights from the remote times of the fabulous Brute, the pope would have overruled claims derived from a pagan king, by declaring that Scotland had been given to the church of Rome by St. Andrew! The parliament concluded their deliberations on this *papal aggression*, by directing a very spirited letter to the pope, to which they attached a formidable array of a hundred and four seals. After the usual complimentary exordium to such documents, they set forth the king's claims in opposition to those of the pope, and of their right to determine them without being subjected to any jurisdiction of the court of Rome. The pope had ordered the king to send commissioners to Rome, to state there his claims, and submit to his judgment upon them, in reply to which the parliament said, that, "having diligently considered the letters of his holiness, it is now, and for the future shall be, the unanimous and unshaken resolution of all and every one of us, that our lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other temporal rights, must in no wise answer judicially before the pope, or submit them to his judgment, or draw them into question by such submission; and that he must not send proxies or commissioners to his holiness, more especially when it would manifestly tend to the disinheritance of the crown and royal dignity of England, to the notorious subversion of the state of the kingdom, and to the prejudice of our liberties, customs, and laws, delivered to us by our fathers; which, by our oaths, we are bound to observe and defend, and which, by the help of God, we will defend with our whole force and power." The letter concluded by declaring, "we neither permit or will permit, in any way, as we neither can nor ought, the king to do, or even to attempt, such strange and unheard of things, even if he were willing so far to forget his royal rights. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly entreat his holiness to permit the king to possess his rights in peace, without domination or disturbance." The king soon after wrote a private letter to Boniface, in which he stated his claims at great length, professing all the while his great reverence for the holy see. These documents seem to have produced a wonderful effect; for it was not long after when the pope, with singular inconsistency, wrote a letter to Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, who was acting with the patriotic party in Scotland, addressing him as "the prime mover and instigator of all the tumult and dissension which have arisen between his dearest son in Christ, Edward king of England, and the Scots!" and commanding him to desist from further opposition to king Edward; and a bull was at the same time sent to the body of the Scottish bishops, threatening them with the pope's high displeasure, unless they remained at peace with the king of England.

In due time the truce with the Scots expired, and Edward again summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Berwick, on the day of St. John the Baptist (June 24). Directions were at the same time given that a fleet of seventy ships should assemble at the same place to act in concert with him. The English entered Scotland on the 3rd of July, in two divisions, one under the command of prince Edward, and the other led by the king in person. Their first exploit was the capture of the castle of Bonkill, in Berwickshire. The Scots followed their old policy of wasting their country, and retiring before the invaders, and the only hostility the latter had to contend with arose from the attacks of small bodies of Scots or straggling parties of foragers. The English army moved slowly from one place to another, and we can only explain the king's inactivity by the knowledge that he was actively engaged in negotiating a treaty of peace with France, and that the French king was at the same time interceding for a new truce with the Scots. In the legal documents of the period, we trace Edward at Kelso on the 22nd of July, at Roxburgh on the 24th of the same month, at Peebles on the 4th of August, and at Glasgow on

the 20th. He was still at Glasgow on the 25th, when he offered oblations at the shrine of St. Kentigern, "for the good news of sir Malcolm de Drummond, knight, a Scot, being taken prisoner by sir John de Segrave." On the 4th of September the king was at the castle of Mearns, on the 24th he was at Glasgow again, and on the 14th of October he was at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire. On this day he concluded the truce with the Scots, which was to last until the 30th of November, 1302. He now halted in his progress north, but he determined to winter in Scotland, and, having sent to England for supplies, he established his head quarters at Linlithgow, where he employed himself in erecting a strong castle. It was here that with his son and his nobles, he celebrated the festivities of Christmas. He was still at Linlithgow on the 26th of January, 1302, but he soon afterwards commenced his journey southwards, and we find him on the 12th of February at Roxburgh, and on the 24th at Morpeth, in Northumberland.

During the ensuing year, Edward's attention was too much occupied with his foreign negotiations to admit of his invading Scotland, of which kingdom he had appointed John de Segrave governor. The Scots had taken courage after Edward's departure, and on the expiration of the truce they commenced hostilities, and proceeded with so much vigour, that by the end of the year the king received intelligence from Segrave that they had not only ravaged the country, and taken and burnt the castles and towns held by the English, but that they threatened an invasion of England. Sir John de Segrave was at Berwick, whither the king immediately ordered a number of his barons to attend with horse and foot to assist the governor of Scotland against his enemies, promising that he would himself hasten with an army into Scotland sooner than he had before intended.

Thus reinforced, sir John de Segrave, who appears to have acted throughout with great want of care and foresight, marched towards Edinburgh with an army of twenty thousand men, consisting chiefly of cavalry. As they met with no enemy, the army, divided by Segrave into three divisions, encamped carelessly at night, without any communication with each other. Nevertheless, though the Scots had as yet shown no inclination to resist, their governor, sir John Comyn, and sir Simon Fraser, had raised a force of about eight thousand horse, and marched in the night from Biggar, in the hope of surprising the invaders in their sleep, and their plan was executed with success. Early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, when they were approaching Roslin, Segrave, who commanded the first division, which was some distance in advance of the others, was roused from his sleep by a boy rushing in with intelligence that the enemy was upon them. The English had no time to arm or prepare for defence, and Segrave's division was quickly routed, and himself, and his brother, and son, with a number of knights and esquires, were made prisoners. The Scots were beginning to collect their booty, when the second division of the English army appeared, and then, in the urgency of the moment, the Scots put their prisoners to death, that they might fight without embarrassment. The second division was also, after an obstinate struggle, put to flight, and many prisoners taken. The sudden appearance of the third division, commanded by sir Robert Neville, obliged the victors to resort again to the cruel precaution of slaying their prisoners. It is said that the Scots would willingly have made good their retreat from Neville's division, but that he was too near before they were aware of his approach. The third combat was more obstinate than the others, but the English were again totally defeated, and Neville himself was among the slain. The wreck of Segrave's army fled to England, and the Scottish combatants gathered the plunder, which was unusually great, and returned to their homes.

While the Scots were thus triumphing in their own country, they were deserted and deceived by their last friend abroad. Philip of France had hitherto professed his intention of including them in any general arrangements of peace which he should conclude with king Edward, and, as he was now openly negotiating, they had sent some of their leading men, including the earl of Buchan, the steward of Scotland, sir John Soulis, and Ingelram de Umfraville, to the French court to watch over their interests. Philip, however, had just been defeated by the Flemings, and he was apprehensive that any open protection he showed to the Scots would only give the king of England a plea for supporting his enemies in Flanders against him. It was easily, therefore,

arranged between the two monarchs, that the one should abandon the Scots on condition that the other gave no assistance to the Flemings—Edward had already set the example by omitting the latter from his truce—and in the new truce concluded at Amiens the Scots were altogether excluded.

To pacify the Scottish envoys, he persuaded them that it was still his intention to act with energy as their mediator with England, and that he would not finally conclude a peace without extending his protection to Scotland. Further, being well informed that Edward was preparing to invade Scotland, and knowing that Edward would be glad of the absence of some of the most warlike and skilful of the Scottish leaders, he persuaded them to remain with him till the treaty was concluded, in order that they might carry back to their countrymen the best information of the success with which he had advocated their cause. So completely were the Scottish deputies deceived, that, when the news of the battle of Roslin arrived to the surprise of every one, they wrote a letter to the governor (John Comyn) and the nobles of Scotland, encouraging them to persevere, in which, after telling them how much they would rejoice "were they aware what a load of honour this last conflict with the English had conferred upon them throughout the world," they proceeded to say, "Wherefore we beseech you earnestly that you continue to be of good courage; and if the king of England consent to a truce, as we firmly believe he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the king of France shall propose by one of our number. But if the king of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened, and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of Christ, that you quit yourselves like men, so that, by the assistance of God, and your own courage, you may gain the victory." Almost immediately after the writing of this remarkable letter, on the 20th of May, 1303, Philip concluded with the king of England the treaty of Paris, in which the Scots were silently left to their fate.

That fate was a cruel one; for Edward, exasperated and not intimidated by the destruction of his army at Roslin, instead of talking of a truce, summoned his warriors from England, from Ireland, and even from Gascony, to meet him at Berwick. On the 10th of May, just ten days before the final signing of the treaty of Paris, he entered Scotland with an overwhelming force, which he had divided into two armies, one of which, under the command of the prince of Wales, marched to the west. Edward led the other army in person, slowly by Roxburgh to Edinburgh, where he arrived at the beginning of June. He declared that he would this time either reduce the Scots to obedience, or he would make a desert of their country; and in this spirit he conducted his desolating march. The people, in despair, submitted to his power, or fled before him to the wilds and fastnesses, where Comyn, sir Simon Fraser, and a few other chiefs, carried on a predatory warfare against the invaders.

From Edinburgh Edward continued his progress to the north more rapidly. He was at Linlithgow on the 6th of June, at Perth on the 10th, and at Clackmannan on the 12th, from whence he returned to Perth, where he remained some days, occupied, no doubt, in receiving into his allegiance those who submitted. He was still at Perth on the 10th of July, but soon after this he proceeded by Dundee, Brechin, and Kincardine, to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 24th of August, and on the 4th of September he had reached Banff, on the Moray firth. Thence he marched westward to Kinloss, and proceeding into the heart of Moray, established his head quarters at the castle of Lochendorf, a strong fortress on an island in the middle of a lake. From hence he went to take possession of the strong castle of Kildrummie, and subsequently proceeded southwardly to Dundee, and so by Perth, Stirling, and Cambuskenneth, to Kinross, where we find him on the 10th of November.

In this long progress, Edward had met with few attempts at resistance, and one of these only has been thought worthy of record. A brave Scottish knight, named sir Thomas Maule, shut himself up with a few men in the castle of Brechin, and set the king at defiance. The massive walls of the fortress long resisted the battering engines of the besiegers, and Maule stood on the wall deriding their attempts, and scornfully wiping off with a towel the dust raised by their missiles. At length, after a siege of twelve days, he was struck down by a ponderous stone from one of the English engines; his last words were an execration on his soldiers for talking of surrender. They did surrender, however, the moment he expired.

Early in December, the king took up his winter quarters in the town of Dunfermline, where he was soon afterwards joined by his queen. While he himself was here occupied in receiving the submission of the Scottish chiefs who had not come in during his progress, he employed his soldiers in destroying the noble abbey of the Benedictines, the scene of so many events in the earlier history of Scotland, sparing only the church and a few cells for the monks. Yet the old spirit of Scottish independence, which now lay prostrate, still seemed inclined to make one effort before it expired. Comyn, the governor, with sir Simon Fraser, and a few other barons, remained in arms, though they had not dared to shew themselves, and the brave garrison of Stirling, under its commander, sir William Olifant, held out, and had been hitherto left by the English on account of its strength, though Edward now prepared to reduce it. Comyn resolved to dispute the passage of the Forth, and collecting all the men he could muster, established himself on the same spot which had been occupied by Wallace on a celebrated occasion; but, instead of following the policy of his predecessor, he destroyed the bridge over the river. Edward no sooner heard that the Scots had shown themselves in force, than he hastened against them; and when he found that they had destroyed the bridge, he himself found a ford, and led his cavalry through the water. The last show of an army which the Scots could now muster was soon routed and broken, and Comyn, with most of his adherents, soon afterwards submitted. He met the earls of Pembroke and Ulster, and the lord Henry Percy, at Strathorde, in Fife, on the 9th of February, 1304, and there entered into an agreement with the conquerors, by which all the castles and fortresses in Scotland were to be held by English garrisons, and the government of the kingdom was to be administered at the pleasure of the English king. The barons who signed this agreement were to have their lives, liberties, and lands preserved, subject to a pecuniary fine at the king's pleasure. A few persons were excepted from these conditions, among whom were Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, the steward of Scotland, and the other commissioners still in France (who of course were not present to agree to it), and especially sir Simon Fraser and William Wallace. All but the last two subsequently submitted on the terms of the agreement, and Wallace, who now when his country was in its greatest distress, had reappeared on the turbulent scene, was alone cut off by the terms of the treaty from all hope of mercy.

In the beginning of March Edward went to St. Andrews, where he had called an English parliament, and he summoned the Scottish barons to attend. They all obeyed, except Fraser and Wallace, who, of course, as not included in the treaty, did not dare to present themselves; and these two chiefs, with the brave garrison of Stirling, were declared outlaws by the united voice of the barons of England and Scotland. The spirit of Simon Fraser was broken by the desolation of his country, and he now submitted to the punishment of fine and banishment, which was to be the condition of his surrender. Wallace now stood alone; he was bowed, though not broken, by his misfortunes, and he also would fain have made his peace. But his conditions only irritated the king's anger, who swore that the only condition reserved for him should be the punishment of a traitor, and set a reward of three hundred marks upon his head, denouncing the heaviest punishment against all who supported or protected him. Wallace, as a last resource, betook himself to the wilds of the north, to subsist on plunder.

It now remained only to invest the castle of Stirling, and the same parliament urged Edward to undertake the siege without delay. The siege of Stirling castle is one of the celebrated events in Scottish history. Sir William Olifant, who commanded the garrison, held it as the lieutenant of sir John Soulis, who was the governor of Stirling castle; and when summoned by the king to surrender it, he answered, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, that as he was pledged to his master to defend it, he could not give it up without his orders; but if he were allowed the necessary time, and a cessation of hostilities, he would proceed immediately to France, where sir John Soulis then was, and obtain his permission to yield up his trust. Edward replied, in anger, that he would hear of no terms but the immediate surrender of the castle, and that if Olifant and his garrison retained it, it must be at their utmost peril. The latter now proceeded to fortify his walls, and to erect his engines of defence, with every preparation for an obstinate struggle.

The preparations of the besiegers were no less terrible. Thirteen engines for battering were brought to bear against the walls, which threw heavy darts, with immense stones and balls of lead. The cathedral of St. Andrews was stripped of its leaden roof to contribute to the supply of the latter articles. Day after day these warlike machines continued to discharge their missiles without producing any impression on the walls, while the deadly weapons ejected from the machines on the walls, worked with the greatest skill, made fatal havoc among the besiegers, whose labours were so arduous, that it required the presence of the king himself to encourage them. Edward exposed his person with the rashness of a young warrior, riding under the walls to make his observations, and directing his men in the management of the attack, and he was often struck with the stones and javelins from the walls. On one occasion, when he approached nearer the walls than usual, a javelin struck him on the breast, and became fixed in the plates of his armour without penetrating to the skin. Edward plucked it out with his own hand, and brandishing it in the air, threatened that he would hang the man who sent it. On another occasion, an immense stone from one of the engines in the castle struck the ground before the king, and his horse backing from it, fell upon its rider. Some of his soldiers rescued their king from this dangerous position, and dragged him down the hill into the camp. Finding that their military engines produced little impression on the walls, the English now determined on making an assault, but when they had filled the fosse with faggots and branches to facilitate their approach, a well-directed sally was made from the castle, and not only were the works of the besiegers destroyed and their faggots burnt, but a considerable number of them were killed. It was now the 20th of May, nearly a month since the commencement of the siege, and the munitions of war brought by the assailants were nearly exhausted, with little effect on the castle. Untiring perseverance was one of the peculiar characteristics of the mind of the great monarch who was directing the siege operations, and he now sent orders through England to collect new weapons and make new engines, ordered all his warriors to turn their energies solely to the reduction of this great fortress, and sought for new agents of destruction. He gave orders for the composition of Greek fire, and articles then scarcely known in western warfare, and set his engineers to construct two machines, so much larger than any of those employed before, that they overtopped the walls, and threw immense masses of stone and lead. One of these, though very complicated in its construction, did little mischief; but the other, which was called a wolf, was unusually destructive. At last, Edward's persevering efforts were successful. A large breach was made, and the outer ditching having been filled with stones, the men were ordered to the assault. But as the assailants were marching to the attack, the garrison, already greatly reduced, with their provisions exhausted, sent a deputation to the English king with offers to capitulate on security of life and limb. These terms Edward rejected with scorn, on which they consented to surrender at discretion. The earls of Gloucester and Ulster, sir Eustace le Poer, and sir John de Mowbray, were accordingly sent to the castle gate to receive their submission. The whole garrison was found to consist of only a hundred and forty soldiers. Sir William Olifant, their commander, with twenty-five of the knights and gentlemen, were compelled to appear before king Edward in full court, stripped to their shirts and drawers, with halters round their necks, as supplicants for pardon, and the king's mercy extended so far as to order that they should not be chained. But Olifant was thrown into the prison of the Tower of London, and his companions in arms were confined in different English castles.

Thus fell the last hold of Scottish independence. Edward now began to take measures for securing and governing the country he had conquered, and his measures were characterized by at least a semblance of moderation and justice. He made John de Segrave temporary governor of Scotland, and appointed English commanders to the castles. He then returned by Jedburgh, Morpeth, and York, to Lincoln, where he kept the Christmas of 1304. He took as his Scottish advisers, Wishart bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and John de Mowbray, and, pretending to be led by their councils, in the spring of 1305 he called a great council of the Scots at Perth, to choose ten commissioners, who were to meet twenty English commissioners at London, for the purpose of adjusting such

an arrangement as should combine the interests of the two realms. Many of the old Celtic customs were now abolished, but in other respects the laws of Scotland were acknowledged and confirmed. Private property, which had not been forfeited, was placed under the protection of the law; and the rights of hereditary officers were recognised and treated with respect. The executive goverment was placed in the king's lieutenant and chamberlain.

There was one of Edward's enemies still at large, against whom he entertained the bitterest hatred. This was William Wallace, who had steadily refused to submit except on honourable terms, and who was now living the life of an outlaw in the wilds of the north. Here he long eluded the pursuit of his enemies, and might perhaps never have fallen into their hands had he not been betrayed by his own people. Wallace was hated by the Scottish nobles, not only because they looked upon him as an upstart, but because, when in power, he appears to have acted towards them with a proud and unconciliating bearing. They, therefore, were far from unwilling to deliver him up to the king's vengeance, if he fell into their hands. Many, also, of lower rank, were ready to betray him, some with no better motive than the desire of obtaining the reward which was set upon his head. The king had given strict orders to his captains in Scotland to hunt the outlaw incessantly, and he sought out all the Scots who were his enemies, and bribed them to assist in the pursuit. Among Wallace's personal enemies was sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank, whose nephew was slain fighting under that chieftain's banner at Falkirk. It is supposed that Menteith had cherished a feud against Wallace ever since that fatal battle, because he had retreated from the field and left his nephew to perish. Sir John Menteith was, at this time, sheriff of Dumbartonshire, and he joined the authority of his office with the activity of a personal enemy, in tracing Wallace from one hiding-place to another. At length a treacherous servant of the fugitive gave information of the place of his retreat, and Menteith, having surrounded the house in which he was concealed, found him in bed "with his leman," and carried him off a prisoner. He was immediately sent to London in fetters, where he was paraded triumphantly through the streets, and, in due course, was arraigned in Westminster Hall of high treason; and as it was reported that he had once boasted himself worthy to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was placed in mockery on his head. He insisted upon his innocence of the disgraceful crime of treason, on the ground that he had never sworn fealty to the king of England, but he acknowledged that he had made war against him in defence of the independence of his country. As might be expected, the Scottish hero was found guilty of everything that was laid to his charge, and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. Upon this, the laurel crown was taken from his head, and he was chained; and on the 23rd of August, when the sentence was carried into execution, he was drawn at the tails of horses through the streets to the Elms, in Smithfield, where a high gallows was erected. He was there hanged, and, having been cut down alive, his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face, in a fire which had been made at hand for that purpose. His head was then struck off, and his body was divided into four quarters. These were sent severally to be stuck up at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge. Thus ignominiously perished the man whom Scotland has ever revered as one of the purest and bravest of her patriots; though, under the mistaken feelings and prejudices of that age, the people of England exulted over his fate as that of an accursed felon, and shouted songs of exultation over his quivering remains.* The refined cruelty of his death, though in accordance with the sanguinary laws of that period, cast a dark blot on the character of one of the greatest of the English monarchs.

* The contemporary chronicler, Peter Langtoft, has left us the following account of Wallace's execution, in which he curiously justifies the different parts of it by the different crimes laid to his charge:—

Novel avoms oy entre compaygnouns
De William le Walays, mestre de larouns;
Sire Jon de Menetest li suist à talouns,
Enprès de sa putayne li prist en tapisouns;
A Loundres le menait en ferges et laceouns,
Où jugez esteit sur cels condiciouns;
En primer à fourches fust trayné pur tresouns,
Pendu pur roberyes et pur occisiouns,
Et pur ceo k'il avait ennenty par arsouns
Viles et eglises et religiouns,
Avalez est de fourches, et overt les ventrouns
Le quoer et la bowel brullez en carbouns,
Et copé la teste par tets mesprisiouns
Pur ceo ke il avait par ces havyllouns

CHAPTER IV.

INSURRECTION AND CORONATION OF ROBERT BRUCE; BATTLE OF METHVEN; BRUCE'S DISTRESSES AND EXPLOITS; DEATH OF EDWARD I.

It is a singular characteristic of the history of Scotland at this period, that whenever the country seemed most hopelessly subdued, the national spirit suddenly rose up like a phœnix from the ashes, and in an incredibly short space of time worked out its own redemption. As the curtain fell upon the closing scene of the career of Wallace, another champion of the national independence was springing into life in the person of Robert Bruce This young hero was the grandson of the Robert Bruce who contended with Baliol for the crown, and the son of the Robert Bruce who had remained fathful in his allegiance to king Edward through the turbulent events of the last few years. The Bruces continued to cherish the hope that the crown would at length be fixed in their family, and to this hope we may attribute much of their otherwise inexplicable conduct during the reign of Baliol and the regency. The personal feud between the families of Bruce and Comyn was certainly increased in intensity by the circumstance that the lord of Badenoch, by marrying a sister of Baliol, had carried Baliol's right to the crown into his own family, and the son of this powerful baron, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, known as the Red Comyn, had been at the head of the patriotic party of the nobles ever since Baliol's deposition. We have seen the half neutral—we may term it equivocal conduct of the younger Robert Bruce, then but twenty-three years of age, during the war between Edward and Wallace. For a short time this young but powerful baron united with Comyn in the regency, but it appears to have been an alliance only for the purpose of humbling the plebeian Wallace; but, before the battle of Roslin, he had returned to the English party and renewed his allegiance to Edward. During that monarch's progress through Scotland in 1303, Robert Bruce remained faithful to him, and seems to have been taken into favour, for on the death of his father in 1304, he was allowed to take possession of all his extensive possessions in England and Scotland. Thus, on the death of Wallace, the two factions, led by Bruce and Comyn, stood in a rivalry which was heightened by the circumstance that Comyn looked on Bruce as standing highest in popular favour on account of his desertion of his country, and Bruce regarded Comyn as seeking popularity, in order, when the opportunity offered, to secure the object of his own ambition, the crown of Scotland.

Still the two rivals kept up an appear-

Maintenuz la guere, doné proteccioun,
Seysye seygnurye en ses subjecciouns
De altri realme par ses entrusiouns,
Copé li fust le cors en quatre porciouns,
Chescun pende par say en memor de ses nouns,
En lu de sa banere cels sunt ces gunfanouns.

Fragments of one or two contemporary songs on Wallace's death have been preserved. An English song, written in the following year, on the execution of Simon Fraser, contains the following allusion to Wallace's fate, which will show the feelings on the subject in England at that time:—

To warny alle the gentilmen that bueth in Scotlonde,
The Walais wes to-drawe, seththe he was an-honge,
Al quic biheveded, ys bowels y-brend,
The heved to Londone brugge wes send
To abide.
* * * * *
Sire Edward oure kyng, that ful ys of pieté,
The Walais quarters sende to is oune contré,
On four half to honge, huere myrour to be,
Thereopon to thencke, that monie myhten se
Ant drede
Why nolden he be war
Of the bataile of Donbar,
Hou evell hem con spede?

Which may be thus modernized for those who are not accustomed to the old English:—

To be a warning to all the gentlemen who are in Scotland,
The Wallace was drawn, and afterwards was hanged,
Beheaded all alive, his bowels burnt,
The head to London bridge was sent,
To remain there.
* * * * *
Sir Edward our king, who is full of piety,
Sent the Wallace's quarters to his own country,
To hang in four parts (of the country), to be their mirror,
Thereupon to think, in order that many might see
And dread.
Why would they not take warning
Of the battle of Dunbar,
How ill they sped?

These expressions of popular sentiments show us to what cruelty and injustice national divisions and national prejudices lead mankind. The popular songs and satires are, on this account to be reckoned in the most interesting and valuable class of historical documents.

ance of familiarity and friendship which served as a cloak to their private feelings, even sometimes against their own eyes. For while, on the one hand, Comyn treacherously endeavoured to raise the king's suspicions of Bruce's loyalty, the latter, who was secretly conspiring to clear his way to the Scottish throne, ventured gradually to take Comyn into his confidence. Bruce had entered into a league of brotherhood with one of the most influential of the Scottish prelates, William de Lamberton bishop of St. Andrews, by which they bound themselves to perpetual fidelity to each other, and promised mutual assistance in their designs. This league was, as may be supposed, carefully concealed, but it had come to the knowledge of Comyn, probably from the parties most concerned in it, and he and Bruce had a conference on the subject of their rival claims to the crown. According to the account of one of the chroniclers this conference took place when the two barons were riding from Stirling. Bruce, after dilating on the misery to which their unhappy country was reduced by their personal rivalry, made a proposal to Comyn, either that he should make over his great estate to Bruce on condition of receiving his cordial assistance in obtaining the crown, or that Comyn should resign his claim to Bruce and assist him in enforcing it on the similar condition of receiving all Bruce's lands, to add to his own vast inheritance. Comyn, with apparent cordiality, agreed to accept Bruce's lands, and to waive his own right to the crown in his favour; upon which the latter took him into his confidence, made him acquainted with all his plans, and even entrusted into his hands papers which contained evidence of his designs, which were as yet immature. Comyn saw with joy that his old rival had put himself into his power, and with base treachery he sent the papers to the king, and informed him of his projects.

It happened that Bruce, who stood at this moment very high in Edward's favour, and whose outward conduct was calculated to excite no suspicion, was at the English court when the king received these proofs of his treason. Edward, wishing to make himself acquainted with the whole conspiracy before he proceeded against any of the conspirators, did not alter his conduct towards the chief offender, but he appears, in some moment of private anger, to have dropped a hint of an intention to arrest him, and Bruce received a private intimation of his danger from his kinsman, the earl of Gloucester. The Scottish baron immediately took to horse, and fled precipitately to Scotland, and it is said, traditionally, that, to deceive his pursuers, he adopted a precaution which had been employed more than once in similar circumstances, that of causing his horse, and those of his followers, to be shoed backwards. When they reached the border, they met a messenger hastening to England, whom they seized and examined, and when they found that he was an agent sent by Comyn to the king, they slew him and seized his letters. These made Bruce fully acquainted wth the treachery of his rival, and he hastened to his castle of Lochmaben, where he arrived on the fifth day after he left the court—an extraordinary short time for such a journey in those days—and where he met his brother Edward, whom he informed of the danger in which he was placed, and of the perilous position in which he stood, from which his only chance of escape seemed to be open rebellion against the king of England.

It happened to be the month of February, at which time the English justiciaries held their court at Dumfries, and the court-day was close at hand. At this court both Bruce and Comyn were obliged, as landholders, to attend, and the former, boiling with indignation, and still hardly decided as to the course he should pursue, met his treacherous rival, and demanded a private interview with him in the church of the convent of Friars minors. Here Bruce could no longer restrain his passion, and reproached Comyn with his ingratitude and disloyalty. Comyn, who was not aware of what had taken place, gave him the lie; on which Bruce, yielding to the impetuosity of his temper, and heedless of the sacred character of the place—they were near the high altar—drew his dagger and stabbed him. Then recollecting himself, he hurried from the sanctuary he had violated, and rushing into the street, called to his followers to mount their horses. Two of them, Kirkpatrick and Lindsay, seeing him pale and agitated, inquired what had occurred, and Bruce, as he mounted his horse, hastily replied, "I doubt I have slain Comyn." "Do you doubt?" said Kirkpatrick fiercely, "then I will make sure;" and he ran into the church, where he found Comyn lying bleeding on the steps of the

high altar, but still alive, and he dispatched him with his sword. The noise of the scuffle had brought Comyn's friends to his assistance, and his uncle, sir Robert Comyn, in the attempt to defend him, was slain by Kirkpatrick, who then made his escape and rejoined his master. Bruce having thus unintentionally cast the die of his fortunes, hastily assembled his retainers, and took possession of the castle of Dumfries. The justiciaries, in their terror, had barricadoed themselves in the castle hall, which was their place of meeting, and they did not surrender, until the assailants had set fire to the building. Bruce allowed them to leave Scotland without injury.

The situation of Bruce at this moment was full of peril. His conspiracy to obtain the crown was known to the king, and he had no longer, even on that account, any thing to hope from him; he had murdered the first noble in Scotland, and had thus arrayed against himself the animosity of all his numerous friends and vassals; and, in addition to all this, he had defiled a place of tremendous sanctity with blood, and placed himself under the ban of the church, by insulting its strongest prejudices. The faithful friendship of bishop Lambert alone protected him against the worst consequences of the sentence of excommunication which was soon pronounced against him, and the body of the Scottish clergy was soon interested in his favour; but, with the king, his only alternative was to raise the standard of revolt, or to become a fugitive outlaw. The choice, however, was soon made. Bruce returned to his castle of Lochmaben, and despatched letters to his friends and adherents, but with so little effect at first, that he was obliged to take the field against the power of the king of England, with the assistance only of two earls and fourteen barons, but the faithfulness of these allies was proved by the promptitude with which they came forward to expose their persons and estates in his cause. These first adherents of the future saviour of Scotland were the earls of Lennox and Athol; his four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander; his nephew, Thomas Randolph; his brother-in-law, Christopher Seton; Gilbert and Hugh de la Haye, of Errol; David Barclay, of Cairns; Alexander Fraser, of Oliver castle; Walter de Somerville; David, of Inchmartin; Robert Boyd; and Robert Fleming. He was also joined by the three bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Moray, and by the abbot of Scone. These formed his whole strength when Bruce first raised his standard.

Bruce at once acted with the boldness and decision which was alone calculated to ensure success. His first step, which gratified his own ambition, while it gave him a new *prestige* in the eyes of the multitude, was to assume at once the royalty which he coveted. He rode with a small retinue from Lochmaben to meet his friends at Glasgow. On the way, perhaps by previous arrangement for the purpose of dramatic effect, sir James Douglas, a disinherited patriot, of noble family, whose father had fought under the banner of Wallace, met him in arms, and kneeling before him, did homage to him as king. He then remounted, and rode by his side. From Glasgow, Bruce hastened to Scone, and there, on Friday, the 27th of March, he was solemnly crowned. Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, produced from his own wardrobe the coronation robes; a coronet of gold was produced for the occasion, supposed to have been borrowed from the abbey of Scone, and a chair (with perhaps a stone) was found suitable for the hurried ceremony, in place of the regalia and the celebrated fatal stone, which had been carried away to England by king Edward. King Robert received the homage of the prelates and nobles present under a banner wrought with the arms of Baliol, which was produced by the bishop of Glasgow. One part of the ceremony was wanting, and two days after, on the 29th of March, the coronation was repeated, more completely. It had always been the privilege of the earls of Fife to place the new monarch on the throne, and the present earl was of the English party. But on the day just mentioned, while Bruce and his friends remained still at Scone, the earl's sister, Isabella, countess of Buchan, arrived, bringing with her her husband's war-horses, and claimed the right of performing the duty which belonged to her family. To humour this high-spirited lady, the new king was a second time installed in the regal chair by her hands. Bruce then made a progress through the country, seizing castles and towns, and imprisoning king Edward's sheriffs and officers, and strengthening himself with the accession of new partizans, though his party still remained small, on account of the enmity of the Comyns and the fear of the English.

The news of the murder of Comyn and of Bruce's revolt reached king Edward at Winchester, and, aware by experience of the danger of treating Scottish insurrections with contempt, he determined again to visit that kingdom with a powerful army. He sent immediately strong reinforcements to the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle for the protection of the English border against a sudden irruption, and he ordered the earl of Pembroke, with lords Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, to march with an army into Scotland. He then prepared to follow them in person. To give greater force and solemnity to his intended expedition, he held a splendid festival at Westminster, at which he knighted, in great pomp, his son, prince Edward, and three hundred of the flower of the young English aristocracy, making it a condition that they should all accompany him to the Scottish war. At the banquet the king made a solemn vow that he would set out for Scotland to avenge the death of John Comyn, and punish the treachery of the Scots, and that after he had done that, he would embark for the holy war, with the resolution to die in Palestine; and he made his son promise that if he died before he performed this journey, he would carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not bury it until he had vanquished his enemies. It was immediately after this ceremony that the earl of Pembroke, with Clifford and Percy, marched with their army into Scotland, followed in the rear by the prince of Wales and his knights companions. Edward himself, who was now in his declining years, proceeded by slow journeys towards Carlisle.

The fortunes of the great Robert Bruce commenced with a serious reverse. On hearing of the preparations against him, he collected his followers in arms, and proceeded with spirit, ravaging Galloway, which had been portioned out to his enemies. Next, hearing that the earl of Pembroke lay in Perth with a small army, he marched thither to give him battle. He found the earl shut up within the walls of the town, and, in the chivalrous fashion of the time, he sent him a challenge to come out and fight. The earl, more wary, replied that it was then too late in the day, but promised to fight him on the morrow. Bruce was satisfied with the reply, and, with an extraordinary want of caution, proceeded to encamp in the wood of Methven, about a mile from Perth, in a careless manner; night had now approached, and suddenly, while some of his men were out foraging, and others were cooking their evening meal, Bruce was roused by an alarm of the approach of the enemy, and, before he had time to make any dispositions of defence, the earl of Pembroke with his whole army, which exceeded that of the Scots in numbers, broke into the camp. The Scots were immediately routed, and it required all the valour of Bruce and his companions to secure a retreat for any portion of them. Bruce personally encountered the earl of Pembroke, and slew his horse, and he was himself thrice unhorsed, and once rescued with great difficulty from capture. Some of his friends, among whom were sir David de Berklay, sir Hugh de la Haye, sir Alexander Fraser, sir John de Somerville, sir David Inchmartin, and Thomas Randolph, with a chaplain named Hugh, were taken prisoners. The rest made their retreat into the wilds of Athol. Edward sent orders for the immediate execution of all the captains, but these orders were not carried into effect; some of the knights were subsequently ransomed, while others, with the chaplain, were hanged and quartered. Randolph received his pardon on joining the English party.

This disaster was a terrible blow to Bruce's party. As a high price was set upon the head of the self-made Scottish king, he was obliged to seek refuge, with those who still followed his fortunes, in the mountain wilds, where they obtained a precarious existence from hunting, and their torn garments scarcely protected them from the inclemency of the weather. At length, driven by absolute want, they descended into the low country about Aberdeen, where the king was joined by his brother, sir Nigel Bruce, with his queen, and other ladies, who came to share the sufferings of their husbands. When Edward heard of this, he proclaimed his vengeance even against the women who followed the outlaws. They added, perhaps, more to their difficulties than to their comfort, as the anxiety of the fugitive warriors was increased at witnessing the privations of those who were so much less able to bear them. After they had remained for some time in the neighbourhood just mentioned, reports came of the approach of the English, and they retired into Breadalbane. Here, amid their sufferings, they are said to have re-

ceived consolation and amusement from the sprightly gaiety and high spirits of sir James Douglas, who had now become the intimate friend of the Bruce. The season was now approaching when existence in these wild regions would be almost impossible, and to add to their distress, they were on the border of the country of the lord of Lorn, a kinsman of Comyn, and the inveterate enemy of Bruce. No sooner was he informed of the presence of the fugitives, than he collected a thousand highlanders, who, armed with their terrible Lochaber axes, surrounded them and attacked them with great impetuosity in a narrow defile where Bruce and his knights could not manage their horses. Bruce drew up his men in the best manner possible, and placing himself in the rear, he commenced a difficult retreat, halting to fight their pursuers whenever they came too near, Bruce himself performing prodigies of valour in these desultory combats. Having at length escaped from the dangers which beset them in their retreat, they held council together, and resolved that the queen and her ladies should be conducted to Kildrummie castle, in Mar, as to a place which promised a safe asylum by its position and strength, whither they were sent under an escort commanded by young Nigel Bruce and the earl of Athol. The king, with only two hundred men, though beset on all sides by his enemies, succeeded in making his way on foot through Lennox to Kantire, where the inhabitants were their friends. Closely pursued, they came to the banks of Loch Lomond, where they fortunately found a boat, but it was leaky, and so small that it would only carry three persons at a time. In this, however, they contrived to cross with much trouble and danger to the opposite shore, and thence pursued their course through the woods, where they met the earl of Lennox, who had been separated from them ever since the unfortunate battle of Methven. The old histories recount at length the marvellous adventures and sufferings of the outlaws in their flight, and tell us how the king encouraged and supported them by his unyielding spirit, and his extraordinary skill in telling old stories and romances. At length they reached the coast of Kantire, where sir Neil Campbell, who had been sent in advance, had collected a few boats, which carried them to the residence of Angus of Isla, the lord of Kantire, who gave them hospitality and protection. But Bruce, even here, did not feel safe, and he passed over with three hundred of his followers to the little island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, where he remained entirely concealed from the world.

King Edward had only reached Lanercost when he received intelligence of Bruce's defeat at Methven, and of his subsequent flight. He immediately published an ordinance, by which all who were guilty of the death of Comyn, as well as those who harboured or encouraged them, were sentenced to be drawn and hanged; all who had been concerned in Bruce's rising were to be subjected to imprisonment; and every subject of the king was commanded, on pain of heavy punishment, to raise the hue and cry on all who had borne arms against the English. A rigorous persecution of Bruce's partizans followed this proclamation, and the baseness of some of the Scottish nobility again found the opportunity of exhibiting itself. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory, thinking that Kildrummie, threatened with an English army, was no longer a place of safety, quitted it and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire. But the sanctity of the church was little regarded by the Scottish barons, when it stood in the way of their passions or interest, and the earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, seized upon the ladies and the knights, and delivered them up to the English. The men were immediately put to death, and the queen and her daughter were sent to England, where they were committed to close prison. The countess of Buchan, who had placed Bruce on the throne, was soon afterwards given up to the English king, who confined her in a wooden cage, in one of the outer turrets of Berwick castle, where she could be seen by every passer by, though the only persons with whom she was allowed to have the slightest communication, were the women who brought her food, and who were ordered to be only Englishwomen. In this painful and ignominious confinement she remained four years, after which, she was shut up in the Carmelite monastery of Berwick. Two sisters of Bruce were also taken, of whom one was confined in a similar cage in one of the turrets of the castle of Roxburgh, and the other was imprisoned in a convent. Among other prisoners were the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot

of Scone, who were all found clad in armour, and were sent fettered to England, where they were committed to rigorous imprisonment. Their clerical character stood between them and the gallows, and Edward seems to have made a vain application to the pope to have them deprived and degraded. The same considerations did not plead for Bruce's other companions in arms. His brother Nigel shut himself up in Kildrummie castle, and might perhaps have defied the force sent against him under the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, had he not been betrayed by one of his garrison. He was carried to Berwick, and there, by a special commission, condemned to be hanged and beheaded, and other knights and soldiers suffered with him. Christopher de Seton, Bruce's brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in his castle of Loch Don, in Ayrshire, was also betrayed to the English, and was taken to Dumfries to be there hanged as a traitor. His brother, John de Seton suffered the same fate at Newcastle. The earl of Athol attempted to pass the sea, but he was driven back by a tempest, and taken by the English. Edward was filled with unusual joy at his capture; when his friends interceded for him on account of the greatness of his name and family, the unrelenting monarch swore that the only distinction he should have would be a higher gallows than those of his fellow traitors. Edward was as good as his word; for the earl was taken to London, tried and condemned, and hanged upon a gallows fifty feet high, with all the disgusting accompaniments of the punishment of high treason. His head was added to the other similar trophies on London Bridge.

One man made head against the invaders even after Bruce's defeat at Methven. This was sir Simon Fraser, one of the bravest and most faithful of the companions of Wallace, who had collected a small body of men, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and his reputation as a soldier stood so high, that his countrymen boasted it would require all Edward's efforts to take him. But his small force was routed in a battle at Kirkencliff, and Fraser himself was taken prisoner by sir Simon de Malton, while many of his companions in arms were captured, slain on the field, or drowned in attempting to pass the river; among the latter was sir John de Lindsay. Edward exulted in the capture of Fraser, and caused him to be treated with the utmost indignity. He was carried to London heavily ironed, with his legs tied under his horse's belly, and as he passed through the city a garland of perriwinkles was placed in mockery on his head. He was tried and condemned as a traitor, and suffered the same revolting punishment as his friend and fellow-patriot Wallace.* His squire Thomas de Boys, and a Scottish knight, who had been taken with him, sir Herbert de Morham, suffered at

* The execution of sir Simon Fraser is the subject of a very curious contemporary English ballad, of which two stanzas have been quoted in a former note. It gives a striking picture of the sentiments of the "Southrons" on the events which were now taking place in the north. It begins by accusing the Scottish barons of disloyalty, for having broken their faith to the English king:—

To the kyng Edward hii fasten huere fay;
Fals wes here foreward so forst is in May,
That sonne from the southward wypeth away.

[To king Edward they plight their faith;
False was their covenant as frost is in May,
Which the sun from the southward wipes away.]

The song accuses the ecclesiastics of being the originators of the insurrection, and says that it was at their instigation he assumed the sceptre. There was a not very probable story current in England, that Bruce's queen had laughed at her husband's coronation, and had said in derision, they had made him a "king of summer," meaning that one summer would see the commencement and end of his reign. This story is alluded to in the song:—

Hii that him crounede proude were ant bolde,
Hii maden kyng of somere, so hii ner ne sholde;
Hii setten on ys heved a croune of rede golde,
Ant token him a kyng-gerde, so me kyng sholde,
To deme.

[They that crowned him were proud and bold,
They made a king of summer, as they never should,
They set on his head a crown of red gold,
And gave him a sceptre, as one should to a king,
To judge.]

The English minstrel then proceeds to exult over the fugitive life which King Hob, as he calls him, was then leading, and expresses the hope that he would soon be taken:—

Now kyng Hobbe in the mures gongeth,
For te come to toune nout him ne longeth;
The barouns of Engelond, mght hue him gripe,
He him wolde techen on Englysche to pype,
Thourh streynthe:
Ne be he ner so stout,
Yet he bith y-soht out
O brede and o leynthe.

[Now king Hob gangeth in the moors,
To come to town he has no desire;
The barons of England, if they might gripe him,
They would teach him to pipe in English,
Through their strength:
Be he never so stout,
Yet he is sought out
Wide and far.]

Such popular songs are interesting illustrations of history

the same time. Among other victims were sir David Inchmartin, sir John de Somerville, and sir Walter Logan. Bruce himself being now attainted of treason, his estates were seized by the king, who gave his lordship of Annandale to the earl of Hereford, and his estate of Carrick to lord Henry Percy. His extensive English estates were distributed among others of Edward's nobles. To complete the vindictive sentence against the outlaws, a cardinal legate came from the pope, and, in the king's court, at Carlisle, excommunicated the Scottish king and his adherents, with bell, book, and candle.

Bruce remained concealed during the winter in the Isle of Rachrin, ignorant of what was going on, and of the fate of so many of his friends, and his enemies equally ignorant of the place of his retreat. He was not, however, content long to remain inactive, and at the approach of the spring of 1307, having received some assistance from Christina of the Isles, his sister, he became anxious to return into Scotland. He sent before him sir James Douglas and sir Robert Boyd, to pay a visit to the isle of Arran. They found the island occupied by a strong garrison of English, under sir John Hastings, who held the castle of Brodick, and having surprised the under-warden of the castle with a convoy of provisions, arms, and clothing, they killed forty of his soldiers, and captured this to them valuable cargo, which proved a seasonable supply to Bruce, who soon after arrived with about three hundred men. Bruce's first care was to discover the condition of his own country of Carrick, where he expected assistance and concealment in his first attempts, and he sent a messenger thither, who, if he found everything favourable to his landing, was to light a fire at a day appointed on an eminence near Turnberry castle. The messenger found that the lord Percy, to whom Carrick had been given, occupied Turnberry castle with a strong garrison, with parties of the enemy quartered in the town, and that it would be madness to attempt an insurrection there, and he hastened back to his master. But by some accident a fire had been lit in the appointed quarter, and Bruce, mistaking it for the signal of his messenger, hastened his men on board their gallies, reached the shore of Carrick in the night, and met his envoy, who told him of the state of things, and urged him to re-embark. A council of war was immediately held, and after some hesitation, Bruce yielded to the sanguine advice of his brother Edward, and determined to make a desperate trial of his fortunes. It was still night, and the garrison of Turnberry were totally unconscious of the presence of an enemy; so that when Bruce and his followers attacked them, they were taken by surprise, and easily overcome and slaughtered as they lay scattered in the houses and cottages around the castle. Percy, imagining the assailants were much more numerous, kept close in the castle, and allowed the Scots to carry off a rich booty, including his war-horses and his household plate, without interruption.

The news of this success soon brought an accession of numbers to Bruce's party, who began now to act more openly, and the English garrisons in his country left their strong holds, and made their retreat into England; but still Bruce was obliged to keep to the mountainous parts of Carrick, for a stronger force of English soldiers was approaching to watch his movements. It was at this time that Bruce's friend, sir James Douglas, performed an exploit singularly characteristic of the ferocity of manners of the olden time, which is still remembered in Scottish tradition. Edward had given Douglas's estate to lord Clifford, who now occupied Douglas castle with a strong garrison, and the rightful owner was resolved to visit it. He accordingly proceeded thither in disguise, and, after making his observations on the castle, went to the house of an old and faithful servant, named Dickson, to whom he made himself known, and who concealed him for some time, while every night his principal vassals assembled secretly, rejoiced to see their ancient lord, and ready to act by his orders. At last, on Palm sunday, the garrison left the castle without a defender, to hear mass in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. Douglas had assembled his followers with concealed arms, and some of them entered the church with the soldiers, while others remained outside. Suddenly, when they were least prepared for it, the English were attacked on all sides. They made a good resistance, but they were overcome by the numbers, as well as by the courage of their assailants; many were killed, and the rest were made prisoners in the church. Among those who fell on the side of the Douglas, was his old servant Dickson, in revenge for whose death, as it is pretended, sir James, after plundering the castle of the arms and

moveables of any value, piled up in the hall the malt and corn which he found in the stores, staved the casks of wine and other liquors, and threw them on, and then slew the prisoners, and added them to the heap. He then set fire to the whole, and burned the castle with all that was in it. This barbarous exploit continued to be talked of ages afterwards, by the popular title of "The Douglas's Larder."

Bruce's fortune seemed to be again on the rise, when he was crippled, by what proved in his present position a serious disaster. He had sent two of his brothers to seek assistance in Ireland, and they returned to Loch Ryan, in Galloway, bringing with them seven hundred men. A chieftain of that district, named Macdowall, who was in the English interest, watched them as they approached the shore, and, as they were landing, he suddenly rushed upon them with his followers, and put them to the rout. A great part of them were slain or perished in the sea, and the remainder were taken prisoners. Among the latter were Bruce's two brothers and sir Alexander Crawford, who were carried to king Edward at Carlisle, and there, by his orders, immediately executed. Bruce was again reduced, with his few followers, to the condition of a fugitive. He was hunted pertinaciously by the English and the Galwegians, and even bloodhounds were used to trace him out. His dangers and his escapes were innumerable. It is related by the old chroniclers of his acts, that one evening, when he had only sixty combatants in his company, he was nearly surprised by two hundred of his enemies. Informed of their approach, he crossed a mountain stream, the banks of which were high and slippery, and drew up his men on a level behind, which could only be approached by a gorge in the hill. At this gorge, in which two men could hardly stand abreast, and which was approached from the river by a steep slippery path, Bruce and his friend, sir Gilbert de la Haye placed themselves to watch the movements of their pursuers. Their approach was announced by the baying of a hound, and then the Scottish king, perceiving that the Galwegians were passing the river below, sent sir Gilbert to bring up his men, and remained alone to defend the pass. This he did with so much courage and force, that a heap of dead bodies soon afforded substantial evidence of his prowess. And although their companions still pressed on, in the hope of having so valuable a prize, their attack was already becoming less resolute, when Bruce's men came up and drove them away. It must be borne in mind, that the Scottish king, clothed in steel, was a formidable opponent to his pursuers. When his men arrived at the pass, they found Bruce sitting on a bank, unhurt, but he had taken off his helmet to wipe his brow and cool himself in the air. At this time, perhaps as a matter of convenience, Bruce's men were separated. Douglas still continued to prowl over his own estates. The English had recovered and rebuilt the castle, and he made an attempt to surprise the new fortress, but without success, though he slew the captain and many of the garrison. He then hastened to rejoin his king in the mountains of Carrick, having received intelligence that the earl of Pembroke was marching with a considerable force to attack him.

New and unexpected perils awaited the latter. His enemy the lord of Lorn, with eight hundred highlanders, joined the English under the earl of Pembroke, and brought with him a large bloodhound which was expected to follow up the outlawed chief with more eagerness and certainty, because it had once belonged to him. Bruce could only collect a force of four hundred men, but with these he chose a position to resist the advance of the English. While they, however, attacked him in front, he was suddenly assailed from behind by the men of Lorn, who, used to this kind of wild partizan warfare, had placed themselves in ambush so skilfully as to have entirely escaped observation. Bruce had now learnt to adopt a system of warfare which has often been practised under similar circumstances—that of making his men separate in small parties in different directions after defeat, so as to confuse their enemies and baffle pursuit, and then reassemble at a distant place of rendezvous agreed upon beforehand. He found now that it was useless to continue his resistance, and at a signal from their leader, his men suddenly divided into three distinct parties and dispersed among the mountains. But the men of Lorn now let loose the bloodhound, which instantly fixed on the track which Bruce had taken, and led his employers in the pursuit. This time he would hardly have escaped, if one of the fugitives had not fortunately killed the hound with an arrow. Bruce on this occasion lost his banner, which was taken by his own nephew

Randolph, who was now fighting in the ranks of the English. Bruce soon recovered from this misfortune, in which his loss appears to have been small, and he not only cut off and put to the sword a detachment of two hundred of Pembroke's soldiers, but he foiled him in a more important skirmish; and the earl, tired of the service on which he was employed, retreated to Carlisle.

The force of the Scottish king was now increased by some new partizans, and though still weak in numbers, they began to look forward to greater achievements. The earl of Pembroke again advanced, and in the beginning of May marched into Ayrshire with a force of three thousand cavalry. Bruce's only regular force at this moment consisted of six hundred spearmen, but the efficacy of the Scottish spearmen in battle, especially against cavalry, had been often tried, and he resolved to go and oppose the English. A number of irregular combatants and camp followers swelled his apparent force, without making it more effective. Bruce had reached Galston, not far from Irvine, when, according to the story, a messenger arrived from the earl of Pembroke, who, in the chivalrous mode of the age, informed him that it was his intention to march by Loudon hill, and challenged him to battle there on the 10th of May. Bruce knew the locality, which was favourable to him, and agreed to accept the challenge. He accordingly hastened thither, chose a spot through which the road passed, which was bounded on each side with morasses, and by the assistance of some deep trenches which he dug for the purpose, he posted his little army in a position where six hundred spearmen could show their front and freely act, while a larger force could only advance with the same front, and could not turn his flanks. The ill armed peasantry were stationed with the baggage in the rear. Early in the morning of the appointed day the English advanced, imposing in their numbers and in the brilliance of their armour, but the Scots, confident in their leader and in the strength of their position, steadily awaited the attack. The English were divided into two lines, and as they came nearer, the first line placed their spears in the rest and charged at full gallop. In an instant the men were unhorsed by the long spears of their opponents, and many, both men and horses, slain; and the rest, thrown into confusion, fell back upon their companions, in the second line, and threw them also into disorder. When they now saw the Scots with their long spears advancing upon them, alarmed at the unexpected reception which the first line had met, the English cavalry were all seized with a kind of panic, and began to fly, and the Scots, falling in upon them, put them entirely to the rout. Their loss was not great, for Bruce had no cavalry to pursue them, but Pembroke, discomfited and mortified, drew off his men and retired to the castle of Ayr. This action raised the spirits of the Scots, and they now flocked to the standard of their king, who soon after attacked and defeated the earl of Gloucester, with great slaughter of the English; and he even ventured to lay siege to the castle of Ayr.

The adventures of the Scottish hero during the period which we have just been describing are known to us almost solely by the metrical narrative of the historian of his life, his countryman John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. This historian, for though he wrote in Scottish verse, we may call him a historian, was born in 1326, and wrote in 1375, sufficiently near to the time of his hero to justify us in giving credit at least to the outline of his story of the king's wild adventures as an outlaw. The defeat of the earl of Gloucester, and the siege of Ayr, are told by less poetical annalists. An event, however, was now near at hand, which changed entirely the fortunes of the Bruce and of Scotland. King Edward, incensed beyond measure at the reappearance of the Scottish chief, and at his unexpected successes, resolved, in spite of his dangerous state of health, to march into Scotland in person, and he summoned his army to meet at Carlisle, and taking courage from the unabated vigour of his mind, he relinquished the litter in which he had been carried about, and mounted on horse back to march at the head of his army. The effort, however, was too much for him, and his bodily strength gave way so rapidly, that he was obliged to stop at the small village of Burgh-upon-Sands, where he died on the 7th of July, 1307. A modern column now marks the spot where he expired.

CHAPTER V.

BRUCE'S SUCCESSES; BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

The English ballad quoted in the note on a preceding page, concludes with the boast, that as long as Edward Longshanks lived, all their attempts at resistance would be vain,* and there can be no doubt that both Scot and Englishman looked upon the old warrior who had just departed as the irresistible foe of Scottish independence. His death would alone have been enough to rouse the Scots to a new struggle for liberty, even had it not occurred, as it did, when fortune seemed to be already crowning the efforts of their champion. The second Edward was wanting in all the great qualities of his father. The latter, in his dying moments, with the fierce spirit that was not yet quenched, commanded his son to send his heart to Jerusalem, and to reduce his body to a skeleton, and to cause the bones to be carried with the army into Scotland, not to be buried until that country had been completely subdued. But after his death, the young king paid no further attention to his request, but having taken the homage of some of the Scottish barons in the English interest at Roxburgh, he proceeded as far as Cumnock, in Ayrshire, and then, having appointed the earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland, he returned hastily to his own dominions to throw aside the cares of governing, and resign himself to the pleasures of a court.

The king of Scotland could now command a powerful army, and he soon began to show his force against his enemies. The first scene of his vengeance was Galloway, his own territory, the inhabitants of which, nevertheless, had persecuted him bitterly in the time of his distress. It appears that the Galwegians, even after so many years, had not become thoroughly reconciled to their Norman lords the Bruces, who, as we have before seen, were introduced by marriage with the Celtic heiress, and it is probable that they had been excited against them on the present occasion by some of their chiefs who claimed descent from the ancient stock. Immediately after Edward II. and his army retired, sir Edward Bruce was sent into Galloway with a powerful army, to command the inhabitants to rise and join his banner. Some districts obeyed the call, but those which did not were ravaged with the most relentless barbarity. When news was carried to king Edward at Westminster, he suddenly, without any apparent cause, removed the earl of Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and appointed his cousin John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, in his place; he at the same time ordered the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to assemble their military force, and place it under the orders of the new guardian, who was immediately to rescue Galloway from the ravages of Bruce's soldiers. Bruce, thus attacked, was compelled to retreat to the north of Scotland, where he was soon afterwards attacked by a grievous disease, which alarmed his friends and discouraged his adherents. While he was carried painfully, in a litter, towards the north, where he reached the Grampians, in that part of the range which was then called the Morenth, he was joined by sir Alexander Fraser and all his power, and he learnt from them that Comyn earl of Buchan, sir David de Brechin, and sir John de Mowbray, were advancing with a powerful army to attack him. As the soldiers were dispirited at the dangerous sickness of their leader, it was thought advisable not to risk a battle, and the Scots encamped in a strong position near Slaines, on the east coast of Aberdeen. Here they were hard pressed by their enemies, and, when they were obliged by want of provisions to make a further retreat to Strathbogy, still carrying their king in a litter, they were closely pursued. The retreat was continued from Strathbogy to Inverness, upon which the earl of Buchan divided his army, sending a small division, under sir David de Brechin, to follow him in his march, while he himself marched to Old Meldrum, to intercept him in his march north. Sir David followed so

* Tprot, Scot, for thi strif!
Hang up thyn hachet ant thi knyf,
Whil him lasteth the lyf
With the longe shankes.

[Tut! Scot, for thy strife!
Hang up thy hatchet and thy knife,
While life lasts to him
With the long shanks.]

close at the rear of the retreating army, that he attacked and put to flight some of Bruce's soldiers, who were rather carelessly cantoned in the outskirts of the town. Enraged at this insult, and afraid of being hemmed in between the two armies, Robert Bruce sprang from his litter, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, insisted on leading his men to battle in person. It required two men to hold him on his horse, but he persisted in his design, and his men, animated by the sight and example of their favourite leader, fought with so much fury, that the earl of Buchan's army was utterly routed, and the fugitives were pursued as far as Fivy, on the borders of the earl's country. Sir David fled into Angus, to his own castle of Brechin, which was soon afterwards besieged and taken by the young earl of Athol. Bruce now took his revenge on the Comyns, by invading their territory of Buchan, and laying it waste with fire and sword with such cruelty, that for many years afterwards the "harrowing of Buchan" became a popular phrase.

Sir David de Brechin, after his defeat and the capture of his castle, joined his forces to those of Bruce, and assisted him in the siege of Aberdeen, which was undertaken soon afterwards. The citizens of Aberdeen joined heartily in the assault of the castle, which was taken by storm long before the troops destined by Edward for its relief could even begin their march. From Aberdeen Bruce marched into Angus, and reduced the strong English garrison which held the important castle of Forfar. It was taken by night, and the garrison were all put to the sword, after which Bruce ordered the immediate destruction of the fortifications. Perth was now threatened, and king Edward, in his alarm at the intelligence of new successes of the Bruce which each day brought him, sent hasty orders to the Scottish barons who still adhered to the English interests, exhorting them to oppose the insurrection with all their force, and promising to lead an army in person to their assistance in the month of August. Orders were immediately given for this expedition, but the intention was soon forgotten or laid aside. Edward, however, without any very evident motive but his own unsteady mind, dismissed the earl of Richmond from his office, and appointed Robert de Umfraville earl of Angus, William de Ross of Hamlake, and Henry de Beaumont, joint guardians of Scotland. Perhaps he thought that by appointing Scotchmen to high offices, he would strengthen the party in Scotland opposed to Bruce.

Bruce now sent his brother once more into Galloway, the inhabitants of which still strenuously opposed his authority. The Galwegians were on this occasion assisted by a strong body of English troops, commanded by a Scottish baron, named sir Ingelram de Umfraville, and an English captain, sir John de St. John, assisted by a large body of Galwegians, under one of their most powerful chieftains. The two barons encountered Edward Bruce on the water of Cree, but they were entirely defeated, with the loss of about two hundred men, and while the Galwegians dispersed in the mountains, Umfraville and St. John escaped with difficulty to a castle on the sea coast. Edward Bruce now overrun the country without opposition, laid heavy contributions on the inhabitants, destroyed their castles, and compelled them to swear allegiance to Bruce. While thus occupied, he learnt that St. John was in the field again, and that he was marching against him with a force of fifteen hundred men, intending to take him by surprise. Edward Bruce stationed his foot soldiers in what the historian terms a "strait," and with fifty knights and gentlemen, well armed and mounted, he contrived, under cover of a thick mist, to make a circuitous movement into the rear of the advancing troops, whom he followed closely behind. What was his design in this stratagem we are not told, but it was prevented by the sudden clearing up of the mist, and then Edward Bruce's little party found themselves close upon the army of St. John, without any possibility of escape. Nothing dismayed, Edward Bruce and his companions made a furious charge on their enemies, and broke their first ranks, and following up the first attack by two others in succession, St. John's troops, surprised themselves, fell into confusion, and fled. This exploit was soon followed by another, little less daring. Donald, the lord of the isles, having collected a large force of Galwegians, under some of their bravest chieftains, was encountered by Edward Bruce on the banks of the Dee, on the 29th of June, 1308, and defeated with great slaughter, and the lord of the isles himself was taken prisoner. This defeat was followed by the entire expulsion of the English from Scotland.

Success had indeed crowned the arms of the Scots in other parts. Douglas cut off the English garrison of his own castle in an ambush, slew their governor, and having taken the castle, destroyed its fortifications. This success was followed by the submission of the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, the population of which now acknowledged Robert Bruce as their king. In one of his encounters, Randolph, Bruce's nephew, who had deserted to the English, was taken prisoner; he again changed sides, was created by king Robert earl of Moray, and became subsequently one of his bravest and most faithful partizans.

Bruce now turned his vengeance against the people of Lorn, who had attacked him in his distress after the battle of Methven. Having joined his forces with those of Douglas, he entered their country in the August of 1308, and plundered and ravaged it in a merciless manner. Informed that the men of Lorn had set an ambush to intercept him, he fell upon them and defeated them with great slaughter, and the lord of Lorn, himself, reduced to extremities in his castle of Dunstaffnage, submitted to Bruce, and did homage to him as his king. His son, John of Lorn, fled in his ships and remained faithful to the king of England. Perhaps this was a concerted arrangement between father and son, in order that, whichever party eventually gained the mastery, they might mutually protect each other. The weak and vacillating conduct of king Edward left Bruce thus at liberty to follow out his plans with little opposition. In less than a year the English monarch appointed no less than six different governors of Scotland; he had given orders, perhaps as many times, for fitting out expeditions against the Scots, which were either countermanded or never proceeded with; and his Scottish garrisons were left exposed to the attacks of brave and persevering enemies, without assistance or directions to regulate their behaviour. Soon after the war of Lorn, Bruce laid siege to the castle of Rutherglen, in Clydesdale; Edward directed the earl of Gloucester to proceed with an imposing force to the relief of this important fortress, but we hear nothing more of the expedition, and we know that the castle was taken. When the Scottish army now approached the English border, instead of marching to repel aggression, Edward sought the mediation of France to obtain a truce, and afterwards he was offended with the king of France for the treacherous behaviour of his agents. During the rest of this, and all the following year, Bruce was employed without interruption from without, in reducing the kingdom to his obedience, until only a few of the stronger fortresses remained in the hands of the English. On the 24th of February, 1310, the bishops and clergy of Scotland held a general council at Dundee, in which they declared that the judgment of king Edward I. of England, in favour of Baliol's claim to the crown of Scotland, was unjust and erroneous, and that Robert Bruce, then reigning, as the grandson of Robert, lord of Annandale, the competitor of Baliol, was their right and lawful sovereign. They further engaged to defend his right, with the liberty and independence of Scotland, against all opponents, and pronounced all Scotchmen who should gainsay it guilty of high treason against the king and nation.

Affairs now, within two or three months, had undergone so great a change, that Edward's governors of Scotland were compelled to pay Bruce money for a truce, at the expiration of which the Scottish king marched against Perth, which had been strongly fortified and garrisoned as one of their most important posts. Edward could now remain inactive no longer. He summoned all his barons to meet him in arms at Berwick, on the 8th of September, and although some, in disgust at the favour shown to Gaveston, refused to attend, there was a formidable army assembled under the earls of Gloucester and Warenne, lord Henry Percy, lord James Clifford, and others who had had more or less experience in the Scottish wars. This time Edward did move, and towards the end of autumn he marched into Scotland with his whole force. Bruce adopted the policy which had been so often successful, of retiring before him, not risking a battle, and the king continued his progress from Roxburgh, through the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew, without meeting with an opponent, but the want of provisions and forages, caused by the improvident devastations of the soldiers, joined with a famine under which Scotland was suffering, now forced him to return, and he established himself in winter quarters at Berwick. On the retreat of the English, Bruce reappeared with his army,

and invaded Lothian; upon which Edward again invaded Scotland, but with the same effect as before. Another army was led into Scotland by the favourite, Gaveston, who was now earl of Cornwall, who crossed the firth of Forth and advanced to Perth, and a fourth, under the earls of Gloucester and Warenne, took possession of the forest of Selkirk, but neither of them were any more fortunate in meeting with the enemy.

No sooner had Edward disbanded his army, and returned to London, than Bruce led his men to ravage the English territory, in retaliation for the devastations which the English had made in Scotland. Crossing the Solway, they burnt and plundered the country round Gillsland, and ravaged Tynedale during eight days; after which, they returned with their booty into Scotland. This occurred towards the summer of 1311, and in the September following, while Edward was engaged in disputes with his barons, Bruce again marched into England, and passing through Redesdale, he plundered and burnt the country as far as Corbridge, after which the Scots invaded the bishopric of Durham, ravaged it with merciless fury, and returned to Scotland with a large quantity of plunder and captives. Such was the terror which these expeditions struck into the north of England, that the people of Northumberland and the lords of the English border, subscribed a considerable sum of money to buy a temporary truce.

Bruce now undertook the siege of the strong and important fortress of Perth, which, however, for six weeks, set his army at defiance. On the 9th of October, 1311, at the pressing demand of its governor, William Olifant, an Anglican Scot, king Edward promised to send immediate succour. But it was too late; for Bruce, finding he could make no impression on the place, had recourse to stratagem. Pretending to abandon his project, he ordered the army to strike their tents, and marched away to a considerable distance. Eight days was enough to throw the garrison into perfect security, and, after that period, Bruce returned in the night so silently, that his men approached the walls unperceived. He led them across the moat, himself up to his chin in water, feeling his way with a spear, and he was the first who fixed his scaling-ladder against the wall. The garrison was taken completely by surprise, and Bruce obtained possession of the castle and town almost without a struggle. It was given up to plunder, and all the Scots who had joined the English were put to the sword, but the English garrison is said to have been spared. Perth was taken on the 8th of January, 1312. Edward was again alarmed at Bruce's success, and gave orders to assemble an army for the invasion of Scotland, but the orders were countermanded, and he contented himself with asking for the interference of the pope, directing letters to the few castles in Scotland, which still remained in the hands of the English, thanking John of Lorn for the services rendered by his fleet, and making proposals to Bruce for a truce.

Instead of acceding to this proposal, the Scottish king assembled a larger force, and invaded the English border with more fury than ever. After burning the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, he made a forced march, and took the city of Durham by surprise. The castle and the precincts of the cathedral resisted successfully the attacks of the Scots, but the town, plundered and burnt, afforded such an unusually rich booty, that the Scots seem to have returned home immediately, in order to secure it. The terrified inhabitants of the bishopric bought an exemption from the repetition of a similar visit, and Bruce only acceded to this truce on condition that his troops should have free passage through the county of Durham, whenever they wished to invade England. On his way back, Bruce attacked Carlisle, but he was beaten off by the garrison with considerable loss. He then made another forced march, and attempted to surprise Carlisle by night; but when his men were actually mounting the walls, the soldiers of the garrison were aroused by the barking of a dog, and the assailants were again defeated, and many of them slain. The Scots had seldom carried back with them from the English borders so rich a booty, for, besides their plunder, the three counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, had contributed each two thousand pounds in money, to be included in the same truce with Durham.

Bruce now captured most of the other castles in Scotland, which had hitherto remained in the hands of the English, and he pursued his policy of destroying the fortifications, that they might not again be useful in establishing a foreign occupation of the kingdom. Among those which were now razed, were Dalswinton, in Galloway,

the stronghold of the Comyns, and the castles of Butel and Dumfries. Linlithgow was taken by the stratagem of a common labourer, named Binny, who was employed by the garrison to carry hay and other things into the fort. Having communicated his plan to a party of Scottish soldiers, he placed eight of them in his large waggon, and covered them with hay, and the rest remained in ambush outside the gate. A servant then drove the oxen, and Binny himself walked carelessly by the side of his waggon, till it stood in the middle of the gateway, under the portcullis, which, therefore, could not be lowered. The armed men then suddenly leaped out, and their companions joined them from without; and the garrison, thus taken by surprise, was put to the sword, and the castle taken. Roxburgh castle was surprised by Douglas. The castle of Edinburgh, after firmly resisting every open attack, was taken in the night by the treachery of an English soldier, who guided the Scots to a place where the rock and wall might be scaled without difficulty, but which was only known to himself. These successes were followed by a new invasion of the English border, and Edward, alarmed for the safety of Berwick, attempted in vain to negotiate a truce.

Bruce next attacked and subdued the Isle of Man, and raising some gallies to invade the opposite coast of Ireland, levied contributions on Ulster. During his absence, his brother Edward captured the town and castle of Dundee, and laid siege to Stirling. Philip de Mowbray, the English governor of Stirling, made a gallant and successful defence, and at length artfully drew Edward Bruce into an agreement, by which Mowbray undertook to deliver up Stirling at the following midsummer, if it were not previously delivered by an English army. The Scottish king, though disapproving of this arrangement, which bound him to venture a battle, agreed to stand by the conditions.

It was now understood that the dispute between Scotland and England was to be decided in a great battle, and king Edward made immense preparations. Sir Philip de Mowbray, governor of Stirling castle, taking advantage of his truce, had hastened to London to impress upon the king and his council that the English influence in Scotland would be entirely destroyed, unless Stirling were relieved, and his representations were so alarming, that all the great barons spontaneously overlooked for the moment their discontent at Edward's misgovernment, in order to join, as they thought, in vindicating the honour of their country. Ninety-three great feudal tenants of the crown brought out their whole service of cavalry, which amounted together to forty thousand men, of which three thousand were in complete armour, horse and man. A body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers were ordered to be levied in the counties of England and Wales, and writs were addressed to the Anglo-Irish barons, and to a number of the Irish chiefs, to join their forces under the command of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and take part in this important expedition. The various writs and orders relating to the summoning and organization of this great armament, are still preserved, and show us that it was at least intended to be far more formidable and effective than any army that had previously been led into Scotland by an English monarch. We must not, however, take it for granted that the orders of a prince like Edward II., would be so strictly executed to the letter, that the army would be fully equal to the intentions of these writs. It is said, however, to have exceeded a hundred thousand men, including fifty thousand archers. To co-operate with this land army, the king ordered a royal fleet of twenty-three ships to be collected, and the seaport towns were required to fit out an additional fleet of thirty ships. Messengers were also sent to John of Lorn, whom Edward had flattered with the rather pompous title of high admiral of the western fleet of England, calling upon him to take a part in the expedition. The army was to meet at Berwick, on the 11th of June (1314); and thither king Edward, after, as was usual in such cases, making a pilgrimage to St. Albans, repaired to join it.

Bruce, on his side, was not idle in preparing for the approaching struggle. He conceived that, according to the then existing code of chivalry, he was bound by his brother's agreement with the English governor of Stirling, to risk a battle; and although, on mustering his army in the Torwood, near Stirling, he found that the whole number of his fighting men did not exceed forty thousand, including a very small and inefficient body of cavalry, he prepared for it without apprehension. It is not improbable that king Robert felt it

was now necessary to make an effort to save his country from the desolating effects of former invasions; and we are told that he was encouraged by the recent example of the battle of Courtray, in which the splendid cavalry of the king of France had been defeated and destroyed by the burghers of Flanders, and that, knowing how large a portion of the English army consisted of horsemen, he resolved to fight on foot, and to form his army on ground where cavalry could not act, and where the English would be impeded and cramped by their numbers. Bruce was distinguished above most of his contemporaries for his great military skill, and this led him to select a spot admirably calculated for his purpose, to the east of Stirling, at the little village of Bannockburn, named from a small stream, the Bannock burn, which ran in front of his position. It lay exactly on the high road from Stirling to Edinburgh, about two miles from the former, and, therefore, an army posted there would intercept the advance of the English to succour Stirling castle. He there posted his army on a declivity which runs along the east side of the marshes of Halbert and Milton, his right resting on a deep marshy hollow which ran round the base of an eminence called the Coxe hill, while the left rested on the Bannock burn, at a bend where it ran through a deep ravine which could not be passed in front of an enemy. This ravine terminated in level ground below the village of Bannockburn, which, there seems no doubt, was then a marsh which could not be passed by any large body of men; so that Bruce's position was completely covered on both flanks by the nature of the ground. Nevertheless, for its still greater protection, he ordered rows of pits about a foot in breadth and from two to three in depth, to be dug in the firm ground extending from Halbert's marsh to the hollow which protected his right, in each of which stakes were placed, and they were then covered with turf, so that this ground also was rendered impassable for horse, and very difficult even for infantry. A little to the right of this position is a considerable eminence now called Gillies' hill, which is divided in the middle by a valley. In this valley Bruce placed a body of inferior Highland clans and others, popularly named *gillies* (from whom the hill has received its name), who had joined his host, to the number of about twenty thousand men, and whose want of discipline rendered them rather an encumbrance than otherwise, to a regular army, at the commencement of a battle. But, in this position he conceived that, in case of victory, they might be brought to cooperate in effectually routing his enemies; and, in case of defeat, they would easily secure their own retreat to the hills, and in doing so, cover and protect the retreat of the army. The Scottish leader is also supposed to have placed a small body as a corps of observation, to protect the army from any unexpected attack, either from the treachery of the clans, or breach of faith in the garrison of Stirling castle; and this body is supposed to have been the one commanded by Randolph. Bruce formed his reserve immediately behind his centre, and having completed his arrangements for battle, he fixed the staff of his standard in a mass of stone or insulated rock in front of the reserve, which still remains, with the hole in which the staff was fixed, a lasting relic of this great affray.*

The more minute details of the battle of Bannockburn are chiefly gathered from the narrative of Barbour, who no doubt had frequently heard them from the combatants themselves. On the morning before the battle, we are told, which was Sunday, the 23rd of June, the Scottish soldiers, who had heard on the previous evening that the English army had passed the Friday night at Edinburgh, and was rapidly advancing, heard mass, and they are said to have confessed themselves solemnly and fervently, like men who were determined to die in the approaching contest, or conquer their freedom. As it was St. John's eve, they kept a strict fast, making their dinner on bread and water. After mass, the king rode to see if his orders for making the pits had been properly executed, and then he returned and gave the order to arm. When the men, in obedience to this order, had taken their places under their different banners, proclamation was made that all who were not resolved to die or conquer on that field had free permission to leave the army, but the soldiers set up a great shout, and no one stirred from his place. He

* This account of the arrangements of Bruce for the battle of Bannockburn, is taken from the third edition of Tytler, who drew it up from the local survey of a military officer, Lieutenant Campbell, of the fifty-seventh regiment.

next proceeded to marshal his army, arranging it in a line of three square columns, with intervals between them, each column presenting outwardly a thick mass of long pikes, as at Falkirk. The centre was commanded by Bruce's nephew, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, while the command of the right was given to Edward Bruce, and that of the left to sir James Douglas and Bruce's young son-in-law, Walter, the steward of Scotland. The reserve, placed, as we have said, behind the central column, was composed of the men of the isles, under their prince Angus, with those of Carrick, Argyle, and Cantire.

It was soon reported that the English were approaching, having left Falkirk that morning, and Bruce despatched sir James Douglas and sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre, who immediately returned with the news that king Edward's army was seen advancing in strict martial order; but we are told that Bruce, to keep up the spirits of his soldiers, ordered them to be told that the English were marching irregularly and in confusion. Before leaving Falkirk, Edward had detached a body of eight hundred cavalry, under sir Robert Clifford, with orders to make a circuit round Bruce's left flank, and throw himself into Stirling castle to reinforce the garrison. Bruce had been suspicious of some movement of this kind, and had ordered his nephew Randolph to keep watch—it has been supposed with a few men on the eminence called Coxe's hill; but Clifford had executed his movement so skilfully, that he got into the rear of Bruce's army before he was detected by the keen eye of Bruce, marching direct towards the castle. Bruce instantly rode up to Randolph, and said to him, reproachfully, "Oh, Randolph! you have neglected the charge committed to you—a rose has fallen from your chaplet!" With such men as he had about him, consisting of a select but small body of spearmen on foot, Randolph hurried down towards Clifford to repair his error; and the latter, on seeing him, advanced, ordered his troop to wheel about, and with their lances in rest, to charge him at full speed. Randolph had only five hundred men, and seeing his danger, he formed them into a square, with the spears outward on every side, and thus awaited Clifford's charge, the only result of which was that many of the English were unhorsed and wounded, and one of their officers, sir William Daynecourt, slain. The English cavalry now endeavoured to break Randolph's square by attacking it leisurely, and on all sides, and a desperate combat ensued, in which Randolph's party seemed in danger of being overpowered. Bruce and sir James Douglas were standing together, spectators of this scene, when the latter, alarmed for the safety of Randolph's party, requested permission to take some of his men to their relief. "No," said the king, "you shall not stir from your ground, but let Randolph extricate himself; I will not alter my line of battle for him." "Noble king," replied the Douglas, "I cannot stand still, and see Randolph perish, when I may help him;" and with a half-extorted permission, he hurried with a party of men to his assistance. But as he drew near, he beheld the gallant body of spearmen emerging unhurt from the crowd of assailants by whom they had been surrounded, and the latter broken and retreating. The Douglas immediately ordered his men to halt. "We are come," he said, "too late to aid them, and we will not lessen the victory they have won by claiming a share in it." And so saying, he returned to the army. This has been often quoted as one of the brighter anecdotes of chivalry, for Douglas and Randolph were celebrated rivals for military fame. Clifford relinquished his design of proceeding to the castle, and returned, with the loss of many of his men, to Edward's army.

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse, or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his vanguard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. A part of the English vanguard made its appearance at this time; and a knight amongst them, sir Henry de Bohun, conceiving he saw an opportunity of gaining himself much honour, and ending the Scottish war at a single blow, couched his lance, spurred his powerful war-horse, and rode against the king at full career, with the expectation of bearing him to the earth by the superior strength of his charger and length of his weapon. The king, aware of his purpose, stood as if expecting the shock; but the instant before it took place, he suddenly moved his little palfrey to the left, avoided the unequal encounter, and striking the English knight with his battle-axe as he passed him in his career, he dashed hel-

met and head to pieces, and laid sir Henry de Bohun at his feet a dead man. The Scottish soldiers immediately raised a great shout, and would have attacked the English, had not Bruce restrained them; but they followed a short distance, and killed a few stragglers, while the English retired hastily before them. When the little disorder this incident had created was calmed, the chiefs of the Scottish army remonstrated with their king for the rashness with which he had exposed himself; he only replied, casting his eye on the shaft of his weapon, which had been broken by the blow, "I am sorry for the loss of my good battle-axe."

These two exploits—the defeat of Clifford and the slaughter of Henry de Bohun, with the other circumstances attendant on the latter—were easily construed into an omen of victory, and Bruce made them the subject of congratulation and encouragement to his soldiery. As night approached, he called together his chieftains in council, represented to them the great disparity in numbers, and demanded their advice, now that they had seen their enemies, whether he should hazard the battle, or retreat while there was still time to do it. They declared unanimously for fighting, and he then told them that his opinion coincided with theirs, and commanded that the whole army should be arrayed for battle by daybreak next morning. His chief apprehension seems to have been in the comparative want of discipline in some of his troops, and he earnestly entreated the chiefs to preserve the strictest order, not to allow a single soldier to quit his banner or break his rank, and to abstain rigorously from plundering or making prisoners until the victory was decided. He further encouraged them with a promise that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free of the usual feudal fine. While the Scots passed the night in arms on the field, preparing themselves for the terrible work of the morrow, the English passed it in riot and disorder. Edward had unwisely hurried their march so much, that they were overcome with fatigue, and from this and other causes, the soldiers began to show unequivocal signs of discontent; on which account he had withdrawn the army from its first position into the low ground behind it. A Scot, who deserted the English in the night, brought word to Bruce of the disorder in which they were encamped and urged him to attack them by surprise as they lay, assuring him of an easy victory; but the wary chieftain was unwilling to quit a position, of the advantages of which he was sure, to follow advice which might have been intended only to betray him.

At length daylight appeared, and the Scottish army was drawn up in line on the spot, where they were now to struggle in defence of the independence of their country. Each had a long spear, a battle-axe slung at his side, and a knife or dagger, all weapons in the use of which they were remarkably skilful. When he had seen that all was right, Bruce went to an eminence in front of the line, and heard a solemn mass performed by the abbot of Inchaffray. The soldiers then broke their fast, after which they arranged themselves again under their different banners. Then, according to the usual custom before an engagement of this importance, Bruce proceeded to make new knights, and among those knighted on this occasion, was his son-in-law, the young steward of Scotland, the future king of Scotland, who was to carry the crown into the line of Stewart. This ceremony was hardly concluded, when the first division of the English army appeared within a very short distance in their front. Edward had divided his army into ten divisions, who were so crowded together by the narrow space into which they were drawn, that they seemed like one immense mass. They were mostly brave men and good soldiers, and their efforts were directed by some of the most distinguished commanders of the day. The king, who had a a body-guard of four hundred chosen men at arms, was attended by the earl of Pembroke, the same who had defeated Bruce at Methven; sir Giles de Argentine, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, who was accounted one of the best knights of the day, and who was famous for his brave deeds in Palestine; and sir Ingram de Umfraville, a Scot in the English interest, who was no less celebrated for his military skill.

With this latter knight Edward was conversing, when they came near enough to observe the Scottish line. Struck with their resolute appearance, Edward turned to Umfraville, and asked with some surprise, if he thought these Scots would fight. Umfraville replied, by stating his conviction that they would fight; and he advised the English king not to make a direct attack upon them, but to draw back his army towards

the encampment, as if with the intention of retreating, which, he said, would make them rush on without order or discipline, and then he might easily fall upon them, and cut them to pieces. Umfraville could boast of a long experience in Scottish warfare, and his advice was good, and would probably have insured success; but Edward paid no attention to it. At this moment the abbot of Inchaffray, holding a crucifix in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line to bless the soldiers and the cause in which they were engaged, and the men in the line knelt down reverently as he passed. "Behold!" said the weak-minded king of England, who seemed deeply impressed with the idea that they would not fight—"behold! they kneel; they are asking for mercy!" "They do, my lord king," Umfraville replied, "but it is from heaven, and not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die in the battle." "Be it so, then," Edward exclaimed, and immediately gave the word to sound to the charge.

The first division of the English army was composed of archers and bill-men, comprehending almost all the infantry of the army, supported by a fine body of men-at-arms, and was commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. It was the misfortune of the English army that its leaders wanted unanimity, and that they were neither at peace with one another nor personally attached to their sovereign. There was rivalry between the two commanders of the English division which now advanced to charge the left wing of the Scots under Edward Bruce, and the earl of Gloucester especially had taken deep offence at some language used towards him by the king on the preceding day, and he now insisted on taking the lead of the van, a post which was usually claimed by the earl of Hereford as constable of England. This dispute was the cause of some confusion, and the charge was irregular. In the midst of the dispute, the earl of Gloucester saw the Scottish column advancing against them, and he immediately pushed forwards with his own men, unsupported by the rest of the van, and rushed upon the enemy. The shock was tremendous; many of the knights were thrown from their saddles, and the horses, dreadfully wounded, became furious and unmanageable.

Randolph, meanwhile, moved forwards steadily with the central division, and attacked the main body of the English, who were so numerous that the old historian describes the Scottish column as disappearing in the midst of their enemies like a body thrown into the sea. Sir James Douglas and the steward immediately brought up the left wing to second and support Randolph, and thus all the three divisions of the Scottish line were engaged with the English. The men on both sides fought with great bravery, and the noise and confusion at this moment is said to have been beyond description terrible. The English cavalry attempted by repeated charges to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, but in vain; many of the English horsemen were slain in the shock, and those who fell from their saddles were dispatched without mercy. Every successive charge was more fatal to the assailants, and increased the confusion of the vast army, which was crowded together and cramped for want of room.

But the English commanders now brought up their archers, the terror of the Scottish armies, whose unrivalled skill in the use of their deadly weapons had decided so many engagements, and the dreadful shower of arrows which poured upon the Scots, galled them so dreadfully, that they must soon have been broken, had not Bruce sent sir Robert Keith, with the five hundred horse that were in the reserve, to make a circuit round the morass now called Milton Bog and take the archers in flank. This movement was executed so quickly and successfully, that the whole body of the archers, who had no weapons fitted to resist cavalry, were soon put to the rout and so completely dispersed that they did not rally again effectively during the battle.

The English had already suffered great loss, and some of their bravest and most skilful commanders had fallen, yet they continued to fight well. Bruce, however, perceived already some symptoms of exhaustion, and he instantly brought up his reserve, so that the four divisions of the Scottish army were now all engaged in the contest. The effect of this new attack was soon visible in the English ranks, though the battle still raged with terrible fury; the Scottish soldiers themselves began to perceive that their enemies wavered, and shouting to each other, "On them! on them! they fail!" they pressed more eagerly forwards, and felt that they were gaining ground. It is believed that Bruce now sent orders to the Highland clans concealed on

the Gillies' hill to come forward and join in the combat, and they suddenly made their appearance, marching down the hill with banners flying. The English, imagining that they saw a large body of fresh troops coming to reinforce their enemies, were seized with dismay; when Bruce, whose quick eye instantly perceived the effect which had been produced among them, placed himself at the head of his own division of reserve, and led them on to a furious charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line. The English now broke, and began to leave the field in scattered parties. Multitudes were slain as they tried to escape; many were killed in attempting to rally their men. Among the latter was the young and high-minded earl of Gloucester, who was carried by his spirited war-horse into the division of Edward Bruce, where he was instantly unhorsed and slain. Among other men of distinction who fell at this time, were sir Robert Clifford, the commander so renowned in the Scottish wars, and sir Edmund Mauley, the seneschal of England. On seeing the total rout of his army, king Edward seemed bewildered; he was not wanting in personal courage, and it was with reluctance that he could be made to leave the fatal field. The earl of Pembroke was obliged to seize the bridle of his horse and force him away, and he was protected by a guard of five hundred heavy armed horse. The gallant sir Giles de Argentine followed the king till he saw him in safety, and then turning back towards the battle, he bade him farewell, observing that it was not his custom to fly. Then spurring his horse, and shouting his war-cry, "An Argentine! an Argentine!" he charged the division of Edward Bruce, and was instantly borne down and slain. Thus ended the great day of Bannockburn, for Scotland the most glorious in her annals. After the king had left the field, the slaughter of his troops became dreadful. Multitudes were drowned in attempting to cross the river Forth; others were entangled in the pits; the ravine of the Bannock burn was choked up and literally bridged over with the slain. No less than twenty-seven English barons fell in the field; with two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires of high birth. The whole loss on the side of the English is said to have been not less than thirty thousand. That of the Scots was very small; and they had only two men of note killed, sir William Vipont and sir Walter Ross, but the fate of the latter was much lamented by Robert Bruce. The booty gained by the victors was very great, and it was much increased by the high ransoms of the prisoners of distinction. Many of the Scottish prisoners in England gained their liberty by exchange. Bruce's own wife, her sister Christian, and his daughter Marjory, with Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, and the young earl of Mar, were all delivered up in exchange for the earl of Hereford.

King Edward, when he left the field, seemed still to act under the bewilderment of his misfortune. Instead of directing his course to the south, he proceeded to Stirling castle, and demanded admittance. The governor, Philip de Mowbray, expostulated with him on the imprudence of throwing himself into a fortress which, by the terms of the treaty, he must deliver up to his enemies next day. The king then made a circuit to avoid the Scottish army, and hurried towards the south. So many parties of English still hovered about, many of whom had taken shelter under the walls of Stirling castle, that Bruce thought it prudent to keep his men together, and he would only spare sixty horsemen to accompany Douglas in the pursuit of the English king. As he passed the Tor-wood, Douglas met sir Lawrence Abernethy, who was hastening with a small body of horsemen to join king Edward's army, but who now united with Douglas in the pursuit. Edward soon reached the castle of Dunbar, where he was received hospitably by the earl of March, and from thence he passed over in a boat to Berwick.

Stirling castle was surrendered the day after the battle, and its governor entered the service of the Scottish king.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN TO THE TRUCE OF 1319.

We are informed by the chronicler, Thomas of Walsingham, that king Edward, in his flight from Bannockburn, proceeded from Berwick to York, and that he there held a grand council or parliament to consider of the means to repair the disaster which had fallen upon him. But the absence from the national records of all mention of such a parliament leads us to believe that, whether summoned or not, it was never held; and the king soon found it prudent to continue his progress towards the south. Bruce had no sooner assured himself of his victory, than he despatched his brother Edward and the redoubtable Douglas to invade the English marches with a considerable force. The Scots crossed the eastern border into Northumberland, and ravaged successively that county and the bishopric of Durham, and then pursued their destructive course into Yorkshire, as far as the town of Richmond, which they plundered and burnt. They returned thence homeward, with an immense booty in goods, cattle, and prisoners, and on their way they burnt Appleby and Kirkwold, with all the villages and hamlets around. The English were at this time so utterly dispirited by their recent reverses, that we are assured that the appearance of two or three Scottish soldiers was sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight.* But king Edward proclaimed aloud his indignation, and gave orders for the assembly of a new army, to be placed under the command of the earl of Pembroke. These orders, however, were never carried into execution, although the Scots invaded England a second time, burning and plundering Redesdale and Tynedale, and from thence penetrating into Cumberland. Many of the English borderers are said on this occasion to have joined the Scots, and to have assisted in plundering their countrymen. Meanwhile the barons and clergy of the north, finding that so little was done by the king, met at York, and entered into a confederacy for self-protection, and with Edward's consent appointed four commanders to lead the border troops against the Scottish invaders. This measure might, under other circumstances, have been in the highest degree advantageous, but as it was, it only added to the distress of the country; for these northern troops, not obtaining their regular pay from the king's exhausted exchequer, set all discipline at defiance, and murdered and plundered as openly as the Scottish enemies.

These hostilities were followed by negotiations for peace; and commissioners on each side met for this purpose, but their object appears to have failed through the unwillingness of the English to acknowledge Robert Bruce as king of Scotland, and the high tone in which the Scots insisted upon their entire independence. Edward now talked of a new expedition against the Scots, and the parliament held at London in the beginning of the year 1315, granted a contribution for the purpose of levying a formidable army. But a grievous famine added at this moment to the general discouragement, and the hostile attitude of the English monarch served only to provoke the Scots to new acts of hostility. In the spring, they marched through Northumberland, laid waste the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the flourishing town of Hartlepool; they then continued their progress to York, mercilessly ravaging the country with fire and sword, while such of the peasantry as could make their escape fled for protection to Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, as the only towns capable, by their strength and garrisons, of resisting the invaders.

Robert Bruce, now firmly established on his throne, began to turn his attention to another object of great importance, in the circumstances under which he was placed—the settlement of the succession. To arrange this, a parliament was called at Ayr, on the 26th of April, 1315, and it was agreed that, in case of Bruce's death, without male issue, the crown should descend to his brother Edward. It was further provided that, if Edward Bruce and his male heirs failed, Robert Bruce's daughter, Marjory, should succeed, but under a con-

* Nempe tunc Anglis in tantum consueta adempta fuit audacia, ut a facie duorum vel trium Scotorum fugerent Angli centum.—*Tho. Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* p. 106.

dition that she should not marry without the express consent of her father, or, in case of his death before her marriage, of the majority of the estates of Scotland. Failing Marjory, the nearest heir lineally descended of king Robert was to succeed to the crown. It was ordered that, if either of these three should die, leaving an heir male, a minor, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, should be guardian of the heir and kingdom, until the estates should declare the heir of a fit age to administer the government; and in case of a failure in the direct succession, which seemed at this time not improbable, Randolph was to be guardian of the kingdom until the succession to the crown should be determined by the Scottish parliament. Soon after this arrangement had been completed, the princess Marjory was married to Walter, the hereditary high steward of Scotland, who thus became the founder of the royal family of Stewart, or Stuart.

In the summer of the same year, 1315, king Robert undertook an expedition against the western islands, where John of Argyle, or, as he was as often called, of Lorn, with a number of pirate chiefs, who acknowledged him as their commander, still upheld the English interests, and caused frequent damage to the Scottish shipping. The king was accompanied in this expedition by his new son-in-law. Taking advantage of the superstitions of the people, at the same time that he consulted his own convenience, Bruce sailed up Loch Fine to Tarbet, instead of passing round the Mull of Kantire, and he there caused his vessels to be dragged across the isthmus of Tarbet, on a slide made of planks of trees. It was an old tradition among the western islanders, that they would never be subdued unless their enemy sailed across the isthmus; and now, believing that the time of the fulfilment of the prophecy was arrived, they submitted without resistance, and John of Lorn himself was captured. He was imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, from whence he was removed to that of Lochleven, where he was kept in confinement till his death.

In the mean time, the Scottish army, commanded by the relentless chieftain, whose depredations in the border counties of England, had gained him the name of the Black Douglas, again harassed the English marches, laying waste the district of Egremont, and plundering the priory of St. Bees. The king, after indulging for a short time in the recreation of hunting, hastened to join the Douglas on the southern border, and made an attempt upon Carlisle, but after attacking that town with persevering resolution during ten days, he was beaten away by the bravery of the garrison. The Scots were about the same time defeated in an attempt upon Berwick from the sea. They were soon afterwards overjoyed by the birth of a son to the princess Marjory, who was christened by the name of Robert, which gave hopeful promise of a new line of kings, but their joy was mitigated with sorrow, on account of the death of the princess soon after the birth of her child.

This occurred early in the year 1316. The Scots still continued their hostilities against England, by a descent upon Wales, accompanied with new threats of invasion in the north. In the summer, Bruce led his army into Yorkshire, and wasted the country without resistance till he reached Richmond, which was redeemed from the flames by the payment of a sum of money, collected by the nobles and gentry of the county. The Scots then moved off into the West Riding, which they plundered and burnt, and returned home with a rich booty.

An expedition of a more extensive character at this moment occupied the attention of the Scottish king. Edward Bruce had fought bravely under the banner of his brother, while they were contending against difficulties, but, now that they had secured the independence of Scotland, his ambitious and ungovernable temper made it difficult for them to live peaceably together. According to the historian, Fordun, Edward Bruce demanded of his brother Robert, as the reward of his services, one-half of the kingdom of Scotland, and, we are told, that he only relinquished his claim upon a promise of being made king of Ireland. A hostile expedition into Ireland was, at this moment, a sensible attack on the power of England, and king Robert, embarrassed by his brother's factious behaviour, willingly agreed to the project. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce, accompanied by the earl of Moray, sir Philip Mowbray, sir John Soulis, sir Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse, with an army of six thousand men, landed on the coast of Antrim. This in-

vasion belongs rather to the history of Ireland than to that of Scotland, and we will therefore pass over it briefly. The Scots soon found partisans, and after carrying all before them, and ravaging the counties of Down, Armagh, Louth, Meath, and Kildare, they were compelled by famine and disease to retreat into the north of Ulster, where Edward Bruce caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland, and immediately laid siege to Carrickfergus. He had dispatched the earl of Moray to Scotland, to inform his brother Robert of the condition of his affairs, and press him for immediate assistance. King Robert was returning from his expedition into Yorkshire, in 1316, when his brother's messenger reached him; he immediately resolved to hurry in person to his assistance, and, having committed the government of Scotland to his son-in-law and sir James Douglas, he passed over into Ireland with a considerable body of troops. Carrickfergus soon surrendered to the united forces of the two Bruces, and, joined by their Irish allies, they marched south, and after a vain attempt to reduce Dublin, advanced through Kilkenny, and laid waste the country to the gates of Limerick. Famine again drove them away, and they were compelled, in the spring of 1317, to retreat into Ulster, whence king Robert returned to Scotland, taking with him the earl of Moray, but leaving the flower of his army to support his brother's cause in the field. After a long inactivity, Edward Bruce again prepared for active hostilities towards the summer of 1318. But the English had now regained their courage, and a powerful army under lord John de Birmingham marched against him, and found him encamped at Tagher, near Dundalk. Here the Scottish army was entirely defeated on the 5th of October, 1318, leaving among their dead their leader, Edward Bruce, with sir John Soulis, sir John Stewart, and many more of the most distinguished of the Scottish warriors. A small remnant only of the Scottish army ever returned to Scotland.* The lord John de Birmingham caused the head of Edward Bruce to be cut off and sent to the king of England, and he received, as a reward for his success, the title of earl of Louth. The body of the Scottish chieftain was quartered, and distributed to four of the principal towns in Ireland.

During king Robert's absence in Ireland, the border, which he had left to the charge of the Douglas, was the scene of hostilities which furnished anecdotes to enliven the pages of the chronicler, Barbour. The king of England, thinking the absence of the two Bruces and Randolph, a favourable moment for the invasion of Scotland, summoned his military vassals to meet him in arms at Newcastle. The quarrel between the king and his barons had been revived; nevertheless, they proceeded with their followers to the appointed rendezvous, but when they found that the king himself was not there, the earl of Lancaster and the barons of his party returned to their homes in disgust. The design of one great invasion of Scotland was thus overthrown, and gave place to a series of inroads which were opposed and repelled by the united bravery and skill of Douglas and the Steward. On one occasion, when Douglas was lying at the manor of Linthlauglee, two miles above Jedburgh, in the heart of the forest which stretched out towards the English border, he heard that the earl of Arundel and the earl of Britanny were advancing from Northumberland with an English force of ten thousand men, to take him by surprise. Well acquainted with the nature of the ground through which his enemies had to march, he took possession of a narrow pass in their way, which was covered on each side by a wood, consisting chiefly, it appears, of young trees. These he caused to be platted together so as to form an impervious barrier on either side, and he placed his archers in ambush in an adjoining hollow. No sooner had the English engaged themselves in the pass, than the archers, suddenly making their appearance, threw in among them a volley of arrows, and Douglas, at the same moment, made a furious charge with his cavalry. The English, crowded in too small a space, were soon thrown into disorder, and took to flight, with the loss of one of their leaders. For the Douglas, throwing himself into the thick of the fray, singled out the earl of Brittany, and slew him with his dagger. The house of Douglas was long proud of this exploit.

On another occasion, a knight of Gascony named Edmund de Cailou, who at that time held the office of governor of Berwick, had made an inroad into Scot-

* A more detailed account of Edward Bruce's expedition to Ireland will be found in the *History of Ireland*, by the same author as the present work.

land with a party of his countrymen, and was returning with the plunder of Teviotdale and the Merse, when they were intercepted by Douglas, and defeated with loss. Cailou himself, was among the slain. Sir Ralph Neville, one of the English commanders in Berwick, met some of the fugitive Gascons, and reproached them with pusillanimity. They pleaded in extenuation, the extraordinary force and courage of the Douglas, which was popularly believed to be irresistible; upon which the English knight said scornfully, that if the Scot dared to show his banner before Berwick, he would willingly fight with him hand to hand, and show them how little his boasted valour would avail him. Douglas was informed of the vaunting speech of sir Ralph Neville, and, with the chivalrous spirit of the time, he marched immediately into the neighbourhood of Berwick, and sent some of his men to plunder and burn the villages within view of the town. Neville marched forth with a large body of men, and posted himself in a strong position to wait the opportunity of attacking Douglas when his men were dispersed to plunder the country. But he mistook Douglas's object; and the Scottish chief no sooner beheld his opponent within his reach, than he called in all his plundering parties, and marched to attack him. The English were again defeated, and Douglas encountering Neville in the fight, slew him with his own hand. The Scots, without further opposition, ravaged the country, burnt towns and villages, and carried away the cattle to Scotland.

Finding that his efforts against the Scots by land were of so little avail, king Edward now determined to try what he could do by sea, and he fitted out a fleet which sailed up the firth of Forth to Duniebrissle, on the coast of Fife. The sudden appearance of the English on their coast threw the population of the neighbouring country into so great a panic, that the sheriff found the greatest difficulty in getting together five hundred horsemen to make a show of resistance, and these no sooner saw the enemy at hand than they fled precipitately. In this dilemma, an ecclesiastic, as had often been the case, came forward to set a spirited example, which restored his countrymen to confidence. Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, in armour and on horseback, with sixty of his household retainers, threw himself in the way of the sheriff's cavalry, as they were flying in disorder from the face of the enemy. "Out upon such recreant knights!" he cried, "who ought to have your spurs struck from your heels!" and then seizing a spear from the soldier nearest to him, and shouting, "let all who love Scotland follow me!" he rushed towards the enemy. The fugitive Scots immediately rallied, and made so furious a charge, that as many of the English as had landed were driven back with considerable loss to their ships, and some were drowned in their hurry to embark. It was not long after this occurrence, that king Robert returned from Scotland, and he was so much pleased with the prelate's bravery that he declared he should in future be his bishop. Sinclair was long afterwards known by the title of "the king's bishop."

King Edward, who was unwilling to obtain a peace by yielding to the demands of the Scots that he should recognise their independence, attempted to procure it by the intervention of what was then looked upon as a higher power. It is said that he bought the favour of pope John XXII. with English gold. In the beginning of the year 1317, the pope issued a bull, in which, describing Bruce as "his beloved son carrying himself as king of Scotland," he enjoined a truce from all hostilities between the two countries for two years. This bull was entrusted to two cardinals, who were to proceed with it to England and Scotland, and who carried with them letters sealed and patent addressed to the two kings. They were to publish the truce on the spot, and they were privately empowered to place Robert Bruce under the ban of the catholic church if he refused to comply with the pope's commands. Another bull was given them at the same time, declaring the pain of excommunication against Robert Bruce and his brother Edward, which was to be used only if circumstances required; and the pope showed his partiality by directing a bull against the minorite friars in Ireland, who had been active in exciting the Irish to join the Scottish invaders against their English rulers. When the two cardinals arrived in England, they sent two nuncios, the bishop of Corbeil and master Aumery, to deliver the papal letters to the king of Scotland, and to proclaim the bull relating to the truce. They travelled in the train of the bishop elect of Durham, who was proceeding with a pompous retinue of ecclesiastics and barons to Durham to be inau-

gurated, and the nuncios proposed to be present at the ceremony. As they approached Rushy Ford, within a stage of Durham, they were suddenly surrounded by a party of the lawless soldiers who then infested the northern counties, under the command of two of their chiefs, Gilbert de Middleton and Walter Selby, who seized and stripped the ecclesiastics of their rich apparel, and robbed them of their baggage and horses. They then permitted the nuncios to continue their route to Scotland, but they carried off the bishop elect and his brother Henry de Beaumont to Gilbert de Middleton's castle of Mitford, from which he was not liberated until so heavy a ransom was paid that it was found necessary to sell the jewels and rich vestments of the cathedral to defray it.

It has been supposed that this act of violence was committed at the instigation of the king of Scotland, who was in secret communication with the turbulent English chiefs in the border counties, and that his object was to make himself master of any secret letters and instructions the papal messengers might have brought with them. When at length the nuncios reached the Scottish court, they found the king resolved to resist their authority, although he acted with cautious prudence. When they had read the bull and the open letters, Bruce began with a solemn protest against the insult offered to Scotland, in addressing him as governor of that kingdom, and not as king. He said that there were many of his subjects bearing the same name of Robert Bruce, who shared with the other barons in the government of the kingdom, and that it was possible that the letters might be intended for some one of them. As he was anxious for peace between the two kingdoms, he had allowed the bull and the open letters to be read, but as they were not addressed to him as king, he could give no answer to them. But the sealed letters, not being directed to the king of Scotland, he would not allow to be opened in his presence. He said that he could take no further cognizance of the matter until he had consulted his parliament, which could not be called till after Michaelmas; it was now early in the month of September.

The nuncios attempted to excuse the misdirection of the letters, alleging that it was not usual for the church to do or say any thing which might prejudice either party while a controversy was pending. To which Bruce replied, that if his spiritual father and his holy mother were unwilling to prejudice his opponent by giving him (Bruce) the title of king, they ought to have felt the same delicacy in withdrawing that title from him who was actually in possession of a kingdom. "All my subjects," he said, "call me king, and by that title do other kings and royal princes address me; but I perceive that my spiritual parents assume an evident partiality amongst their sons. If you had ventured to present letters so addressed to other kings, you might have received very different treatment, but my reverence for your authority and respect for the holy see will be your protection." The nuncios then begged for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which the king said he could not grant without consulting his parliament, while the English manifested their present hostile feelings. This was all the reply the messengers of the pope could obtain; and, after leaving the royal presence, they were assured by the courtiers that the only impediment to negotiations for peace was the refusal of the pope to address Bruce as king, and that, as they were satisfied the pope had acted under the influence of king Edward, and in contempt of the people of Scotland, neither their king nor his advisers would listen to any proposals of treaty unless the royal title were given to him.

The cardinals had meanwhile proceeded to Durham, where they awaited the return of the nuncios. When they learnt the ill-success of their messengers, they determined that, at all events, the papal truce should be published in Scotland, and they employed as their agent for this purpose Adam Newton, the father guardian of the friars minor of Berwick, who was to obtain an interview with Bruce, deliver in person the pope's letters to the king and to the bishop of St. Andrew's and the other Scottish prelates, and publish the bull enjoining the truce, as well as that of excommunication, if necessary. Newton was better acquainted with the Scots than his employers, and he cautiously left the papal instruments in secure keeping at Berwick, until he was assured of the reception which awaited him at the Scottish court. After a perilous journey, he at length found the king with his army, encamped in the woods of Old Cambus, not more than twelve miles from Berwick. It was now the middle of December, and, intending to commence the ensuing spring with an attack upon this

important town, he was overlooking and directing the construction of warlike engines for that purpose. Having obtained a safe conduct, with less difficulty than he expected, the friar returned to Berwick for his papers and credentials. When he again presented himself before the lord Alexander Seton, the king's seneschal, he was informed that Bruce would not admit him to a personal interview, but that he must deliver him his letters that they might be examined privately by the king. To this proposal the papal agent consented; but when Bruce saw that in these documents, the title of king of Scotland was still withheld, he returned them contemptuously, and ordered friar Newton to be informed that it was his intention, in spite of the papal orders, to make himself master of the town of Berwick. Newton now attempted to publish the pope's bull for a truce of two years, but when he began to read it, he was treated with so much violence, that he found it necessary for his personal safety, that he should desist. He then made a last attempt to execute his commission, by requesting permission to proceed into Scotland, to meet the Scottish prelates, with whom he was commanded to confer, and if this were not granted, he demanded a safe conduct back to Berwick. But to his no little consternation, both were refused, and he was ordered to depart out of Scotland as quickly as he could. On his way, he was attacked by four armed men, said to have been employed by the king, who robbed him of his papers, and stripping him to the skin, turned him out naked on the road. As they had carried away all his bulls, it was not even in his power to revenge himself by publishing the pope's sentence of excommunication.

Bruce now prepared for the siege of Berwick, and in this instance, at least, his success was insured by treason among his enemies. The security of this important place had been watched over with care, and governors were placed over the castle and town who were not likely to neglect their duty. The governor of the town was especially strict in enforcing discipline among the townsmen, and a burgess, named Spalding, had taken great offence at his severity. This man was himself of English extraction, but he had married a Scottish woman, and perhaps she suggested to him the project of revenging himself on the governor, by betraying the town to her countrymen. Spalding contrived to send a communication to the earl of March, offering to assist the Scots in escalading the walls on a certain night, when it would be his turn to keep watch. The earl, who had himself abandoned the English interest to enter warmly into the national Scottish cause, immediately went to the king, and informed him of the offer. We are told that the king, in allusion to a growing rivalry between his favourites Douglas and Randolph, said to the earl, as soon as he had communicated his intelligence, "You did well to tell this to me; for Douglas and Randolph are so emulous of glory, that if you had trusted one of them with the secret, the other would have taken offence; but I will now employ them both." On the day appointed, these two chiefs, with the earl of March, were ordered to bring together, towards evening, a chosen body of men at Dun's park, from whence, at nightfall, they marched on foot to Berwick, and, with Spalding's assistance, easily fixed their ladders and mounted over the wall into the town. Instead of waiting for the support of the Scottish army, the soldiers of Douglas and Randolph could not be restrained by their leaders from dispersing themselves in the streets, to slay and plunder the townsmen, who, panic-struck, saved themselves by leaping over the walls, or took refuge in the castle. In the midst of this confusion, daylight appeared, and the governor of the castle, Roger Horsely, discovering the comparatively small number of the assailants, sallied out and attacked them so vigorously, that he would have driven them out of the town, had not Randolph and Douglas made a desperate effort with their own immediate followers, whom they had kept close together. The English now, in their turn, retired to the castle, and before they could take any further steps to recover the town, Bruce arrived with the army, and secured his conquest. The garrison of the castle soon surrendered, and the Scottish king, contrary to his usual practice, preserved and strengthened the fortifications, and gave the custody of this important town to his son-in-law, Walter the steward.

Although Berwick was not treated with the rigour usual on such occasions at that period, the Scots obtained a considerable booty from it; and, not content with this, Bruce led them into England, where they committed great havoc. They reduced the

castles of Wark and Harbottle, and took that of Mitford by surprise—its turbulent lord had been taken and executed, and it was now in the hands of the English king. They then proceeded into Yorkshire, and burnt the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton in Craven; after which they returned to Scotland, laden with plunder, and driving their English captives before them, to use the words of the old chroniclers, like flocks of sheep.

King Edward's disputes with his barons still paralyzed the English, and the remainder of this eventful year 1318 passed over without any attempt to retaliate for the injuries inflicted on the kingdom by the Scots. The pope was indignant at Bruce's refusal to admit his envoys or to listen to his mandates, and he now caused the two cardinals to publish new bulls of excommunication against him, in which he was charged with taking Berwick traitorously during the papal truce; with contempt towards the papal authority; and with other offences which were to be declared more fully in case of need. The national spirit of the Scots had been so thoroughly raised by their continued successes, that the papal bulls passed unheeded either by the clergy or the people.

Various circumstances had now occurred to call Bruce's attention to the internal state of his kingdom. The death of Edward Bruce without issue, as well as that of the king's daughter Marjory, had made her infant son Robert the last remaining of Bruce's direct line. It was therefore thought prudent to have the title of the young heir again solemnly acknowledged. A parliament was accordingly summoned, which met at Scone in the December of 1318. Its first act was an engagement of solemn allegiance to king Robert, and a promise to aid him against all who should menace the liberties of Scotland, or impeach his royal rights, however high might be the power, authority, or dignity of the opponent. This act was designed especially against the pope and his late attempt to deprive Bruce of his title of king. By a further enactment, any native of Scotland who should fail in his allegiance to king Robert was denounced a traitor. The infant prince Robert was declared to be the next heir to the crown, in default of male issue of the king's body; and the regency was settled on Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, or, in case of his death, on James earl of Douglas. An absolute rule was laid down for the future succession to the throne, by which it was ordered that the male heir nearest to the king in the direct line of descent should succeed, and, failing him, the nearest female in the direct line; and that, failing the whole direct line, the nearest male heir in the collateral line should be taken as the successor. As this was contrary to the rule on which Bruce's own claim to the throne had been founded, there was a special proviso that respect should always be held to the right of blood by which king Robert himself had succeeded to the crown. Another act passed at this parliament made every man liable to be called out to serve in defence of his kingdom, and he was required to provide himself with weapons according to his rank and means. The particular orders referred solely to the infantry, the especial and most effective force of the kingdom. Every man worth ten pounds a year of land was ordered to have in readiness a buff jacket and a head-piece of steel; those whose income was less might substitute iron for steel. All were to have gloves of plate and a sword and spear. Every man who possessed a cow was to possess a bow and sheaf of arrows, or a spear. Orders were also made for providing for the armed forces, when called out, in the manner least burthensome to the country. An act was likewise passed to regulate the obedience due to Rome, and secure the independence of the Scottish church. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to Rome to purchase bulls; and by a somewhat similar regulation natives of Scotland residing in a foreign country were not permitted to draw their revenues from their native country. Absenteeism appears to have been as much dreaded in Scotland as it was at a later period in Ireland.

While the Scottish parliament was passing these salutary laws, king Edward seemed gradually to become aroused from his inactivity, and in the year 1319 he proclaimed his intention at all risks to rescue Berwick from his Scottish enemies. Having made a temporary agreement with his discontented barons, he raised a formidable army, with which he appeared before Berwick at the end of July. His proceedings on this occasion were carried on with a prudence which he had seldom shown before. Having established his camp on the Scottish side of the Tweed, he began by securing it with strong ramparts and trenches, which would

enable him to resist any attempt to raise the siege. He then proceeded to invest the town along the whole line of its walls, which were very low, and an English fleet having entered the estuary of the Tweed, it was beleaguered on all sides.

The details of this siege of Berwick are again furnished by the minute chronicler Barbour. It was the beginning of September when the siege was regularly commenced, and the first assault was made on the 7th of that month. After great preparations, the besiegers advanced to the walls in numerous different bodies, covered by strong parties of archers and slingers, and the assault was carried on with great resolution on various points, from early in the morning till noon. The fleet then moved up as close as possible to the town, and one ship, the rigging of which had been prepared for the purpose, was to be drawn up close to the wall. The boat of this ship was raised up half-mast high, and a sort of drawbridge was fitted to it, which, at a preconcerted signal, was to be dropped on the town wall. The boat and the rigging of the ship were filled with soldiers, who were immediately to rush forward over this novel kind of bridge into the town, which it was supposed would thus be easily taken. By some mismanagement, however, this ship run aground, and, being left dry by the ebbing of the tide, it was successfully attacked by the townsmen, and burnt. In the mean time the soldiers on the walls, encouraged by the bravery of their leader, the steward of Scotland, had succeeded in repelling every attack from the land side; and when the besiegers saw the flames of their burning ship, they were too much discouraged to continue the attack that day with any prospect of success.

Although the walls of Berwick were low, they offered a sufficient defence against an enemy when manned by brave men, and it was determined, in preparing for a second assault, to undermine and breach them. For this purpose, the English constructed, on an immense scale, one of those machines known in the middle ages by the name of *a sow*, consisting of a large inclosed shed or chamber, formed of strong timbers, and moving on wheels, so that under its cover a body of miners might dig under the foundation of the wall, or break up the masonry with tools made for that purpose, without being exposed to the missiles of the besieged. Besides the miners, it contained a number of armed soldiers, to defend it in case of attack from a sallying party. Scaffolds, higher than the walls, and moving on wheels, were also constructed, to push forward parties of armed men, who might jump down from them on the walls. And instead of the single ship, which had been burnt, Edward caused a number of vessels to be fitted out in a similar manner, with the addition of numerous archers and slingers placed in the top castles, who, it was expected, could keep the enemy at a distance while the ships drew up close to the walls, and threw their drawbridges upon them.

The Scots, on their side, were actively engaged in making preparations of defence. The garrison was strong and courageous, and devotedly attached to their brave commander, the steward of Scotland. Among them were five hundred gentlemen, who quartered the arms of the steward, and who had come voluntarily to fight under the banner of their feudal chief. The steward was assisted by the ingenuity of a Flemish mercenary, named John Crab, who was celebrated for his skill as a military engineer, and who was now aided by an English engineer who had been taken prisoner in the first assault, and was compelled to serve against the besiegers. Crab caused two large engines to be made for throwing stones of immense size, which, like the sow and scaffolds of the besiegers, moved upon wheels. Less ponderous engines, for throwing stones, leaden bullets, and darts, were also made; with iron chains and grappling hooks, and piles of fire faggots, mixed with flax and pitch, and made into large bundles like casks. These preparations having been completed, the troops were distributed under their officers along the walls, each division having its particular post to defend, while the steward placed himself at the head of a strong body of reserve, in a position whence he could watch the various points most exposed to attack, and send reinforcements whenever they might be wanted.

At sunrise on the morning of the 13th of September, the English advanced with resolution to the walls of Berwick, and began their attack with great fury. In spite of every difficulty with which they had to contend, and of the incessant shower of missiles from the besiegers, they soon succeeded in filling up the ditch and fixing their ladders. A desperate conflict now took place, which lasted without intermis-

sion till noon, when the English began to give way and fall back. This was the moment chosen to bring up the sow, which was moved with its ponderous weight towards the wall. Crab, the Fleming, immediately brought the most powerful of his military engines to bear upon it, that he might break or disable it before it came too near. The English soldiers pushed forward their machine eagerly and rapidly, and Crab in haste aimed at it one of his most ponderous stones, but it passed over the sow without injuring it. A second stone fell short of its aim, owing no doubt to the too great anxiety of the engineers to avoid the error which had rendered their first shot harmless. The sow approached nearer and nearer, and would soon have been too near the walls to receive any serious damage from Crab's catapult, when he aimed a third shot with more success. The ponderous mass, flying through the air with a fearful noise, fell in the middle of the English military engine, and broke its roof timbers to pieces, killing many of the men who were inside. A shout of exultation resounded from the walls, and as the English miners and soldiers who had not been killed by the blow rushed out from their machine, the Scots cried out in derision that the English sow had farrowed her pigs. The Scots threw their chains and grappling irons from the walls to keep the broken sow from being dragged away, and then showered down burning faggots upon it, by which it was soon consumed. These machines were usually covered with raw hides, and other incombustible material, to protect them from fire, but all this had no doubt been torn and scattered in the breaking of the timbers it covered.

Thus ended the machine which had cost the English much labour, and on which they reckoned so much for success against the town. The attack from the water had meanwhile been made with far less skill and courage than that from the land. The ships came up towards the walls with the tide, but the vessel which took the lead had no sooner arrived within range of one of Crab's warlike engines, than it was struck by a stone, which damaged its rigging, and killed and wounded some of the crew. The other ships were alarmed at this accident, and they all drew off from the attack. Even this circumstance did not destroy the courage of the besiegers; they marched again to the walls, and made a furious attack, in which they attempted to set fire to St. Mary's gate. The Scots were here so hard pressed, that the steward went to encourage them by his personal example, and even the women and children of the town were employed in supplying the soldiers on the walls with arrows and stones. It was not till nightfall that the English army, foiled in every attempt, was drawn off from the attack.

Although its besiegers had thus been twice beaten off, Berwick was not yet secure, for the English were evidently resolved to carry on the siege till it was taken. Bruce was too well aware of the disastrous effects which would follow a defeat, to risk the fortune of a battle with the English army; but he determined to try the effect of a diversion, and as he knew that the military force of the north was collected before Berwick, and that the country was left in a defenceless state, he sent Randolph and Douglas to invade England with an army of fifteen thousand men. This expedition had also a secret object, which might have had a still more important influence on the relations between the two countries at this moment. While the king of England was occupied in the siege of Berwick, his queen, Isabella, had taken up her residence near York, and some traitors in her court are said to have given Bruce information of her unprotected position, and of the facility with which she might be surprised and captured. Amid the political intrigues and distractions of the country at this time, Bruce had secret communication with the party opposed to the court, and he appears thus to have obtained frequent information on the movements of his enemies. It was the plan of Randolph and Douglas to make a sudden march into the heart of Yorkshire, and with the queen their prisoner, Bruce doubted not being able to dictate a peace. But there were traitors on both sides, and a Scottish prisoner gave the queen warning of her danger. When Randolph suddenly appeared before York, he found that queen Isabella and her court were gone to the south. In disappointment and anger, he ravaged the country about with more than usual ferocity. The only hope of protection for the suffering population, was in the forces which could be collected from among the vassals of the archiepiscopal see, and the archbishop, seized with a sudden burst of military ardour, and assisted by the bishop of Ely,

who happened to be there, raised an ill-composed army of about twenty thousand men, composed of a multitude of priests and monks, who had taken up arms on this occasion, with the ill-disciplined feudal soldiers of the church lands, and the trained bands and armed burgesses of the city of York. The latter, probably, were the only portion of this motley army fit to be led to battle. However, the archbishop and his troops sallied forth courageously to seek the enemy, whom he found encamped at Mytton, on the banks of the Swale. The English leaders were entirely wanting in the experience and military foresight necessary to cope with veteran warriors like Randolph and Douglas, and while they incautiously led their army across a bridge over the river, the Scots fired some large haystacks, and under cover of the dense smoke which issued from them, they threw a strong column into the rear of the English, between their army and the bridge. The archbishop's army was thus attacked at once both in front and rear, and in a few minutes it was routed and dispersed with great slaughter. Four thousand men were slain on the field of battle and in the flight, among whom were three hundred ecclesiastics, who were known by their white surplices, which they wore over their armour. Many of the fugitives were drowned in the river Swale, in the tumultous effort to cross it. Night saved the remainder, and it was fortunate for the vanquished that the engagement had taken place in the evening. This battle, which was fought on the 20th of September, 1319, was called by the Scots, in derison of the number of surpliced ecclesiastics who fought in it, the white battle, or the chapter of Mytton.

The news of this disaster spread consternation in the English camp before Berwick, where it appears to have been already found difficult to appease the political feuds which continued to rankle in the breasts of the leaders. The earl of Lancaster, the great leader of the country party, was suddenly seized with so much displeasure and disgust, that he drew off the whole body of his followers, and marched away. These troops composed about one-third of the English army. Thus reduced in force, alarmed at the attempt which had been made to capture his queen, and provoked at the defeat of the archbishop of York and the ravages of the Scots, king Edward determined to raise the siege of Berwick, and he marched off with his army to intercept Douglas and Randolph, on their return from their foray in England. The wary Scots, well informed of his movements by spies and traitors in his camp, and far better acquainted with the border passes, escaped into Scotland with their booty, leaving the English army to trace their route only by the horrible devastation which attended it. They are said to have plundered and burnt, during this inroad, no less than eighty-four towns and villages, besides private castles, houses, and hamlets. Nor was this the only visitation of the kind to which England was subjected during this disastrous year. The northern borderers were allowed to gather in their harvest, and then, when they least expected it, Douglas and his army of devastators broke in among them again, and having ravaged the country about Gillsland and Borough-on-Stanmore, they rushed through Westmoreland and Cumberland, burning the agricultural produce on their way, and sweeping before them a vast herd of cattle and prisoners.

Edward seems now to have been humbled by successive disasters, and Bruce was anxious for peace, to consolidate his own power. The consequence was natural; proposals for a truce were made, it is uncertain by which party, and they were readily listened to; and it was agreed between commissioners from the two kingdoms, that there should be a cessation of hostilities for two years, to commence with the Christmas of 1319. King Edward appointed his keepers of the peace on the English borders during the truce, the first instance on record of an office, which was afterwards frequently revived; and the commissioners were directed to continue their conferences, in the hope that they might lead to the permanent peace and alliance which had now become so necessary to the two countries.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPOSTULATIONS WITH THE POPE; PLOT AGAINST THE SCOTTISH KING; EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND; BATTLE OF BILAND; DEPOSITION OF EDWARD II.; NEW INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE SCOTS; PEACE; DEATH OF ROBERT BRUCE.

The pope had been greatly offended at the obstinate insubordination of the king of Scotland, and provoked at the little effect his bulls of excommunication had hitherto produced, he now renewed, and recapitulated them in a bull of considerable length, and to make it more terrible and efficacious, the holy father enjoined the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Carlisle, to repeat the reading of it in public every Sunday and festival throughout the year, with the solemn accompaniments of bell, book, and candle. We must not suppose that these proceedings passed totally unheeded by Bruce, for, though far distant from the Popish see, the censures of the church were too terrible in those days, to be long set at defiance; but he knew that their object was to stop and paralyze him in the moment of his success, and he knew too that if his success were once established and secured, the papal see was far from difficult to be propitiated. No sooner had the truce with England been accorded and carried into effect, than the king of Scotland began to think of taking steps, at least to justify himself with the pope, and he proceeded exactly in the same manner as Edward the first had done when a preceding pope had forbidden him to persevere in his hostilities against the Scots. A parliament was held at Aberbrothwick, on the 6th of April, 1320, when a bold letter of justification was addressed to the pope in the names of the whole nobility and community of Scotland. In this celebrated document, the Scottish nobles and commons began by tracing their fabulous origin from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, through a long list of kings, most of them equally fabulous, to prove the antiquity of their independence, and they proclaimed their pretended conversion by St. Andrew, the brother of St. Peter, and the privileges which he had conferred on the Scottish church, to show their claims to the especial favour and indulgence of the see of Rome. They then proceeded, in a more rational tone, to describe the means by which the first Edward had attempted to destroy their independence, and the cruel injuries which he had inflicted upon their country. From these innumerable evils, they said that they had been freed by Robert Bruce, whom they described as a second Maccabæus or Joshua, in return for which they had raised him to the throne, to which he was entitled by the rights of blood. "To him," they said, "we are bound, both by his own merit, and by the law of the land, and to him, as the saviour of our people, and the guardian of our liberty, we are unanimously determined to adhere." They added further, that if Bruce himself should alter his principles, and attempt to subject them or the kingdom to England, they would turn against him, and use their utmost efforts to expel him from the throne, choosing another king to rule over them, who would defend their rights. They declared, that as long as a hundred Scotchmen were left alive, they would never be subjected to the dominion of England. "It is not for glory," said they, "or riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose, but with his life. Wherefore, most reverend father, we humbly pray, and from our hearts, beseech your holiness to consider, that you are the vicegerent of him with whom there is no respect of persons, Jews or Greeks, Scots or English; and turning your paternal regard upon the tribulations brought upon us and the church of God by the English, to admonish the king of England, that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven or more kings, and not to disturb our peace in this small country, lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth, and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own." They concluded by declaring their earnest desire for peace, and their willingness to contribute to a crusade against the infidels, and by protesting against the pope's partiality for the king of England.

This spirited remonstrance was signed by eight earls and thirty-one barons, and it

was sent to Rome by two special messengers, sir Edward Maubulsson and sir Adam de Gordon, who were entrusted with further verbal communications. Their mission was so far effective, that the pope delayed further proceedings in the matter of the excommunication, and strongly urged that a final peace should be concluded between the two countries. The king of France offered himself to be a mediator for this purpose, and two envoys from that monarch, with two nuncios from the pope, attended a meeting between the Scottish and English commissioners. It was soon, however, evident that neither party was as anxious for peace as was pretended. Bruce was in league with the English barons of the party of the earl of Lancaster, and knowing that they were in open insurrection, he was willing to wait and watch the course of events, knowing that the king of England would for some time be too much embarrassed at home to think of interfering in the affairs of Scotland; while Edward, who was not yet willing to recognise Bruce as king, was probably aware of a conspiracy against him which might have had fatal results.

The glory which had crowned Bruce's patriotic efforts for the salvation of his country, had not exempted him from the jealousy and hatred of some of his barons and subjects, and all were not satisfied of the justice of his claims to the throne of Scotland. This, no doubt, was the reason of the acts of the parliament at Scone in the preceding year relating to the regulation of the succession. We have scarcely any intimation of the intrigues which seem to have been carried on at this time to undermine his power, and which a little later broke out in a manner so disastrous to Scotland, but we are informed that a conspiracy existed, the design of which was to murder king Robert, and place the crown on the head of lord Soulis, who claimed it as a lineal descendant of the daughter of Alexander II., and whose claim would have been good if his mother's legitimacy could have been proved. The plot is said to have been nearly ripe for execution, when it was incautiously disclosed to the countess of Strathern, who appears to have been personally hostile to Robert Bruce and his family, but, seized with sudden fear or remorse, she gave information to the government. One of the chiefs of the conspiracy was Bruce's nephew, sir David de Brechin, a brave and accomplished knight, who had signalized himself against the infidels in the east, and for that and other causes was popular in Scotland. Brechin had at an earlier period been attached to the English interest; in 1312 he was appointed English warden of Dundee, and he appears to have fought at Bannockburn, under the banner of England, and to have been taken prisoner. He was subsequently taken into favour by Bruce, but appears to have entered into secret communications with king Edward; which was the case also with Soulis, who held the hereditary office of seneschal, or high butler, of Scotland. Five other knights are mentioned as being implicated in this conspiracy, sir Gilbert de Malherbe, sir John Logie, sir Eustace de Maxwell, sir Walter de Berklay, and sir Patrick de Graham, as well as three esquires, Richard Brown, Hameline de Troupe, and Eustace de Rattray. All these persons were arrested, and brought to trial before a parliament held at Scone in the beginning of August, 1320. Brechin, with Malherbe, Logie, and Brown, were condemned and executed for high treason. Soulis died in imprisonment in Dumbarton castle. The others were acquitted. The execution of Brechin was an unpopular act, and raised many feuds against Bruce's family; and the parliament which condemned the conspirators was long remembered popularly by the appellation of "the black parliament."

The conspiracy in England was equally unsuccessful with that in Scotland, although it proceeded farther. The earl of Lancaster, having entered into a secret agreement with Robert Bruce, by which the Scottish king was to lead his army into England to his assistance, rose in arms against king Edward, but he was entirely defeated in the battle of Pontefract, in March, 1322, and himself, with the principal nobles of his party, fell in the field or on the scaffold. Edward was thus for a moment relieved from his domestic embarrassments, and, aware of Bruce's communication with the English conspirators, he determined to employ all his force against the Scots. He immediately summoned his military vassals to assemble, but his orders were obeyed so slowly and imperfectly, that four months were wasted before the army that was to march against Scotland could be gathered together. During this time, Bruce led his army into England, and again wasted the six northern counties with fire and sword, returning into Scotland as usual with a large booty. At

length Edward's armament was completed, and an army of a hundred thousand men was assembled at Newcastle, at the head of which the king marched into Scotland in the month of August. A fleet of transports, with provisions, was ordered to proceed up the Forth; and another fleet, commanded by sir John Leybourn, was sent round to attack the western coast and the islands.

Bruce felt his inability to contend with a force like this, and he determined to follow the safe policy of retreating before it, and laying waste the country, trusting to the natural effects of want and consequent disease on the English army. The latter, in its advance to Edinburgh, found that it was marching through a desert; it met with no resistance, for the whole population of the country had been withdrawn to the north of the Forth, where king Robert established his head-quarters at Culross. Edward appears to have reckoned almost entirely for the support of his army on the provisions in his fleet, and on the supplies that might be drawn from the country through which he marched, and as the former was kept back by contrary winds, the English army arrived at Edinburgh in a state bordering on starvation, and, as the fleet was still delayed, the king was obliged to give orders for a retreat. It was now that the Scots changed their system, and began to act on the defensive. Douglas and Randolph, with troops so long and so well practised in this kind of partisan warfare, hung on the rear of the English army, cut off their foraging parties, and harassed them with perpetual attacks. As the English advanced towards Melrose, Douglas, who had occupied that place for a moment, put to the sword an advanced party of three hundred men, which so exasperated the English, that when the main army reached Melrose, they plundered and destroyed the monastery, and slew the prior and as many of the monks as remained, and, which was still more shocking to the religious feelings of the time, they sacrilegiously cast the consecrated host out of the precious vessel that contained it, and robbed even the high altar of everything that was valuable. They treated Dryburgh in a similar manner, and then hastened into Teviotdale. Here a new calamity awaited them, for the half-famished soldiers no sooner reached a country in which provisions were plentiful, than they indulged their appetites to such a degree as to bring on a fatal dysentery, and multitudes were carried off by the disease. The English army is said to have lost during this expedition, by famine and sickness, not less than sixteen thousand men. At length Edward collected a part of his shattered and discouraged forces at Biland abbey, in Yorkshire, where he was joined by some fresh levies. The Scots, who had followed close upon their rear, crossed the English border, and king Robert in person undertook the siege of Norham castle. He is said to have been compelled to raise the siege by the bravery of the garrison, upon which he took a bold resolution, and marched with his whole army to attack king Edward at Biland. The history of the battle which follows is very obscure. We are not acquainted with the number of the English army, but it was probably very much reduced, and, as was usual in such cases, many of the barons had probably returned home with their followers. We can only explain the confidence with which Bruce marched to attack the English so far from the border, by his knowledge of its reduced state. Edward had just received the news of Bruce's supposed retreat from Norham, when he was surprised by the intelligence that the Scottish forces were close at hand. He had hardly time to draw up his soldiers, in a very strong position along the ridge of a steep and rugged declivity, when Bruce's army was seen marching in battle array across the plain. The English position could only be assailed by a narrow path which led to Biland abbey, and this Douglas and Randolph, with a chosen body of men, undertook to force. They were courageously opposed by a body of English, under two brave commanders, sir Thomas Ughtred and sir Ralph Cobham, and a very obstinate struggle ensued, in which the Scots were galled by a shower of stones and other missiles thrown down by the English on the heights. Bruce had now recourse to a manœuvre which had once before proved successful under similar circumstances; he sent a body of highlanders, who were accustomed to such warfare, to climb the rocks at some distance from the pass, and they thus turned the flank of the force which held the heights, and quickly drove them away, while Douglas and Randolph forced the pass. The English now fled in every direction, and Edward, forced to abandon his camp equipage, baggage, and treasury, escaped with difficulty to Bridlington, and thence to York, pursued by the steward of

Scotland with five hundred men.* In the hurry of his flight, he lost the privy seal of England, as he had done before at Bannockburn. John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, with many other men of note, were taken prisoners by the Scots. It is said that Bruce had been informed that the earl of Richmond had spoken of him in scornful language, in retaliation for which he now treated him with much severity, keeping him long in rigorous confinement, and at last taking from him an enormous ransom. The French knights were treated with great courtesy, and sent home to France. The Scots ravaged the whole country to the north of the Humber, and having extorted a very large sum of money from the inhabitants of Beverley for sparing that town, they returned with their plunder to Scotland.

From his disasters in the north, Edward had to turn his attention to new treasons among his nobility. Andrew de Hartcla, who had been created earl of Carlisle, and received many favours for his service in destroying the faction of the earl of Lancaster, had now taken umbrage against the royal favourite, and entered into a conspiracy against his master. The plot was discovered, and the earl of Carlisle was arrested, condemned, and executed as a traitor. He was accused of having leagued himself with Bruce, and with having organized a confederacy among the northern English barons to obtain a truce with the Scots, and maintain Bruce and his heirs in the possession of the crown, in return for which the king of Scots was to give them aid in their designs in England, the object of which was no doubt the overthrow of the Despensers. This, and other manifestations of discontent among his barons, joined with the remembrance of his numerous reverses, so far disheartened the English king, that he was again willing to listen to negotiations for peace, and a truce for thirteen years was agreed to without much difficulty. In this agreement Bruce gained his point of being virtually acknowledged as king of Scotland. Yet Edward's bad faith appeared even during the negotiations for the truce, for his envoys at Rome were instructed to excite the pope's anger against the Scots and their leader, while at home he made military preparations, and advised Edward Baliol, the son of the late king of the Scots, to come from Normandy for the purpose of residing at the English court, which manifested a desire to encourage a faction in Scotland which disputed Bruce's right to the throne. The pope seems also to have been a little affected by Edward's reverses, and when he had heard Bruce's complaints by Randolph, who had been sent to Rome as ambassador, he so far relented as to consent to address a bull to Bruce by the title of king of Scotland. Edward incensed at this proceeding, addressed a spirited but apparently a useless remonstrance to the holy see, while Randolph returned by way of France, and there renewed the league between that kingdom and Scotland.

The history of Scotland during the next few years presents few transactions of importance, and we can do little more than say that the kingdom seemed to be advancing steadily in prosperity under the firm and generally wise government of king Robert. On the 5th of March, 1323, an event occurred which was celebrated throughout Scotland as being auspicious to the country, though in the sequel it proved otherwise. On the day just mentioned a son was born to Robert Bruce, at Dunfermline, and was baptized by the name of David. The birth of a direct male heir seems to have increased Bruce's confidence in his own stability, and to have made him less anxious about the treaty still going on for a lasting peace with England. The Scottish commissioners were now instructed to make demands, some of which were utterly inadmissible on the part of England. We are told not only that they required that England should renounce all feudal superiority for ever, and that the fatal stone of Scone should be restored, but that they demanded that the whole of the north of England, up to the gates of York, should be ceded to Scotland.

The death of the steward of Scotland, which happened no long time after the birth of David, left the child, which had previously been regarded as the heir to the throne, an orphan, and, happen what might,

* Tytler has I think been too hasty in censuring Lingard for representing the battle of Biland Abbey as a surprise. The sudden and hurried march of Bruce, and the circumstances of the battle, seem to show that the expedition was an attempt to surprise and capture the English king, and that the latter was guarded by only a small force, totally unsuspicious of the danger of an attack, a circumstance of which Bruce had probably received information from traitors in Edward's camp.

the kingdom had now the prospect of being governed after Bruce's death by a regency. Bruce, therefore, became still more anxious to strengthen his dynasty, and in 1326, by the intermediation of Randolph, who had now on several occasions exhibited his talents as a diplomatist, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive with France, was concluded at Corbeil. It was stipulated only that this treaty should not bind the king of Scots to hostilities with England until after the expiration of the truce. Soon afterwards a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth, which was rendered memorable by the circumstance that it was the first in which, as far as we know, the representatives of the cities and burghs were called to preside. All the clergy, earls, barons, with the commonalty, assembled on this occasion, took the oaths of fealty and homage to the infant David, as the next heir to the crown, and, failing him, to Robert Stuart, or the steward, Bruce's orphan grandchild.

Almost immediately after these events came that great revolution in England which snatched the crown from the head of the second Edward, to place it on that of his son. Bruce seems to have regarded the embarrassed state of England at this moment as a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities, with the object of extorting better terms from the English government, and he easily found excuses for breaking the truce in the equivocal behaviour of the English regency, and more especially in the intrigues against Scotland, which he pretended that the deposed king had pursued at the court of Rome after the truce had been agreed to. In fact, though the English regency professed the most peaceful disposition, several of their acts were calculated to raise suspicions of their sincerity, especially their affecting to communicate with the nobles and magnates of Scotland, so as not to recognise the king. Bruce assembled a formidable army, and marched to the border, declaring his intention of resorting to hostilities, unless the English government agreed to an immediate peace, and one that should be advantageous to Scotland. The rulers of England replied to this threat by instant preparations for war. The military force of England was summoned to meet at Newcastle on the 18th of May, 1327, to be commanded by the grand marshal of England (the duke of Norfolk), with the presence of the young monarch, who was destined to be as great a scourge to Scotland as his grandfather. Two officers of great repute, Robert Ufford and John Mowbray, were sent with reinforcements to the lord Anthony Lucy and his garrison of Carlisle. Two fleets were ordered to cruise off the eastern and western coasts of Scotland. And to give force to all these preparations, and confidence to his troops, king Edward proceeded with his court to York, where he was attended by two foreign allies, John of Hainault, and John Quatremars, each commanding a fine body of foreign cavalry.

Although Bruce himself was struck with that mortal sickness which eventually carried him away from his scene of glory, he was now evidently bent upon war, and he soon afterwards sent his herald to bid defiance to the young king of England, and announce that his army was ready to invade his kingdom with fire and sword. According to Froissart, who has related so much of the history of this period, the Scottish army consisted of fourteen thousand men, and it was commanded by the two veteran leaders Randolph and Douglas. They crossed the Tyne near Carlisle, and, sweeping through the wild districts of Cumberland, entered the principality of Durham, where they committed dreadful devastation. Mounted on hardy little hackneys, and without luggage to impede their progress, the Scottish soldiers moved forward with extraordinary rapidity. Froissart's description of them shews us how well adapted they were for the sort of warfare in which they were now engaged. They were, he says, "exceedingly hardy, through their constant wearing of arms and experience in war. When they enter England they will, in a single day and night, march four-and-twenty miles, taking with them neither bread nor wine, for such is their sobriety, that they are well content with flesh half sodden, and for their drink with the water of the brook. To them pots and pans are superfluities. They are sure to find cattle enough in the countries they invade, and they can boil or seethe them in their own skins, so that a little bag of oatmeal, trussed behind their saddle, and an iron plate, or girdle, on which they bake their crackenel, or biscuit, and which is fixed between the saddle and the crupper, is their whole purveyance for the field."

King Edward lay at York, with a fine army of sixty-two thousand men, of which eight thousand were well armed knights and

squires, fifteen thousand lighter armed cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry, with an effective force of twenty-four thousand archers. When news arrived that the Scots had crossed the border, this formidable force was immediately put in motion on the road to Durham, but they obtained no certain tidings of the enemy till they entered Northumberland, where the smoking ruins of villages and hamlets indicated but too plainly their devastating course. The English followed them for two days and two nights, without discovering them, though they were known to be not far distant. The country was not favourable for the passage of a large army, and it was far better known to the Scots than to the English commanders.

At length, wearied with a fruitless pursuit of three days, it was determined to march to the Tyne, in the vain hope that the Scots would return by the same route as they came, and that thus they might be intercepted in their retreat. After a difficult march the army of king Edward, weary with toil, hunger, and watching, reached their appointed station. It was now nightfall, and the rain poured down in torrents, and swelled the river. Nevertheless, the soldiers were ordered to lay under arms, each man with his horse's reins in his hands, so as to be ready at a moment's notice. They endeavoured to obtain some shelter from the weather by cutting down the green branches of the trees, and making themselves lodges, while their horses, which had tasted nothing during a day and a night, fed upon the leaves. The soldiers themselves were also fasting; for, to accelerate their march, the carriages and waggons containing their wine and provisions had been left behind, each man taking a single loaf of bread strapped behind his saddle, and this had been rendered uneatable by the rain and the sweat of the horses. It was impossible to obtain either fire or light, and they were thus obliged to lay on the bare ground, under a heavy rain and amid thick darkness, not knowing where they were, or how soon they might be disturbed by the approach of the enemy. When at length day appeared, they learnt from the country people that their position was about forty-two miles from Newcastle, and thirty-three from Carlisle, but still there was no intelligence of the Scots. The English, however, encamped on the northern side of the Tyne, and waited eight days amid torrents of rain, but no Scots made their appearance. Then, alarmed at the increasing discontent of the soldiers, the commanders of the English army determined to repass the Tyne, and march again in search of the enemy. It was at the same time proclaimed that the king would reward with knighthood and a grant of land, any soldier who would discover his enemies, and sixteen knights and squires immediately rode off in different directions in search of the required intelligence. One of them, Thomas de Rokeby, was almost immediately taken prisoner by an advanced guard of the Scottish army, and he was carried before Randolph and Douglas. The two Scottish leaders, confident in the strength of their position, had no sooner heard of the object for which Rokeby had been sent out, than, assuring him that they were as desirous of seeing king Edward and his nobles as he could be of seeing them, they set their prisoner at liberty, in order that he might guide the English to their encampment.

The English army was at this time at Blanchland, on the river Derwent. Here Rokeby found the young king, and communicated his intelligence, and the army was immediately drawn out, and, marching in order of battle through Weardale, came about mid-day in sight of their enemies, who were encamped very strongly on the slope of a hill which had the rapid river Wear at its foot. The flanks of their position were defended by rocks, which it was impossible to turn, and which overhung the river so as to command its passage, whilst the stream itself, full of great stones, and swollen by the rains, presented an almost insurmountable barrier. The English commanders saw at once that it would be an act of rash temerity to attack the Scottish camp, but they sent heralds to challenge Randolph and Douglas to march out and fight them in the plain. This proposal was refused; the Scottish chiefs returned for answer that they were in the kingdom of the English, and had burnt and wasted the country, as was sufficiently well known, and that if the king and his barons were displeased with it, it was their business to come and drive them away, as they intended to remain encamped there as long as they pleased.

On their arrival before the Scottish position, the English army had been drawn up in battle array, and it continued in this manner three days, marching and manœuv-

ring, in the hope of irritating the Scots, and provoking them to descend from their stronghold. The position of the English soldiers was an unusually trying one; with the enemy's camp in view, where they could see and hear them feasting and making merry, they were obliged themselves to sleep at night on the bare rocky ground, ill supplied with provisions themselves, and without litter or forage for their horses. Yet, believing that the Scots were also short of provisions, and likely to be entirely without them, they determined to stay and hold them in siege. On the third night the English saw the blaze of the Scottish fires, and heard the noise of their soldiery, as usual, but when day broke their view fell on nothing but a bare hill-side, and they learnt that their enemies, who were well acquainted with this wild country, had decamped during the night, and fallen back on another and a stronger position.

They had now encamped on a hill in a wood called Stanhope Park, sloping, like their first camp, to the banks of the Wear, and hither the English immediately followed them, and fixed their camp on a hill in front, with the river between the two armies. The Scottish position resembled in many respects that which they held before, with the advantage that, being covered with wood, their movements and designs were entirely concealed from the English. The Scottish chiefs were thus enabled to plan a daring attack, which had nearly made the young king of England a captive. Douglas, having discovered a ford at a considerable distance from both encampments, took with him a chosen body of five hundred horse, and passed the river at midnight. The knowledge of the country, which the Scots had gained by their frequent plundering expeditions, enabled them by a circuitous route to gain the rear of the English camp. It appears that wearied with their continual watchings and privations, the English army had relaxed somewhat in its discipline, a circumstance of which, as well as of the position of the royal tent, Douglas was probably well informed by spies and deserters. He deceived the outposts by assuming the tone and manner of an English officer going the rounds, and pretended to reprove them for their negligent conduct, calling out in a tone of authority, "Ha! St. George! no watch?" He thus passed the barriers, and then separating his men into two parties, he sent one to make an attack in another quarter, while he himself with the other division rushed furiously forward, slaying all who resisted. Three hundred of the English were killed in a very short time, and Douglas and his men, having reached the royal tent, began to cut the tent-ropes. Here, however, he met with a much more vigorous resistance than he expected from the royal household. The king's chaplain, and several other of the attendants on his person fell bravely defending their master, and the time thus gained enabled Edward to escape and rouse his whole army. The Douglas now in his turn found himself in the utmost danger, and sounding his horn to collect his followers, he set spurs to his horse and dashed furiously through the midst of his enemies. By great exertions the Scots made their way out of the camp, with no great loss, but mortified at the failure of their project. When Douglas reached the Scottish camp, he was met by Randolph, who asked him how he had sped. He replied that they had drawn blood, and that was all.

The Scots now began to suffer from want of provisions. Their position was well chosen for withstanding an attack, but it was more difficult to retreat from than that which they held before. Behind it was a large morass, which was then quite impassable for cavalry, so that they could not leave their camp without exposing themselves to an attack from the English army, under circumstances of great disadvantage. A consultation was held, in which Douglas and Randolph differed in opinion, the latter recommending the risk of a battle, while Douglas pointed out the extreme disparity of forces, and urged a retreat. This opinion in the end prevailed, but as it would have been madness to attempt this by day, it was determined again to deceive the enemy by a night retreat. As the bog alone afforded them a means of escape, they made a number of hurdles of boughs of trees wattled tightly. They then packed up their more valuable booty in the most portable form, and distributed it among those who were to have charge of it. When night set in they lighted the camp fires, set up a great noise of horns and shouting, with all the usual accompaniments which the English were accustomed to hear every evening. At midnight they marched off in silence, leaving their fires burning, and when they came to the marshes they dismounted, and, throwing the hurdles over the softer places,

crossed them in safety. They drew the hurdles over after them, that they might not assist their enemies in the pursuit.

No pursuit, however, took place, which, under circumstances, was fortunate for the Scots. It appears that in a skirmish the day before, the English had taken prisoner a Scottish knight, from whom the king received information that the Scottish soldiers had all received orders to be ready to follow the banner of the Douglas at night. The English were thus led to anticipate another attack by night, and they were drawn up in order of battle, and lay all night under arms. Some time before daybreak some of the English patrols captured two Scottish trumpeters, and these gave information that the enemy had left their camp, and had by that time proceeded about five miles in their retreat. Had the English pursued they might still have overtaken the Scots, but, warned by the successful attack on their camp by Douglas, they were afraid of some new stratagem of the wily Scot, and remained under their arms till daylight. They then sent scouts across the river, who ascertained that the Scottish camp was indeed abandoned. The English are said to have found in it five hundred slaughtered cattle, and more than three hundred vessels made of skins of cattle with the hair on, which were suspended on stakes, and were full of meat and water ready for boiling. There were also found about a thousand spit-racks, with meat on them, and about ten thousand pairs of old shoes, made of raw hides with the hair outside, called by the Scots *brogues*. There were five poor Englishmen tied naked to trees, three of whom had had their legs wantonly broken. These were the only living beings left in the camp. The young king Edward is said to have shed tears of mortification when he saw that his enemies had thus escaped him. His army was in a state of exhaustion, and almost of disorganization, and before it had reached York on its return from this ill-fated expedition, the greater part of the horses were dead.

Thus ended young Edward's first campaign against the Scots. Although they sent forth boasting proclamations to the people, the party which at this moment ruled England were perfectly aware that they had been outmanœuvered, and that the result had been disastrous, and they were now eager to obtain a peace. While the English government were inspired with these sentiments, and embarrassed by the exhausted state of the treasury, and the growing hatred between Mortimer and the principal nobility, they were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence that Bruce himself had invaded the borders with a formidable army. The king of Scotland had called together every man in his kingdom capable of bearing arms, and, crossing the eastern borders, he had sat down with one division of his forces to lay siege to Norham, while another division, under Douglas and Randolph, laid siege to Alnwick, and a third was sent to plunder Northumberland. Their hostilities were soon stopped by the arrival in Bruce's camp of commissioners from England, who brought proposals for peace, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Bruce's infant son, David, with the princess Joane, a sister of king Edward. A truce was soon concluded, to last from the 23rd of November, 1327, to the 22nd of March, 1328; and a parliament was summoned in England to give its authority to certain preliminaries which were beyond the power of the commissioners to agree to. This parliament met at York on the 1st of March, 1328, and the grand point of dispute was then conceded, that Robert Bruce should be acknowledged as king of Scotland, and that Scotland itself should be recognised as a free and independent kingdom for ever. The instrument of renunciation was worded as follows:—"Whereas we, and others of our predecessors, kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms; we, therefore, considering the numerous slaughters, sins, and bloodshed, the destruction of churches, and other evils brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars, and the many advantages which would accrue to the subjects of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs, have, by the assent of the prelates, barons, and commons of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, for us, and our heirs and successors, whatsoever, that the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the magnificent prince and lord Robert, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free,

entire, and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander king of Scotland, of good memory, of late deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said king of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatever right we, or our ancestors in times past, have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents we renounce and declare void, for ourselves and our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity. And if there shall anywhere be found any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts, we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And, in order to the fulfilment of these premises, and to the faithful observation thereof, in all time coming, we have given full power and special authority to our faithful and well-beloved cousin, Henry de Percy, and to William le Zouche of Ashby, to take oath upon our soul, for the performance of the same. In testimony whereof we have given this our letter patent, at York, on the 1st of March, in the second year of our reign, by the king himself and his council in parliament."

After a full renunciation of sovereignty like this, the object of all Bruce's efforts for so many years, the terms of a peace were soon arranged. This peace was concluded at Edinburgh on the 17th of March, 1328, and it was confirmed on the part of England in a parliament held at Northampton on the 4th of May following. It was to be cemented by a marriage between prince David of Scotland, then five years old, and the princess Joane of England, who was two years his senior. The two kings engaged to assist each other against all enemies, always saving to the king of Scots his ancient alliance with the king of France; and each engaged not to give any aid to the rebel subjects of the other. All writings and documents relating to the attempt to establish a feudal superiority over Scotland were to be sought up and sent to the king of Scots, and the English king was to assist Bruce in obtaining at the court of Rome a recal of the sentence of excommunication. On the part of the king of Scotland it was covenanted that certain English barons who had been deprived of their lands in Scotland should be restored; and, in further consideration of this advantageous treaty, Bruce was to pay to the English government twenty thousand pounds sterling within three years, at three separate terms. It was further stipulated, in a separate instrument, that the fatal stone of Scone, which had been carried away from Scotland by Edward I., should be sent back.

In England this treaty of Northampton was not only unpopular in itself, but it was one of the acts of an unpopular government. When, in the following year, Edward snatched the power out of the hands of his mother, and Roger de Mortimer was brought to the scaffold, one of the great crimes laid to his charge was that, at Stanhope-park, he had hindered the king from attacking the Scots, for which, it was alleged, he had received a bribe of twenty thousand pounds, and that he and the queen had sacrificed the dignity and honour of England by concluding a disgraceful peace with the Scots, and by bringing about a degrading marriage for the king's sister.* The populace of London rose tumultuously when they heard of the terms of the treaty, and proceeding in a riotous manner to Westminster, declared their intention of hindering the stone, one of the glorious trophies of the first Edward, from being carried away; and the young king himself subsequently disavowed it as an act which had been forced upon him by the baneful influence of Mortimer.

The peace was as necessary to the repose of Scotland as it was to England. Bruce had made an effort to reappear in the field in the invasion of the English border which had brought on the peace, but it was his last. His disease, a species of leprosy, said

* Secunda causa imposita fuit, quod impedivit honorem regis et regni apud Stannop Park, ubi Scoti fugerunt, qui capi et interfici faciliter potuissent, si ipse, qui fuit major de consilio regis, Anglicos cum Scotis tunc congredi fecisset. Item, quod ipse receptis xx. mille libr. a Scotis illos tunc permisit evadere; et turpem pacem postmodum inter Scotos et regem juvenem fieri procuravit, et super hoc chartam regis eisdem fecit fieri, et etiam illud vile matrimonium contractum inter sororem regis Angliæ et David filium Roberti de Brus fieri consuluit et procuravit.—*Walsingham*, p. 131.

to have been the consequence of the hardy and exposed life which had been entailed on him by his devotion to his country, was now gaining on him fast, and he retired to pass the short remains of his life in his favourite palace at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Clyde. There he lived hospitably with his nobles, and charitably with the poor, amusing himself with shipbuilding, architecture, and gardening, and indulging, when his health permitted, in the recreation of hawking. It is said that he kept also for his amusement a lion, and a fool named Patrick.

Bruce's last days were dedicated to the internal settlement of his kingdom. He had lived long enough to complete its emancipation from foreign influence. During the negotiations for the peace, he had lost his second wife, the mother of David, and all his cares of family were now centred in his son and his grandson. The former was now sent forward to Berwick, to meet the bride who had been destined for him by the treaty of peace with England. The princess Joane arrived there, accompanied by her mother (the queen dowager), with Roger de Mortimer and the lord chancellor (the bishop of Lincoln), and attended by a splendid retinue. The marriage was celebrated at Berwick with great magnificence and rejoicing, in the presence of Randolph and Douglas, whom king Robert, unable from his state of health to attend in person, had sent as his representatives. The English brought with them the roll containing the names of all those Scots who had paid homage to king Edward I., called popularly, from the great number of seals attached to it, the ragman roll,* which, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Northampton, they delivered up to the representatives of the Scottish king. Bruce went as far as Edinburgh to receive and welcome his infant daughter-in-law, but the effort was too much for him, and he was obliged to return immediately after the interview to his more quiet retreat at Cardross. There he called around him his principal courtiers, and entreated them on their fealty to keep the kingdom faithfully for David his son; and made them promise that when David came of age they would place the crown on his head and obey him. He then called for his old and tried friend Douglas, who came forward from among his attendants. Upon which the king told his courtiers how it had always been his intention to end his days at Jerusalem, fighting for the holy sepulchre, but, having been hindered from fulfilling his vow of going in person by the pressing necessities, he expressed the wish that his heart should be taken out after his death, and sent to the holy land, as the only manner in which he could now fulfil his intentions. Then, turning to Douglas, he continued, "Since, my dear friend sir James, I know no knight in all my realm more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly possessed of all the knightly qualities required for the accomplishment of the vow, I entreat you that, in place of myself, for the love you bear to me, you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that I am persuaded whatever you undertake will be accomplished successfully. If you promise me to perform this, I shall die in peace. I wish that, as soon as I am dead, you cause the heart to be taken out of my body, and to be embalmed, and that you take as much of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey for yourself and your companions. And it is my will that you carry my heart along with you, and that, since this poor body cannot go thither, you deposit that part of it in the holy sepulchre of our Lord. And it is my further command, that in your journey you use that royal state and maintenance, both yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands and cities you come, all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond seas the heart of king Robert of Scotland." "At these words," says the historian Froissart, from whom these details are taken, "all who stood by began to

* It appears that *ragman* was a sort of popular game. A number of sentences were written on a roll of parchment, implying good or bad character or fortune to the individual who hit upon any particular sentence. Strings were attached to the edge of the roll opposite each sentence, with a knot or ball at the end. The parchment was then rolled up, and the strings and knots hung in confusion at one end. Each person engaged in the game chose a knot, which indicated, when the roll was opened, the sentence to the application of which the person who had chanced upon it was to submit. The roll was called a *ragman roll*. The name appears to have been given to the record mentioned in the text, because the great number of seals of Scotchmen signing it, hanging to the end when it was rolled up, gave it the appearance of a *ragman roll*. See, on this curious subject, the *Anecdota Literaria*, edited by Thomas Wright (J. Russel Smith, publisher, London), a volume in which several of the playful *ragman rolls* are printed. I believe that the Scottish *ragman roll*, or some part of it, is preserved.

weep; and when sir James himself was able to reply, he said, 'Ah! most gentle and noble king, I thank you a thousand times for the great honour you have done me in making me the depository and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. I will obey your commands faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, albeit I would have you believe that I think myself far unworthy to be entrusted with so high an enterprise.' 'Ah! gentle knight,' said the king, 'I heartily thank you, if you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight.' 'That, my liege, I promise assuredly,' Douglas replied, 'by the faith which I owe to God, and to the order of knighthood.' 'Now praised be God,' said the king, 'for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.' And not long after, this noble king departed this life." Robert Bruce died at Cardross, on the 7th of June, 1329, at the age of fifty-five.

Thus ended the career of probably the greatest prince who ever occupied the Scottish throne. The remarkable vicissitudes in his life have often been remarked by historians. Fickle and headstrong in his youth, with the same restless and impatient character as his brothers, ready to take up the sword for his country, or against it, as he was moved by his interests or his passions, he seems to have been calmed down by the sufferings and privations of the middle portion of his career, into the exemplary wisdom and moderation which formed the glory of his after life. In his person, we are told that this great prince was tall and well shaped, with the broad shoulders and open chest which indicated great strength combined with great activity. He had curly hair, a low forehead, with strong and prominent cheek-bones, but with a cheerful and open expression of countenance, which bespoke the kindness and generosity that marked his behaviour on every occasion. His great military talents, and the unflinching perseverance with which he carried out his plans, have been admitted by all. He had been, in his childhood, a great reader of, or listener to, the romances of chivalry, and from them he had imbibed an extraordinary love of personal adventure and enterprise. His first wife, Isabella, the mother of his daughter Marjory, was the daughter of Donald, tenth earl of Mar. His second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. By her, besides a son David, who succeeded on the throne, he had two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. He left also illegitimate children, some of whom figure in the subsequent history.

Bruce is said, in his last moments, to have bequeathed to his barons the experience of his whole life, in a series of brief directions as to the proper manner of carrying on war against England. Perhaps this story is apocryphal, but a few directions of this kind, reduced, for the sake of remembrance, into Latin leonine verses, appeared after his death, and were long popular under the title of "Good king Robert's testament." They enjoined that the Scots should always fight on foot; that they should take the mountains, bogs, and woods, for their fortresses; that their arms should be the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe; and that when invaded, they should drive their herds for safety into the mountain fastnesses, while they wasted the country before the enemy. By proceeding thus, he said, they would overcome their enemies more securely than by victory in the field.*

Immediately after Bruce's death, his heart, according to his own directions, was taken from his body. The latter was buried with great solemnity under the pavement of the choir in the abbey-church of Dunfermline, and over it was raised a marble monument richly sculptured by the best workmen in Paris. The heart was delivered to Douglas, who placed it in a rich casket, and, when the season permitted, set sail for Flanders and anchored off Sluys, where he remained twelve days on board his ship, waiting to find companions with whom he might continue his journey to Jerusalem. Froissart, who takes a delight in recounting the circumstances of this chivalrous expedition, describes the state with which he received his visitors

* The leonine verses alluded to in the text are as follows: they at least describe the kind of warfare in which Bruce was so uniformly successful:—

Scotica sit guerra pedites, mons, mossica terra;
Silvæ pro muris sint, arcus et hasta, securis.
Per loca stricta greges munientur; plana per ignes
Sic inflammentur, ut ab hostibus evacuentur.
Insidiæ vigiles sint, noctu vociferantes.
Sic male turbati redient velut ense fugati
Hostes pro certo; sic rege docente Roberto.

on board. We are told that he was accompanied by seven noble Scottish knights, and that he was served at table by twenty-eight esquires of the first families in the country. He kept his court with the sound of trumpets and cymbals; and the vessels of his table were of gold and silver, which seems to have been looked upon as an unusual degree of magnificence for anything beneath royalty. Before leaving Sluys, Douglas heard that Alonzo, king of Leon and Castile, was at war with the Moorish governor of Grenada. His love of adventurous enterprise took fire instantly, and believing that he could not better carry out the desires of his dying friend and master, than by fighting against the infidels, in whatever country he might meet with them, he hastened to Spain to lend his arm in support of the christian cause. His first battle occurred at Theba, on the borders of Andalusia, where the Moors were defeated, and their camp taken. But Douglas and his companions from Scotland engaging too eagerly in the pursuit, were suddenly surrounded by the Moorish cavalry. Douglas was cutting his way through the enemy, when he saw one of his friends, sir William Sinclair of Roslin, in danger, and turning to rescue him, he became himself so entangled among the overwhelming numbers of his enemies, that it was impossible for him to escape. In this jeopardy, he took the casket containing Bruce's heart from his neck, and threw it before him, crying out, "Now pass onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die;" and almost at the same moment he was cut down by his assailants. Three of his knights and many of his companions perished with him. The body and the casket were found next day by his surviving friends, on the field of battle, and carried home to Scotland. Bruce's heart, thus turned back sorrowfully from its original destination, was deposited in the church of Melrose; and the good sir James, as he was popularly called, was buried with his ancestors in the parish church of Douglas.*

CHAPTER VIII.

RANDOLPH REGENT; EDWARD BALIOL; BATTLE OF DUPPLIN; BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL.

In conformity with the act regulating the succession, Randolph now assumed the regency of Scotland, and he showed soon that he possessed all the abilities necessary to wield the sceptre which had been gained by Bruce. He had great difficulties to contend with at home and abroad. The severities of Bruce's *black parliament*, as it was called, had raised a number of enemies to Bruce's dynasty, who were ready at any time to join against the present government; and the bitter feud of the powerful and extensive family of Comyn, which arose out of the murder at Dumfries, was not abated. On the other hand, king Edward of England, who had now reached an age to act for himself, and began to show those great qualities for which he was afterwards famous, while professing to regard the treaty of Northampton as a sacred obligation, looked upon it really as degrading to his country, and was already preparing his plans of aggression.

The first serious danger for Scotland arose from the treaty of Northampton itself. Bruce had been backward in fulfilling that article of the treaty which required the restoration of their Scottish estates to the English barons. Henry Percy had, indeed, been restored, but in regard to the two others, Thomas lord Wake, who claimed the lordship of Liddel, on the western border, and Henry de Beaumont, a powerful English baron, who claimed the lands and earl-

* A few years ago, in clearing the foundations of the church of Dunfermline for some repairs, the tomb of Robert the Bruce was unexpectedly discovered and opened. The body was inclosed in lead, which was twisted round the head into the rude shape of a crown. A rich cloth of gold had been thrown round the body, but it was almost entirely decayed. It was found, on examining the skeleton, that the breast bone had been sawn asunder to get out the heart. The full report of this interesting discovery will be found in the second volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh.

dom of Buchan, the regent was unwilling to give them possession of power which they might use to the injury of Scotland. They had both opposed the treaty of Northampton, and he knew that they were both intriguing to place young Edward Baliol on the Scottish throne. Baliol was now residing in England, and Randolph, aware of the intrigues of his party, took care to strengthen the borders, and having repaired the fortifications of Berwick, he employed the Flemish engineer Crab, to look to its defence, and keep watch upon the English.

Beaumont soon became the leader of the confederacy for the restoration of the family of Baliol, and his influence drew into it all the disinherited barons. Nor did it want extensive support in Scotland. Edward Baliol's mother was the sister-in-law of the murdered Comyn, so that all that house, with those who had been offended with the proceedings in the black parliament, were ready to espouse his cause. Baliol and the English barons raised three hundred horse and a small body of infantry, and they are understood to have asked king Edward's permission to enter Scotland from the English border. This, however, he refused, and he issued a proclamation enjoining his subjects to observe faithfully the articles of the treaty of Northampton. But at the same time he threw no impediment in the way of their embarking at the small port of Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber, from whence they directed their course to the Scottish coast.

At this moment Scotland sustained the greatest misfortune which under the present circumstances could have occurred. To meet the projected invasion, the regent Randolph had made more extensive preparations for defence than the character of the attack seemed to require, but he was well aware of the danger, unless the attempt was crushed in its commencement. When he heard that the expedition was on its way, he hastened to place himself at the head of his army, when he died suddenly. The old Scottish historians have handed down to us the popular belief that the regent was poisoned, and, although such reports were too common in such cases in the middle ages to deserve much credit in themselves, yet the same writers assure us that the poison was administered at a feast, by a friar employed by Beaumont's faction, and that the friar fled to England as soon as he had effected his purpose. In Randolph Scotland lost the only man capable at this juncture of keeping together the jarring elements of the state. The old Scottish nobles, who had been kept in due subjection to the crown by Bruce's great power, were already showing the desire to emancipate themselves, and it was evident that the bitter factions which had been so fatal to Scotland before, were ready to show themselves again. As soon as Randolph's death was known, a parliament was called at Perth, which was marked by violent divisions among the nobility, and it was not till after much contention that the office of regent was conferred on Bruce's nephew, the earl of Mar, a man of feeble talents, qualified neither for the field nor the cabinet. On the very day of his election, and but twelve after the death of his predecessor, news arrived that the disinherited barons had sailed up the Forth, and landed with their army at Water-Kinghorn. These daring adventurers might easily have been crushed at the outset by a well-conducted attack; instead of which a small party, under Alexander Seton, was allowed to attack them at disadvantage and be destroyed, while the new regent, with a well-ordained army more than ten times as numerous as the invaders, waited at a distance to watch their movements. In fact, Baliol had landed with a force of only from five to six hundred men; but after his success against Seton, many of the discontented Scots came to his standard, and by the time he reached Dunfermline, where he found a large supply of arms and provisions, his force amounted to not less than two thousand foot soldiers, besides his cavalry. He then pushed on to Perth, and encamped near Forteviot, in a strong position, with his front defended by the river Earn. His force now amounted altogether to about three thousand men. The army of the earl of Mar, consisting of thirty thousand men, were drawn up in his front on the extensive tract called Dupplin moor, whilst the earl of March, with another army nearly as numerous, lay at Auchterarder, about eight miles to the west, ready to take the invaders in flank.

The confidence of the English leaders is said to have been supported by the knowledge that they had friends in the hostile camp. Some of the old historians say that Mar himself had entered into a secret correspondence with Baliol, but this is rendered

totally improbable by what followed. The regent, however, was remiss in his discipline, and the men who under Bruce had been so orderly, were allowed to abandon themselves to riot and intemperance. The consequence was that when the English, treacherously guided across a ford of the river at midnight by a Scottish baron from the earl of March's army, Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, and making a silent march, came suddenly upon their outposts, the Scottish soldiers were at first helpless from drunkenness, and many were slain before the advance of the invaders was checked by young Randolph, earl of Moray, the earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce, a natural son of the late king, and Alexander Fraser, with a body of three hundred men collected on a sudden. The desperate bravery of these men drove back the English soldiers and kept them at bay, until daylight appeared and discovered the whole Scottish army in arms. But they had been drawn up in a hurried and disorderly manner, and were rashly and inconsiderately led down the hill by their commander; instead of destroying the English, they crushed and overwhelmed Randolph and his brave companions, and then became so crowded and huddled together, all arms mixed in one inextricable confusion, that they could neither act efficiently, nor retire, and multitudes were trodden down and suffocated by their own men. The English, who had preserved their discipline, seeing this confusion, fell upon their enemies and made terrible havoc, and by nine o'clock in the morning the whole Scottish army was slain, captured, or dispersed, with a very trifling loss on the part of the assailants. Contemporary historians tell us that after the battle the bodies of the dead lay in some parts of the field so thick that the mass was a spear's length in depth, and that multitudes were found lifeless, without the trace of a wound. Some of the best and bravest of the Scottish nobility perished on this ill-fated day, including Randolph, earl of Moray, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick (Bruce's natural son), Alexander Fraser, the regent Mar himself, the high chamberlain of Scotland (the late king's brother-in-law), and the earl of Menteith; and the whole number of the Scots who fell in the field is supposed to have been not less than thirteen thousand. The English lost only two knights and thirty-three esquires, with a few of the common soldiers.

The English were as much astonished at the victory they had gained, as the Scots were thrown into consternation, and they looked upon it as something miraculous. From the field of battle, Baliol marched on to Perth, of which he took immediate possession, and fortifying the town with palisades, determined there to watch the movement of the army under the earl of March. It is certain that many of the chiefs in this army had entered into correspondence with the English, and it has been surmised and even asserted that the earl himself was among the number. His conduct indeed showed no great haste to attack the enemies of his country. On hearing of the result of the battle, he marched over the field with his army, which was not far short of thirty thousand men, and, well assured of the disaster which had fallen Mar's army, he proceeded towards Perth, which he declared it was his intention to attack. On the way he ordered his soldiers to cut branches and make faggots, to be used in filling up the foss when they attacked the town; but when he reached the high ground overlooking the town, he ordered his men to halt. Henry de Beaumont was watching his proceedings, and, when he observed some of his own men alarmed, he exclaimed with an air of confidence, "Fear not, for, as I take it, that army will not hurt us; I perceive without doubt our friends and well-wishers amongst them." He had probably seen enough to convince him of Mar's friendly intentions. That commander now, capriciously (in appearance) changed his plan of an assault for a blockade, and encamped quietly till another occurrence gave him an excuse for showing more openly his sympathy for the invaders. When Beaumont and Baliol advanced, they had given orders to their fleet to proceed to the mouth of the Tay, to be ready to co-operate with the land force. Hither they were followed by the Fleming, John Crab, with the Scottish fleet, who attacked them, and captured Beaumont's own ship, called the Beaumondscogge, but the other English ships fought with so much resolution, that in the end, Crab was entirely defeated, and he was glad to make his escape to Berwick. When March heard of Crab's defeat, he immediately broke up his army from before Perth, and raised the siege; and soon after, when his army was dispersed, he announced his accession to the English interest.

Thus the whole fabric which it had taken Robert Bruce so long to erect, with so much arduous labour, was overthrown in a

moment. David, now in his ninth year, had been crowned at Scone with the usual ceremonies, soon after his father's death. The friends of his family, anxious for his safety, under the circumstances which had occurred so unexpectedly, sent him and his young queen in haste to France, where they were received with the utmost favour at the court of Philip VI. Baliol, without further opposition, marched to Scone, and was there crowned king of Scotland. The earl of Fife, who had been taken prisoner at Dupplin moor, and had subsequently joined the English party, placed the new king on the throne, and Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, performed the ceremony of coronation. The coronation took place on the 24th of September, 1332.

Edward Baliol's triumph, which was one of intense degradation for Scotland, was not of long duration. The new king caused Perth, which he looked upon as his head-quarters, to be fortified, and then, having given that town to the keeping of the earl of Fife, he made a progress to the south, while king Edward, who now laid aside the mask which concealed his real sentiments, marched to the Scottish border. Baliol had not been gone long from Perth, when the town was attacked and taken by sir Simon Fraser and sir Robert Keith, and the party of Bruce then took courage and chose another brother-in-law of the late king, sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, regent. This proceeding only hastened the conclusion of Edward's league with Baliol. These two kings met at Roxburgh, where the latter renewed formally the surrender of the independence of Scotland more fully even than it had been made by his father. He acknowledged Edward as his feudal lord, and promised truth and loyalty to the king of England and his heirs, as the rightful sovereigns of the kingdom of Scotland. He agreed to put Edward in possession of Berwick, and of other lands on the marches to the value of two thousand pounds. He pretended to consider the princess Joane as only betrothed to David Bruce, and he offered to marry her himself. But the most important article of the treaty between Baliol and Edward was, the promise on the part of Scotland to assist the king of England, in all his wars, with two hundred men-at-arms, and an engagement that Baliol's successors on the throne of Scotland should, in the same manner, furnish one hundred men-at-arms. If these men were not sent according to the agreement, the Scottish king was to forfeit the then enormous sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and, in case of non-payment, Edward was authorized to take possession of the kingdom.

Baliol soon found himself reduced to a condition in which it was no longer in his power to carry this agreement into effect. After he had thus completed, in word, the surrender of the liberties of his new kingdom, which he showed greater incapacity to govern even than his father, he lay carelessly encamped at Annan. His elevation to the crown had been in reality little more than a temporary triumph of the faction of Comyn over that of Bruce, and the latter, which enjoyed the sympathies of the people, were preparing for a struggle to recover their position. On the night of the 16th of September, the earl of Moray (the second son of the regent, Randolph,) sir Simon Fraser, and Archibald Douglas, having collected a strong body of horse, marched secretly and rapidly from Moffat, and broke into Baliol's camp at midnight, slaying everybody they met. Taken entirely by surprise, Baliol's followers made no great resistance; his brother Henry, with Walter Comyn, sir John de Mowbray, and others, were slain; and Edward Baliol, aroused from his sleep by the noise, seized a horse and escaped with difficulty, and almost naked, to England. Among those who were captured on this occasion, was Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick, a natural son of Edward Bruce, the brother of the late king, who appears to have been one of the first to go over to the English interest. He would have been executed as a traitor, but for the compassionate interference of the earl of Moray.

The surprise and flight of Annan was followed by a renewal of the old border hostilities. Baliol had fled to lord Dacres of Gillsland, who received him with the utmost hospitality, and with whom he passed his Christmas. In revenge, Archibald Douglas, the brother of Bruce's sir James, invaded Gillsland with an army of three thousand men, and mercilessly plundered and ravaged the country. In retaliation, sir Anthony Lucy of Cockermouth, and William of Lochmaben, entered Scotland with eight hundred men, and William Douglas, commonly known as the knight of Liddesdale, a natural son of "the good sir James," in an attempt to intercept

them, at Lochmaben castle, of which he was keeper, was defeated with very serious loss, and himself taken prisoner. Baliol had entered Scotland again, and established himself at Roxburgh castle, where he bestowed the land of the knights slain in the battle between Douglas and Lucy on his English followers. It appears to have been the anxious aim of the Bruce party, at this time, to obtain possession of the person of Baliol; he had narrowly escaped at Annan, and now, soon after the affair at Lochmaben, the regent, sir Andrew Moray, came suddenly before Roxburgh castle with a strong force, and attempted to take it by storm. Not only was the attempt unsuccessful, but Moray himself, rashly pushing forward to rescue one of his esquires, was overpowered by the English and taken prisoner. Thus were two of the ablest soldiers in Scotland, a Bruce and a Douglas, lost for a while to the national cause. Both of them were, by king Edward's orders, closely confined, the knight of Liddesdale, in fetters. The Scots endeavoured to supply the loss of Moray, by electing Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, for their regent.

King Edward determined now to proceed against the Scots with vigour, and, assembling a powerful army, he marched to the north, and encamped before Berwick. The Scottish commander of Berwick castle was the earl of March; while the town was entrusted to a Scot of more certain patriotism, sir Alexander Seton. The governor made a brave defence, and, with the help of Crab, the Fleming, who had still a fleet of ships of war under his command, they burnt or sunk a good part of the English fleet employed to attack the town from the sea. Edward was himself repulsed in an attempt to carry the town by assault, and he determined to turn the siege into a blockade. The garrison, at length reduced to a condition of distress, entered into negotiations, by which it was agreed that on a certain day, if succours were not thrown into the town before, it should be delivered up to the English. They gave hostages for the performance of these conditions, of whom the son of the governor, sir Alexander Seton, was one. The regent, informed of their condition, exerted himself to raise a powerful army, with which he appeared before Berwick just before the appointed time, and succeeded in throwing in a body of men under sir William Keith and other experienced commanders, in spite of the opposition of the English. The latter, safe in the strength of their position round the town, refused to quit it; and the regent, who was himself unwilling to risk a battle by attacking the English camp, determined to imitate a manœuvre which had proved successful under Bruce, and marched his army into Northumberland, in the hope of thus drawing Edward away from the siege. But although the Scots wasted the English territory, and even threatened Bamborough castle, which Edward's queen had made her residence during his operations in the north, the English king remained unmoved before Berwick. The moment the day arrived which had been fixed on for the delivery of Berwick, he made a peremptory demand that the garrison should perform their promise. But they demurred, on the ground that their regent had, according to the terms of the agreement, succoured the town before the appointed day, and sir William Keith, who had now been elected governor, set the English at defiance, and declared his intention of defending the town to the last. Edward, in anger, accused the citizens of treachery, and called together his council to determine what should be done with the hostages. They gave it as their opinion that, as the townsmen had broken their agreement, the lives of the hostages were forfeited. They were accordingly warned to prepare for death, and young Seton is said to have been hanged in front of one of the gates of the town, so near, that the whole proceeding could be seen distinctly by his father. This act of severity had its intended effect on the citizens, who, alarmed for the safety of their children who were in Edward's hands, and assured by Keith that the Scottish army was much superior to the English in numbers, and that their regent would undoubtedly come and raise the siege, entered into negotiations again, and a solemn instrument was now drawn up, by which it was agreed that if the Scots did not relieve the town on or before the 19th of July, by throwing into it two hundred men-at-arms by land, or by vanquishing the English in a pitched battle, the town should be immediately surrendered.

Sir William Keith received a safe-conduct to proceed to the regent Douglas, and he pictured to him in so strong a light the importance of the town and the extreme danger in which it was then placed, that

Douglas imprudently determined to risk a battle. He led back his army from Northumberland, and crossing the Tweed on the 18th of July, encamped at a place called Dunsepark. Edward immediately drew up his whole army in four divisions, or battles, on the eminence of Halidon Hill, a little to the west of Berwick. Each division was flanked by bodies of archers. The regent drew up his army in correspondence with the English, into four battles, commanded respectively by the regent himself, by the young steward of Scotland (directed by his uncle Sir James Stewart), by the young earl of Moray, assisted by two veteran leaders, James and Simon Fraser, and by the earl of Ross. They occupied a hill opposite the English position, and separated from it by a marsh, which could only be passed on foot.

On the morning of the 19th of July, the day on which the truce with the town expired, the Scots descended from their position to attack their enemies. The leaders and the men-at-arms left their horses to the care of the campboys and pages, and, contrary to the advice of some of the older officers, advanced with the whole Scottish army into the soft boggy ground below. They marched on with the characteristic impetuosity of their countrymen, but they soon became involved in the marsh, were retarded in their progress, and fell into much confusion from being unavoidably crowded together. "And then," says an old English chronicler of this event, "the Englische mynstrelles beten ther tabers, and blowen ther trompes, and pipers pipeden loude, and made a grete schoute uppon the Skottes, and then hadde the Englische bachelers eche of them two winges of archers, whiche at that meeting mightily drewen ther bowes, and made arowes flee as thicke as motes on the sonne beme, and so they smote the Skottes that thei felle to ground by many thousandes." This quaint passage is a fair description of the celebrated defeat of Halidon Hill. The Scots, crowded together in the marsh, and unable to come to close fighting, presented a broad aim to the English archers, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Many of them turned their backs, and fled, before they had passed the marsh. The greater part of the army, however, encouraged by their chiefs, pressed forwards, and, having succeeded with difficulty in clearing the bog, rushed furiously up the hill to engage their enemies. The English calmly kept the ranks, and received them at the top of the hill, where the battle lasted fiercely for a short time, but the Scots, discouraged by their loss in the marsh, and out of breath with the hurried ascent of the eminence, were unequal to contend with fresh troops, who had not yet engaged in the combat, and were steadily commanded. The effect of this disparity was soon felt. The earl of Ross, in leading up the fourth or reserve division of the Scottish army to attack that division of the English army which was commanded by Edward Baliol in person, was driven back, and Ross himself was slain in the struggle. The regent was almost immediately afterwards made prisoner, mortally wounded. The Scottish army was now entirely broken and driven off the field, and to increase their disaster the nobles and men-at-arms found that the camp boys and pages had fled, carrying away with them most of their horses. The slaughter which the English made in the pursuit was dreadful. Besides the earl of Ross and the regent Douglas, the earls of Lenox, Athol, Carrick, Sutherland, and Strathern, James and Simon Fraser, the two uncles of the steward of Scotland, John and James Stewart, John de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, and a great many other barons and men of note, fell on this fatal day. With them were slain, at the lowest calculation, fourteen thousand of the best soldiers of Scotland.*

The town and castle of Berwick were delivered up immediately after this decisive battle, and the earl of March, long suspected of favouring the English, now openly joined king Edward. Many of the nobility followed his example, and Baliol,

* In England there was great exultation on the battle of Halidon Hill, which showed itself in a variety of ballads and poems. In these we see how the murder of "the Red Comyn" was still uppermost in men's minds as an object for vengeance. It shows how great a part the feud of the Comyns and the Bruces occupied in the troubles of Scotland, during the earlier half of the fourteenth century. The following is a stanza from Laurence Minot's song on the defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, a contemporary production, in which we trace the horror occasioned by the murder of Comyn:—

This sari chaunce tham es bitid,
For thai war fals and wonder fell;
For cursed caitefes er thai kid,
And ful of treson, suth to tell.
Sir Jon the Comyn had thai hid,
In haly kirk thai did him qwell;
And tharfore many a Skottis brid
With dole er dight that thai most dwell.

in a progress through the entire kingdom, found none to oppose him; nearly the whole kingdom submitting to his sovereignty. Five castles alone remained in the hands of the party of Bruce, Dumbarton, held by Malcolm Fleming; Urquhart, in Inverness-shire, by Thomas Lauder; Lochleven, by Alan de Vipont; Kildrummie, by king Robert Bruce's sister Christian; and Lochmaben, by Patrick de Chartres. A brave soldier named John Thompson, supposed to be the same man who brought back the shattered remains of the army of Edward Bruce from Ireland, also held a stronghold in Lochdon, on the borders of Carrick, for David Bruce. Berwick was at once made over to the king of England, who proceeded very deliberately to remove a great part of the Scottish inhabitants of the town and country, and replace them with his own English subjects. He even sent into England the Scottish monks from the religious houses, and placed English monks in them, with directions to preach submission to his authority; and proclamation was made in London, and in the principal commercial towns in the kingdom, inviting English merchants to settle in Berwick. Edward's immediate reward for the assistance he had given to Baliol was, however, much more extensive than the town and county of Berwick. In an assembly held in Edinburgh on the 10th of February, 1334, Baliol distributed the large estates of those who had fallen in battle, or who had been disinherited for their attachment to David Bruce, to the English barons who had supported him; and at the same time, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, with the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, and the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, were given to Edward, and were, with the town, castle, and county of Berwick, annexed for ever to the kingdom of England. To these new possessions, Edward immediately appointed English governors, and Baliol completed the humiliation of his kingdom, by appearing before Edward at Newcastle, to swear fealty to him as his liege lord for the kingdom of Scotland and the isles, while the friends of the young Bruce were obliged to conceal themselves in the mountains and fastnesses of the kingdom.

Circumstances soon occurred to show the frailty of the tenure by which Baliol held his power. A dispute among his own followers relating to a succession was the first cause of revolt. Alexander de Mowbray having claimed the estate of his brother, who died without male heirs, was put in possession by a decision of Baliol, to the disinheritance of the three daughters of the deceased baron. Their cause was warmly advocated by Henry de Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and the earl of Athol, who, when Baliol refused to listen to them, retired to their estates, and assumed an attitude of discontent, if not of open rebellion. Beaumont, establishing himself in his strong castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, seized upon a large portion of the disputed possession which lay in that earldom, and held it by force. The partizans of David Bruce were encouraged by these dissensions among their enemies, and began again to hold up their heads. They were at this moment joined by the late regent, sir Andrew Moray, who had been released from his captivity, and returned to Scotland; and a Scottish fleet, strengthened by some ships from France, hovered on the coast to assist them.

Baliol was alarmed at these symptoms, and retreated to Berwick, where he made a weak and unsuccessful attempt to appease his own discontented barons, by reversing the decree in favour of Mowbray, which had indeed been an unjust one. Mowbray was thus entirely alienated from the English party, and taking with him his friends and vassals to join that of David Bruce, he co-operated in hostilities against his rivals in the law-suit. One of these, Talbot, as he was passing with a body of soldiers into England, was attacked and taken prisoner by sir William Keith, and confined in the castle of Dumbarton. Beaumont, the chief of them, was besieged by Moray and Mowbray, in his castle of Dundarg, and in spite of the strong situation of that fortress, he was compelled to capitulate, and it was only on the payment of a heavy ransom that this powerful and turbulent baron was allowed to retire into England.

CHAPTER IX.

BALIOL EXPELLED BY A NEW REVOLUTION; EXPLOITS OF SIR ANDREW MORAY; BLACK AGNES OF DUNBAR; DAVID BRUCE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND; INVASION OF ENGLAND; BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

The risings described at the close of the foregoing chapter were but the forerunners of a more general revolt. The young Steward, whose lands had been given by Baliol to the earl of Bute, lay concealed from his enemies in Bute, from whence, now that his friends began to stir, he made his escape to Dumbarton, where he was received with joy by the governor, Malcolm Fleming. Assembling as many of his vassals as he could summon together, and joined by Colin Campbell of Lochow, he took by storm the castle of Dunoon. When the news of this exploit reached Bute, the vassals of the steward in that district rose against their English governor, Alan de Lyle, and stoned him to death, and then, cutting off his head, they marched with this savage trophy to join ther lord, and soon afterwards the castle of Bute fell into his power. The insurrection, thus set agoing, spread more and more. Many of the fugitive patriots under William de Carruthers and other chiefs, left their hiding-places in the mountains of Annandale, and they were joined by Thomas Bruce with the men of Kyle, and by Randolph, earl of Moray, who had returned from France, his place of refuge after the fatal battle of Halidon Hill. In a short time the greater part of Clydesdale, with Ayr, and the districts of Renfrew, Carrick, and Cunningham, were occupied by the adherents of king David II., who proceeded to elect the steward and the earl of Moray as joint regents. They joined their forces against the powerful earl of Athol, attacked and drove him into the wilds of Lochaber, and then made him their prisoner. Baliol, astonished and alarmed at the progress of the revolt, hurried into England to seek the protection of his liege lord, king Edward.

The English monarch, in spite of the approach of winter, marched with such an army as he could assemble, into Scotland, with Baliol in his host. This vassal king, after ravaging Avondale, and the districts of Carrick and Cunningham, held his Christmas at Renfrew with royal state. He there appointed a warlike ecclesiastic named William Bullock, chamberlain of Scotland, and governor of the castles of St. Andrews and Cupar, and entrusted him with the chief management of affairs. John de Strivelin, one of Baliol's commanders, was sent with a considerable force to lay siege to Lochleven castle, a difficult undertaking, which ended in the defeat of the besiegers. This appears to have been the only result of Edward's expedition. The barons of king David's party took new courage, and called a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife, to consult on some plan of combined operations. This assembly took place in the April of 1335, and was disturbed by the ambition and pride of David de Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who had now joined the patriots, and who, having obtained an ascendancy over the mind of the young Steward, assumed a tone of superiority over the other nobles. The consequence was, that after some mutual bickerings, the parliament broke up in disorder, and left the defence of Scotland to the individual talents and exertions of the confederated chiefs.

These were soon called upon by circumstances to show all their constancy and valour. King Edward again marched into Scotland about midsummer, with a larger army, which he had assembled at Newcastle. He was accompanied by the earl of Juliers and the count of Montbelliard, with a large body of foreign mercenaries; while his fleet entered the firth of Forth to co-operate with the land forces. Before he entered Scotland, Edward divided his land forces into two parts, one of which, under the command of Baliol, marched from Berwick, while the English king, with the other division, advanced from Carlisle. The Scots acted on the instructions said to have been given them by Robert Bruce, retreated before the invaders, who, having met with no opposition to their progress, joined their forces at Glasgow, and then pushed on to Perth. The Scots still followed their prudent system of carrying off their cattle and goods, and deserting the plain country; but they began to be bolder in attacking the English straggling parties, and the old Scottish chroniclers recount some of their exploits with pride. One

of these was attended with remarkable circumstances. Guy count of Namur had landed at Berwick with a body of Flemish auxiliaries, and imagining that the intervening country was totally clear of enemies, he marched carelessly to Edinburgh, on his way to join king Edward at Perth. But as his men were passing the Borough Muir, they were suddenly attacked by a little army of Scots, led by the earls of Moray and March, and sir Alexander Ramsay. The foreign knights, sheathed in steel and well mounted, made a gallant defence, and it was only when the knight of Liddesdale swept down from the Pentland hills to reinforce the Scots, that they retreated into Edinburgh, then an open town, as its castle and fortifications had been destroyed by the Scots. The Flemings were pursued into the town, where the fight continued with obstinacy in the streets and lanes. Tradition long pointed out, at the foot of the Bow, the mark of the tremendous blow given by a gigantic Scottish knight named sir David de Annand, whose ponderous battle-axe is said to have cut through man and horse, and to have been stopped only by the flag-stone beneath, which was shattered to pieces. At length, driven gradually up the High-street to the ruins of the castle, the count de Namur and his Flemings there slew their horses and piled their bodies on the rock as a rampart, behind which they took their stand, until they were obliged to surrender.

This little success brought a great misfortune on the Scottish cause. The foreign knights were treated with the utmost courtesy, the more so because the count, their leader, was a kinsman of the king of France. They were set at liberty without ransom, and Moray himself escorted them across the English border with a small body of Scottish soldiers. On his return, unexpectedly attacked by William de Pressen, the warder of Jedburgh forest, the Scots were defeated, and the regent Moray was himself taken prisoner, and confined in the strong castle of Bamborough. The loss of this brave and able leader was at this moment irreparable; and when king Edward returned to Perth, after ravaging the northern parts of the kingdom, he received a message from the earl of Athol, announcing that that fickle chief and his friends were ready to submit. One of those friends was the young steward of Scotland, who had latterly submitted himself in an unaccountable manner to Athol's influence. By an agreement concluded at Perth, the earl and all the Scottish barons who "came under his peace," received free pardon, and had their estates restored to them, and Athol himself was appointed regent or governor of Scotland under king Edward Baliol. After making a pretended show of care for the welfare of his country, in stipulating that the franchises of the church and the ancient laws of Scotland should be preserved as they existed in the reign of Alexander III., Athol signalized his zeal for the cause with which he had now identified himself by the bitterness and cruelty with which he hunted out and exterminated the partizans of David Bruce. But a sudden vengeance overtook him. The sister of Robert Bruce and wife of sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, still held resolutely her castle of Kildrummie against Baliol, and Athol, anxious to secure so valuable a captive, hastened to attack it. Sir Andrew Moray, who was at this time the principal leader of the fugitive patriots, called together from their lurking-places as many men as he could, and, joined by the knight of Liddesdale and the earl of March, hastened to the succour of his lady. The two parties met in the forest of Kilblene, and after a short struggle, the earl of Athol was defeated and slain. This unexpected event gave new courage to the Scots, who assembled in a parliament at Dunfermline, and elected sir Andrew Moray to the office of regent. It was again made evident that in spite of the selfishness and fickleness of their nobles, the great mass of the Scottish people were determined to maintain their independence, and were devotedly attached to the name and family of Bruce. Scotland was not yet subdued.

The Scots could not have had a better leader than sir Andrew Moray. He had taken his first lessons of war under Wallace, and had been inured to it under Bruce, and no one knew better how to practise that peculiar system which had kept the latter on the throne, and which the new regent was soon called upon to employ. When king Edward heard of the death of the earl of Athol, he again hastened into Scotland with a formidable army, and he was joined by all the Scottish barons and their vassals who had submitted to Baliol. He marched direct to Perth, laying waste, as usual, the country through which he passed, and burning its towns and villages, and from Perth he overrun the northern parts of the country,

hunting in vain for his enemies, although they were in arms, and at no great distance from his army. History has preserved more than one anecdote of the extraordinary coolness and skill with which sir Andrew Moray eluded his pursuers, and the contempt with which he treated all their attempts to overtake him. One day, we are told, Moray was encamped in a wood, supposed to have been in Perthshire, which was then known by the name of Stronkaltere. Intelligence of his place of retreat was conveyed to king Edward, who immediately marched against him. Moray was so entirely taken by surprise, that he was quietly hearing mass in a chapel in the forest, when some of his soldiers came in breathless haste to tell him that his outposts had been unexpectedly driven in by the enemy, who was at hand in great force. The regent ordered them to be silent till mass was ended, and then, having heard the report of the messengers, he merely observed, "It is well; there is no need of haste." He then ordered his esquires to bring his war-horse, and leisurely examined its saddle and girths, to see that everything was right. All this time the English were reported to be approaching nearer and nearer, and his knights began to exhibit signs of alarm and impatience. Yet Moray went on leisurely adjusting his armour, when, as he was buckling on the piece which covered the thigh, one of the straps broke. Not in the least disconcerted by this accident, he called to an esquire to bring him a certain coffer from his baggage, and opening this, he took out a skin of leather, and cut off it a thong to supply the place of the broken strap. Having carefully returned the coffer to its place, Moray mounted his horse, and drew up his men in a close column, and marching slowly in sight of the English, who, though now close upon him, did not venture to attack him, he gained a narrow defile, and marching rapidly through it, disappeared from their sight without losing a man. This anecdote is related by the metrical chronicler, Andrew Winton, who assures us that he heard it from knights who were present on the occasion, and who told him that they never found time pass so slowly as when they stood by their old commander when he sat cutting his skin of leather in the wood of Stronkaltere.

Soon after this Moray laid siege to Athol's widow in her castle of Lochendorb, and this lady, a daughter of Henry de Beaumont, sent in haste to king Edward to implore his assistance. He listened to her petition, and marched immediately to Lochendorb, but Moray again retired into the woods and morasses, and Edward, weary of the vain pursuit, ravaged the rich province of Moray with fire and sword, and then, having repaired and garrisoned the most important fortresses in Scotland, he left the army at Perth under the command of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, and returned to England.

Edward's departure was the signal for a new insurrection. The regent Moray, with the knight of Liddesdale, sir William Keith, and other barons of their party, assembled their vassals and followers, and appeared again in the field. They captured successively the castles of Dunotter, Kinclevin, Laurieston, Falkland, St. Andrew's, and Bothwell, all which the regent, imitating the prudent policy of Robert Bruce, ordered to be dismantled and overthrown. After these successes the regent crossed the border to provision his army by predatory excursions into England, for Scotland was suffering from a grievous famine, the result of the ravages of war; and on his return he overrun the Lothians, and then laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. An attempt of the English borderers to relieve this fortress led to a desperate battle near Chisholm castle, in which the English were defeated, but the Scots suffered so much loss that it was considered prudent to raise the siege.

Scotland at this moment might have received a new visit from king Edward, if his attention had not been occupied with preparations for a new and greater war. He attempted for awhile to delude the Scots with proposals for a general peace, but their leaders were too well acquainted with the state of things, through the communications with their French allies, and all doubt was at length dispelled by Edward's announcement of his claim to the crown of France, on the seventh of October, 1337, and the consequent declaration of war between the two countries. The intelligence of these events was received by the Scottish patriots with the utmost joy, not only because it drew away from them their great enemy, and employed and exhausted his resources, but because they could now receive openly assistance from their French allies.

Yet king Edward had left a powerful army in Scotland, under the command of the earl of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk,

and when the delusive negotiations for peace were at an end they began to act on the offensive. Their first undertaking was an attempt on the castle of Dunbar, one of the celebrated sieges in Scottish history. Dunbar castle, which, as the key to Scotland on its south-eastern border, was a place of great importance, belonged to the earl of March, and, in his absence, was in the charge of his countess, the worthy daughter of the warrior Randolph, known popularly, on account of her dark complexion, by the name of Black Agnes of Dunbar. The earl of Salisbury undertook the siege of this place, and brought to it the flower of the English army, with all the warlike machines which were then considered most powerful, but Black Agnes set him at defiance, and, performing all the duties of a brave commander, exposing her person on the walls, and provoking the assailants with taunting gibes and witticisms, she held them at bay during five months, and then forced them to leave the siege. On one occasion, when the stones from the engines of the besiegers struck the battlements near her, she is reported to have sent one of her maidens for a white napkin to wipe away the dust. On another occasion, when the English brought the warlike machine called a sow to the wall, she is said to have called out in doggerel rhymes, in allusion to the name of the English leader (Montague earl of Salisbury), and to a similar occurrence at the siege of Berwick,—

"Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow."

On which a huge mass of stone was thrown upon the sow, and broke it to pieces. Neither of these witticisms was original. Once an arrow from the ramparts struck through the armour of an English knight as he stood by the side of the earl of Salisbury, and killed him on the spot. "There," said the earl, "is one of my lady's tire-pins; the love-shafts of Agnes go straight to the heart!" At length, finding it impossible to make an impression on the walls, the English converted the siege into a blockade, their fleet hindering all communication by the sea, and the garrison of Dunbar began to suffer for want of provisions. At this critical moment Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie sailed, in the darkness of midnight, from the Bass with a light vessel laden with provisions, and carrying forty good soldiers on board, and passing unobserved through the hostile fleet, succeeded in landing his cargo under the wall of the castle. The garrison thus relieved, resumed its tone of defiance, and Salisbury, losing all hopes of success, withdrew his army.

The Scots had now gained sufficient strength to appear in force in the open country, and they began to drive out the English, who were obliged to retire for safety into the few fortresses, such as Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Cupar, and Roxburgh, that still remained in their hands. The reinforcements and supplies necessary to maintain these strong positions in an enemy's country, were as grievous to the English as to the Scots, for the taxes necessary to support Edward's wars began now to weigh heavily on his country, and the discontent was not lessened by the frequency with which the supplies for Scotland were intercepted and captured by the Scottish insurgents. In the multitude of petty encounters and sieges of small fortresses which now constituted the war in Scotland, success went usually on the side of the Scots. Among the most active champions in this warfare the knight of Liddesdale, sir William Douglas, stood always foremost. After expelling the English from Teviotdale, he defeated and captured sir John de Strivelin, who was at the head of five hundred men-at-arms; intercepted a considerable convoy near Melrose, took the castle of Hermitage, for which it was intended, defeated sir Roland de Vaux, and, after a very severe contest, routed a strong party of his enemies under sir Laurence Abernethy. Another hero of this partisan warfare was sir Alexander Ramsay, who established himself in the wild country about Hawthornden, and on the banks of the Esk, and carried his depredations over the border into the English counties. In the middle of these successes, a gloom was thrown over the patriots and their cause by the loss of their brave though now aged regent, sir Andrew Moray. Bending under the weight of years and a life of turmoil and anxiety, this old and worthy companion of Wallace and Bruce, retired to his castle of Avoch, in Ross-shire, and there expired in the year 1338. The steward of Scotland, who had now returned with hearty zeal to the patriotic party, was chosen sole regent. He began his government by sending the knight of Liddesdale to France to ask for assistance from king Philip, while he himself assembled his army and undertook the siege of Perth, which had been strongly fortified by the English.

The garrison of Perth made a resolute defence, and its fortifications were so formidable, that the steward had already given his orders to raise the siege, when five French ships of war suddenly entered the Tay, bringing with them the knight of Liddesdale, and a strong body of veteran soldiers from France. The steward now relinquished all intention of retreating, and having, with the assistance of the French ships, cut off the castle from all chance of supplies, he proceeded to push on the siege with vigour. The improving prospects of the cause in which he was engaged, at the same time brought him a new ally in the person of the ecclesiastic William Bullock, who had left his sacred functions for the profession of arms, and had so distinguished himself on the side of the English by his great skill in political intrigue, and his extraordinary warlike talents, that Baliol had made him chancellor of Scotland, and, when he retired just before this into England, he left him in command of the castle of Cupar. Bullock was a selfish and avaricious man, and when he saw the popular cause thriving, he sold his services to the regent, delivered up the castle of Cupar, and joined the army before Perth, where he was employed in directing the military operations of the siege. The possession of superior learning and science seems to have fitted him well for a task which was but imperfectly understood by the rough warriors with whom he was now to co-operate, and they stood him in good stead under the unusual circumstances which soon followed his arrival in the Scottish camp. He found the Scots already discouraged by the loss of some of their best men, and by their anxiety for the knight of Liddesdale, who had been dangerously wounded by a javelin from one of the engines on the walls, but Bullock insisted on continuing the siege, which was rendered somewhat more practicable by the success of the Scottish miners in excavating under the town ditch, and drawing off the water. In the midst of their labours there occurred, about mid-day, a nearly total eclipse of the sun. As the darkness increased, the superstitious soldiers on both sides were struck with terror, and, as if with one accord, left all other occupations to gaze on the threatening aspect of the sky. But Bullock's knowledge placed him above these superstitious feelings, and, while others were lost in the contemplation of this terrible object, he pressed on the engineers, and almost unobserved advanced the military engines to the walls, and made the other preparations for storming. When the natural light of day returned, and the soldiers recovered from their alarm, the English governor of Perth was astonished at the progress which the besiegers had made during the darkness, and, already intimidated by the awful prodigy they had witnessed, the garrison entered into negotiations, and agreed to deliver up the fortress on honourable terms. The garrison and their commanders were sent by sea to England, and the steward, having destroyed the fortifications of Perth, proceeded to lay siege to Stirling. According to the calculations of modern astronomers, the eclipse which caused so much alarm on this occasion took place on the 7th of July, 1339.

The old chroniclers relate various anecdotes illustrative of the dreadful condition to which their country had been reduced at this time by the complicated ravages of war and famine. The open country was utterly depopulated, and herds of wild deer, and even wolves, ranged undisturbed over the plains, and approached the walls of the fortified towns. In their very fastnesses people died of hunger, or prolonged their existence by food that is loathsome to the imagination. One of the chroniclers tells us that a wretch, who was popularly called "Christy Click," from the iron hook with which he seized his victims, in company with a no less ferocious female, carried on systematically the profession of cannibals, and lay in ambush in the mountains to entrap travellers, in order to kill and eat them. These two horrid beings were, in the sequel, captured, and, after being tried and condemned, they were both burnt.

The Scots now went on leisurely besieging and taking the English castles. Stirling held out long and bravely, but it was at length reduced by famine. In this siege the Scots lost a good and brave chieftain, sir William Keith.

A brief interval of quiet followed the capture of Stirling, and the regent embraced the opportunity of making a progress through the kingdom, which was now cleared of the English, with the exception of a small number of strong fortresses still held by Edward's garrisons. The labours of agriculture had recommenced, and commerce seemed to be reviving, when war broke out again, and put a stop to all

further improvement. The Scots obtained possession of the important castle of Edinburgh by a stratagem similar to one which had been employed with success on a like occasion under Robert Bruce. The stratagem is said to have been suggested by Bullock; but it was executed by the knight of Liddesdale, who placed himself in ambush in the neighbourhood of the castle. One Walter Curry, the captain of a merchantman of Dundee, was engaged to run his ship up the Forth, and under pretence of being an English victualling ship, to offer to supply the garrison with provisions. The governor was deceived, and immediately accepted the offer, and the draw-bridge was lowered for the reception of the wine and corn which was landed from the ship. No sooner, however, had the waggons entered the gateway, than they were stopped just under the portcullis, so as effectually to hinder it from being lowered, and the pretended merchant and his men, throwing off the frocks which covered their armour, slew the warden, and sounded a horn as a signal to their comrades to hasten to their assistance. The garrison also was aroused, and a fierce struggle took place at the gateway, but the bravery of the knight of Liddesdale and his followers overcame all opposition, and the English were soon put to the sword, with the exception only of the governor and five of his men.

The Scottish patriots now felt so secure in their power, that they resolved to send over to France for their young king David, who was in his eighteenth year, and therefore capable of exercising all the functions of government. Having escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed with his queen at Innerbervie, in Kincardineshire, on the 4th of June, 1341. This apparently wise measure was unfortunately far from producing all the good effects which were expected from it. Inheriting the personal courage of his father, David had none of his military talent or prudence, and the violence and impetuosity of his character, which seems to have resembled that of his uncle Edward, had been developed and not tamed during his nine years' residence in France, where moreover he had imbibed an inordinate love of pleasure. Totally unacquainted with the fierce and lawless character of the Scottish barons, he came to rule over men who, uniting cordially together in opposing English rule, were not much less hostile to any superior control that might limit the lawless independence to which they were accustomed. They were more ready to obey him in the field in time of war, than to submit to his laws in time of peace. David appears also to have come to the throne with personal prejudices against some of his barons, and more especially against his nephew, the steward, and it was his character never to lay aside a prejudice of this kind once generated in his heart.

The effect of these feelings on both sides soon made itself apparent. Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, one of the bravest of the Scottish patriots, surprised the important castle of Roxburgh by night, and expelled the English garrison. In reward for this gallant exploit, apparently without consulting his nobles, king David made Ramsay governor of Roxburgh and sheriff of Teviotdale. The office of sheriff of the county seems to have been regarded as appertaining properly to the governor of this strong fortress, but during its recent occupation by the English, the sheriffdom had been held by the knight of Liddesdale, who took mortal offence against Ramsay, whom he regarded as the cause of his being deprived of it. To revenge this feud, the fierce baron pretended at first to be reconciled with Ramsay, in order to lull suspicion, and then taking the opportunity, when he was performing the duties of his office as sheriff, at a court held in the church of Hawick, he marched thither suddenly with a body of his soldiers. Although Ramsay is said to have received secret warning of the knight's intentions, he placed too much confidence in his professions to believe in it, and, when his enemy entered the church he beckoned him to come and sit beside him on the bench. But the knight of Liddesdale, without further parley, drew his sword and rushed upon the sheriff, who was severely wounded before he was captured. He was thrown bleeding across a horse, hurried off to the castle of Hermitage, and there thrown into a dungeon where he was left without food. It happened that there was a granary over his dungeon, and some grains of corn fell through the crevices. With these Ramsay contrived to prolong his existence, so that it was seventeen days before he died. Instead of punishing this foul deed, David alarmed, it would appear, at such symptoms of insubordination among his great barons, endeavoured to conciliate the knight of Liddesdale by conferring on him the governorship of Roxburgh castle, and the sheriff-

dom of Teviotdale, with the office of protector of the middle marshes. He is said to have obtained this favour chiefly through the intercession of the steward; but the murder of Ramsay gave rise to numerous feuds, which added to the troubles of the kingdom. The knight of Liddesdale was so little grateful for the favour he had received, that he entered into a secret correspondence with the king of England, and joined in a conspiracy, the object of which was to replace Baliol on the throne. One of the persons most deeply engaged in this plot seems to have been the same William Bullock, who had now changed sides more than once, and who held the office of chamberlain of Scotland. We are totally in the dark as to what may have been the cause of this man's dissatisfaction with the government of king David, or how his treasonable intentions were detected, but it is certain he was suddenly arrested, stripped of his honours and high offices, and thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Lochendorb, where he was starved to death. His fate seems to have acted as a warning to the lord of Liddesdale, for his treasonable correspondence with England is traced no farther.

The arrival of David in his dominions had been followed by repeated incursions into the English borders, which had been at times repulsed by the borderers, but king Edward was too much engaged with his wars on the continent to pay much attention to Scotland. David was at the same time embarrassed by a revolt of the islanders under John of Argyle, who was joined by several of the northern barons. Under these circumstances a truce between Scotland and England for two years was proposed, and willingly agreed to on both sides. But before its expiration this truce was broken by the lord of Liddesdale. He had shown his sympathy with Bullock by causing David de Berklay, who had arrested him, to be waylaid and murdered; and now, perhaps to hinder any suspicion of his own secret dealings with England, he determined to invade that kingdom. Collecting a numerous army, he crossed the border, and burnt Carlisle and Penrith. The ultimate consequences of this inroad were disastrous to Scotland. The war recommenced with greater animosity between the two countries than ever; and king David thinking that Edward had carried all his forces into France, and that he had left no soldiers in England for its defence, gave orders for assembling the whole army of Scotland at Perth, and announced his intention of invading England in person.

In accordance with the king's summons, a larger army was collected on this occasion than had been seen in Scotland for many years, but it was composed of discordant materials. A considerable force had been drawn from the isles and from the northern districts, and the highland chiefs were no sooner brought together, than their mutual feuds broke out with alarming violence. A sanguinary deed soon threw the army into dismay. The earl of Ross revenged a fierce feud against another chief, Ronald of the isles, by murdering him in the monastery of Elcho, and then he sought his own safety by leading off his men to their native mountains. The men of the isles, deprived of their chief, followed the example, and hurried home, and many of the lesser highland chiefs did the same. The Scottish army was thus seriously diminished. The troops which remained, however, still made a formidable array, and with these, in the autumn of 1346, David marched from Perth to the English border. He there laid siege to a fortress called the mote of Liddel, the castle of Walter Selby, the same lawless chief who had been employed by Robert Bruce to waylay and plunder the messengers of the Roman cardinals, but who now slew and plundered in the cause of Baliol, from whom he had received a grant of lands in Roxburghshire. Liddel castle was soon taken, its governor Selby hanged, and his garrison put to the sword. The Scottish leaders seem now to have been uncertain as to their future plans. The knight of Liddesdale is said to have advised a retreat,*

* The Scottish metrical chronicler Winton, gives the following account of the way in which the knight of Liddesdale gave his counsel, and the reception it met with :—

Than consalyd Willame off Dowglas,
That off weris mast wyss than was,
To turne agayne in thair cuntré;
He sayd that with thair honesté
Thai mycht agayne repayr rycht welle,
Syne thai off fors had tane that pelle (*fortress*).
But othir lordis that war by
Sayd he had fillyd fullyly
His baggis, and thairis all twme (*empty*) war
Thai sai that thai mycht rycht welle fare
Till Lwndyn, for in Ingland than
Off gret mycht was lefft na man;
For thai sayd all war in Frawns,
Bot sowteris, skynneris, or marchawns.
The Dowglas thare mycht noucht be herd,
But on thaire way all furth thai ferd.

for what reason is not very evident, as there was something ridiculous in raising the whole force of Scotland to storm a petty border castle. But the ardour of the king was seconded by the greater part of his barons, who accused the knight of Liddesdale of wishing to return home to secure his own plunder, and deprive them of their own prospects of booty, although he knew, they said, "that the country was bare of fighting men, and that there were none but mean merchants and mechanics to stand between them and a march to London." Their advice prevailed, and the order was given to advance. They proceeded first to Hexham, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham, where, for many successive days, they committed the most dreadful devastation, carrying off everything of any value that was portable, and burning everything that remained, leaving the country they passed over a black and smoking desert. They did not even spare the sacred territory of St. Cuthbert, and the monkish writers seem to look upon their sacrilegious behaviour as the real cause of the disaster which followed. At last, weary for a moment of plundering and destroying, the whole Scottish army was collected together and encamped, at a place then called Beaurepair, which has since been corrupted into the name of Bear Park, at a short distance from Durham.

But the Scottish leaders had been grievously deceived in reckoning on the defenceless state of England. It is true that king Edward lay with a great army before Calais, and that he wanted more reinforcements than his kingdom would contentedly spare; but there were plenty left at home who knew well how to handle the sword or the bow, and the border barons had good experience in the art of war. Ralph Neville, of Raby, lord Henry Percy, with the lords Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, had collected their strength on the first news of the invasion, and they were joined by the ex-king of Scotland, Edward Baliol, and the earl of Angus. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, who came with the military vassals of their sees; and a body of ten thousand men, who were ready to embark for Calais, were sent to join the muster. When assembled, the English army amounted to thirty thousand men, of which number twenty thousand were English archers, and the other ten thousand included a large body of men-at-arms. At the moment when the Scots, not suspecting the presence of so formidable an enemy, were encamping at Beaurepair, the English army had arrived at Bishop Auckland, where they took up their position in the park only six miles distant from the Scottish camp.

At daybreak on the 17th of October, 1346, the knight of Liddesdale rode forth from the camp with a strong body of heavy armed cavalry, for the purpose of foraging, and he had proceeded as far as Ferry-on-the-hill, when he suddenly found himself in presence of the whole English army, which had quitted its position before Bishop Auckland, and was on its way towards Sunderland. The knight of Liddesdale was utterly astonished, and he made as rapid a retreat as possible, but he was so closely pursued, that he is said to have lost five hundred of his men before he reached the Scottish camp. There everything was hurry and alarm. With as little delay as possible, David drew up his army in three divisions, taking the command of the centre himself, and giving the command of the right wing to the earl of Moray, and that of the left to the knight of Liddesdale, the steward, and the earl of Dunbar.

The position of the Scottish camp had been badly chosen. It was a plain, intersected with ditches and hedges, which separated the divisions and subdivisions of the army, and hindered them from readily assisting each other, while the undulations of the country around made it easy for an enemy to approach without being observed. The Scottish army was hardly formed in order of battle, when it was announced that the English were close at hand, and their archers appeared within bow-shot. Sir John de Graham, remembering Bruce's manœuvre at Bannockburn, rode up to king David, and urged him to send the cavalry to take the English archers in flank, and by dispersing them, relieve his army from the greatest danger which threatened it. But the king would not listen to this advice, and, when Graham begged that he might have only a hundred men-at-arms to attack them, he was still refused. We must not necessarily suppose, as some historians have done, that Graham's request was a reasonable one; for, well arranged as the English army was on this occasion, with plenty of cavalry, it is not likely that the archers

were left unprotected. But the Scottish knight, in his impatience, called to his own followers, rushed upon the English archers, and was immediately overwhelmed with a deadly shower of arrows. His own horse was shot under him, and he escaped with difficulty on foot.

It was now about nine o'clock in the morning; the whole English force had come up, and the archers were discharging their missiles with fatal effect. The men at-arms now rushed forward, and attacked the division commanded by the earl of Moray with great impetuosity, and, taking advantage of the breaks made by the nature of the ground, they broke in among them, threw them into disorder, and made fearful slaughter. The Scots stood their ground till their leader Moray was slain, and then this first division began to disperse, and was soon utterly routed. The whole force of the English men-at-arms now bore down on the centre, where David commanded in person, and where the battle raged for three hours with great fury. The young king fought with obstinate bravery, and after most of his great nobles had been slain round him in the attempt to save him, he still continued to struggle against his assailants, although dangerously wounded with two arrows. At length a knight, or, according to Froissart, an esquire of a good Northumbrian family, John of Copland, who had been governor of Roxburgh castle, grappled with the king, and, after losing two of his teeth by a blow of the royal dagger in the struggle, succeeded in securing his captive. The rout now became general, and the steward and the earl of March, convinced that the day was lost, and that any further resistance was hopeless, drew off their division, which had suffered least, and succeeded in making their way back to Scotland, while the English were too busy making prisoners to pursue them. Thus David's ill-fated expedition into England ended in a disaster far greater than any which Scotland had sustained since the days of Edward I. Nearly all the great nobility of Scotland were slain or captives. Among the former were the earls of Moray and Stratherne, David de la Haye (the high constable of Scotland), sir Robert Keith (the great marshal), and the chamberlain and chancellor, with not less than thirty barons belonging to the principal families in Scotland. Among the long list of prisoners were, besides the king, the knight of Liddesdale, the earls of Fife, Menteith, Sutherland, and Wigton, and fifty other barons and knights. The entire number of the Scots slain on the field of battle is said to have been at least fifteen thousand.

We are told by Froissart that as soon as Copland had secured his royal captive, he rode off the field with him, attended by eight of his own retainers, and never halted till he reached the castle of one of his friends at a distance of fifteen leagues from the field of battle, which this historian calls by the romantic name of *chastel orgueilleux*, which has been supposed to be a mistake for Ogle castle in Northumberland. Here king David was placed in safe custody. "When the queen of England understood how the journey was for her and her men," says Froissart, in the quaint language of his first translator, "and it was shown her how the king of Scots was taken by a squire called John Copland, and he had carried away the king no man knew whither, then the queen wrote to the squire, commanding him to bring his prisoner, and how he had not well done to depart with him without leave. When the queen's letter was brought to John Copland, he answered and said, that as for the king of Scots, his prisoner, he would not deliver him to no man nor woman living, but only to the king of England, his sovereign lord; as for the king of Scots, he said, he should be safely kept, so that he would give account for him. Then the queen sent letters to the king, to Calais, whereby the king was informed of the state of his realm. Then the king sent incontinent to John Copland, that he should come over the sea to him, to the siege before Calais. Then the said John did put his prisoner in safe keeping in a strong castle, and so rode through England till he came to Dover, and there took the sea, and arrived before Calais. When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand, and said, 'Ha! welcome, my squire, that by your valiantness hath taken mine adversary the king of Scots.' The squire kneeled down and said, 'sir, if God by his grace hath suffered me to take the king of Scots by true conquest of arms, sir, I think no man ought to have any envy thereat; for as well God may send by his grace such a fortune to fall to a poor squire, as to a great lord. And, sir, I require your grace be not miscontent with me, though I did not deliver the king of Scots at the com-

mandment of the queen. Sir, I hold of you, as mine oath is to you, and not to her, but in all good manners.' The king said, 'John, the good service that ye have done and your valiantness is so much worth, that it must countervail your trespass, and be taken for your excuse; and shame have they that bear you any evil will therefore. Ye shall return again home to your house; and then my pleasure is that ye deliver your prisoner to the queen my wife; and in a reward I assign you, near to your house, where as ye think best yourself, five hundred pound sterling of yearly rent, to you and your heirs for ever; and here I make you squire for my body.' Then the third day he departed, and returned again into England; and when he came home to his own house, he assembled together his friends and kin, and so they took the king of Scots, and rode with him to the city of York, and there, from the king his lord, he presented the king of Scots to the queen, and excused him so largely, that the queen and her council were content."*

According to the tradition in the family of Copland, David's captor had another motive for refusing to deliver his prisoner to the queen. We are told that the Scottish king expressed extreme reluctance at being given up as a prisoner to a woman, and that he implored Copland to deliver him to nobody but the king. The readiness with which he complied with this request, and the attention which he showed to the comforts of his prisoner, are said to have gained so much upon David's favour, that he rewarded him with a grant of lands in Roxburghshire. King Edward had made Copland a banneret; and, in remembrance of his exploit at Neville's Cross, he is said to have changed the arms on his shield from a cross sable (St. George's) on a white field, to St. Andrew's Cross, with a mullet in the centre, and to have assumed for his crest a knight on horseback galloping, with the motto VICI.†

Froissart's account that John of Copland delivered David to the queen in person is not correct. We know from the more accurate records, that the Scottish king had been surrendered to Ralph de Neville, probably as sheriff of Northumberland, who delivered his prisoner at York to Thomas de Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire. It was not till the 2nd of January, 1347, that Rokeby delivered him into the custody of John Darcy, the constable of the Tower of London. It is said that the delay was caused by the danger of moving the captive until he had recovered from his wounds. The king and the other prisoners were led in great pomp through London as a spectacle to the citizens. They were attended with a guard of twenty thousand men-at-arms, David himself being mounted on a tall black courser, to make him more conspicuous to the Londoners.

King David seems never to have forgiven the steward for his conduct in leaving the field of battle without attempting his rescue. But it was perhaps fortunate he acted as he did, for the few nobles who escaped slaughter or captivity immediately chose him guardian of Scotland, and his prudence and vigilance alone saved his country from utter ruin. Roxburgh castle was immediately surrendered to Henry Percy and Ralph de Neville, and the south of Scotland was soon overrun by the English, who now claimed the southern districts of Scotland, and advanced the line of the English frontier till it extended from Carlops to Crosscryne. Baliol, who had held a command in the English army at Neville's Cross, pushed forwards to the shores of the Solway, and made the castle of Caerlaverock his residence, whence, assisted by Percy and Neville, he carried his merciless ravages over the country as far as Glasgow.

* Froissart believed that queen Philippa herself was present in the north, that she assembled the army and reviewed it in person, that she went to Newcastle to wait the result, and that she returned to the field of battle after it was won. All this seems to be entirely contradicted by the contemporary accounts and the authentic chroniclers of these events.

† These are still the bearings claimed by his descendant, James Copland, M.D., F.R.S., &c., of London, from whom I have derived these traditionary anecdotes of his family. In Minot's song of exultation over the victory of Neville's Cross, written amid the triumph of his countrymen over this great event, we find the following rather ludicrous allusion to Copland's exploits in the field:—

When sir David the Bruce
Satt on his stede,
He said of all Ingland
Haved he no drede;
But hinde (*gentle*) John of Coupland,
A wight (*good*) man in wede (*clothing*),
Talked to David,
And kend (*taught*) him his crede.
Thare was sir David
So dughty in his dede,
The faire toure of Londen
Haved he to mede.

CHAPTER X.

KING EDWARD'S DESIGNS UPON SCOTLAND; BORDER WARFARE; ATTEMPT ON BERWICK; INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY KING EDWARD; LIBERATION OF DAVID, AND A LONG TRUCE.

After these successes, king Edward followed a bolder line of policy, and, although the name of Baliol was still used when it served his purposes, it was evident that his ultimate intention was to annex Scotland to his own dominions. He already treated it as a conquered country, and appointed an English justiciary to govern it. Three barons, the lords Lucy, Dacre, and Umfraville, were appointed as a commission for receiving the fealty of the new subjects. To strike terror into those who refused, the English king caused two of the noblest prisoners taken at the battle of Neville's Cross to be brought to trial on a charge of high treason, pretending that they had been taken in arms against their liege lord, because they had formerly taken the oath of fealty to him. The court condemned them both, and Menteith suffered the penalty of treason, with all its revolting circumstances. The earl of Fife was pardoned on account of his relationship to Edward I. This was followed by other acts of sovereignty, such as the resumption into the hands of the crown of all estates in Scotland given to English subjects, and various other seizures and confiscations. It was only his distress for money, and his ambitious designs against France, that hindered Edward at this moment from marching with an army into Scotland, and taking formal possession of it.

Meanwhile the steward of Scotland, relinquishing all attempts to hold the southern counties, did all in his power to govern and place in security the country to the north of the Forth. He was, fortunately, assisted at this moment by William earl of Douglas, the nephew of the good sir James, who returned from France, where he had added experience in arms to the military talents which seemed so peculiar to his family. This chief, after expelling the English from Douglasdale, soon recovered also the districts of Ettrick and Teviotdale. Another fortunate circumstance for the steward was, that Edward, after some negotiation, agreed to a truce with Scotland, partly for the purpose of arranging the ransoms of his prisoners, from which he intended to recruit his exhausted coffers, and partly to allow him to devote himself to his continental affairs. This truce was renewed from time to time during six years, and still David remained in captivity, for Edward demanded a greater sum for his liberty than the Scottish people were willing to bind themselves to pay. During this time Edward attempted with success to draw some of the principal captives into a plot for the subjugation of Scotland to his sovereignty, and a dark intrigue was carried on for the object of obtaining a surrender of their independence from the Scottish people. On this occasion David Bruce and the knight of Liddesdale joined in betraying their country. After six years of fruitless negotiation for his ransom, the Scottish king was allowed to revisit Scotland on his parole, seven youths of the noblest Scottish families having been delivered as hostages for his return to prison. It is believed that the object of David's mission to Scotland was to persuade his countrymen to submit to king Edward; but failing in this, he returned to England, and the documents are still preserved by which he now, in 1352, recognised the king of England as his lord paramount, and agreed to take the oaths of homage to him. The knight of Liddesdale followed the example of his sovereign, and in reward for the zeal with which he entered into these intrigues, he recovered his liberty, and received from the king of England a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and of other possessions in Annandale. In return he bound himself never to assist either Scotland or any other kingdom against the king of England, and to allow the English a free passage through his lands whenever they went to invade Scotland.

The knight of Liddesdale did not live long to serve his new master. He had reckoned upon no difficulty in prevailing on his kinsman, the earl of Douglas, to join in the intrigue, but in this he was disappointed; and that baron, fully informed of Liddesdale's designs, invaded the district of Galloway, while Roger Kirkpatrick overran Liddesdale, and reduced the castles of Caerlaverock and Dalswinton, and the steward himself established his head-quar-

ters in Annandale, to keep that district in obedience. The knight of Liddesdale thus found himself defeated in the very districts where his own influence chiefly lay, and the consequence was a deadly feud between him and his kinsman, the earl William. The latter is said further to have suspected his countess of a partiality for the knight, and he watched his opportunity when Liddesdale was hunting in Ettrick forest, and there suddenly beset and slew him at a place called Galford. The body of the murdered baron was carried to a chapel in the forest, where it lay till it was transported to Melrose for burial. The Douglasses had long been accustomed to look upon the knight of Liddesdale as the head of their clan, and, although his late treason to his country had diminished his general popularity, his murder produced a great sensation. Long afterwards his fate and the love of the countess continued to be sung in popular ballads.

Still negotiations were carried on for David's liberation, though they proceeded coldly and slowly. The Scots themselves, at least those who ruled the kingdom, seemed less anxious for his return. They knew that he had submitted to king Edward, and reports arrived from time to time how their king was dazzled with Edward's glory, and was becoming attached to the land of his captivity. They heard that he was habituating himself to the luxuries of the English capital, and that he had formed a connexion with an English lady named Catherine Mortimer. The steward looked forward with apprehension to the moment when he should be obliged to surrender the supreme power into the hands of a king whom he knew to be his enemy, and the great lords of his party, the Scottish patriots, partook in his alarm. Yet, although they were not willing to undergo the burthen which the payment of the king's ransom would entail upon them, the people in general wished for the return of their king. At length, in the July of 1354, it was agreed by a treaty concluded at Newcastle, that the king's ransom should be ninety thousand marks, and that it should be paid in nine annual payments of ten thousand marks each.

But before this treaty was ratified, a French ambassador, Eugène de Garencières, a man already known in Scotland, arrived at the head of a body of sixty knights, bringing a considerable sum of money, which he distributed among the Scottish nobles. His object was to urge the Scots into a new war with England, and to stop the progress of the treaty. The latter was unpopular with the people and with the patriotic leaders, and had not been ratified by the regent; and the French envoy found no difficulty in persuading them to abandon the treaty altogether, and prepare for war as soon as the truce should be expired. The breaking off of negotiations under such circumstances, was much the same thing as an open declaration of hostilities, and the English, to show how they interpreted it, paid no further attention to the truce, but, crossing the border, proceeded to lay waste the territory of the earl of March. The earls of March and Douglas immediately raised their forces to retaliate on the English border, and, with Eugène de Garencières and his Frenchmen, marched to a strong pass near Nesbit Moor, where the nature of the country was favourable to an ambuscade. They sent thence sir William Ramsay, of Dalhousie, with four hundred men, to plunder the village of Norham and the country around. Norham castle, being one of the most important posts on the eastern marches, had always a strong garrison, and it was at this time commanded by a brave knight, sir Thomas Grey. It was a principal object of the expedition of the Scottish chiefs to draw Grey and his garrison into an ambush, and after plundering the neighbourhood, the small body of Scots returned with their booty under the walls of the castle, to provoke the governor. Grey, with sir James Dacre, and a select body of men-at-arms, immediately issued from the castle to attack the plundering party. Ramsay and his men made a feigned resistance, and then fled, and the English following them closely and eagerly, suddenly found themselves, on turning the foot of a mountain cliff, in face of an overwhelming force, marshalled under the banners of Douglas. To retreat was impossible, and to fight was little better than an act of desperation. But sir Thomas Grey was a man endued with all the chivalrous spirit of the age; he called for his son, and knighted him on the field, and then ordering his men-at-arms to dismount, he engaged the whole Scottish force, and only yielded after a gallant struggle. History has recorded an act of one of the French knights, more barbarous even than the most ferocious deeds of the Scottish chief-

tains. He deliberately purchased from the Scots some of their prisoners, and leading them to a lone part of the mountain, murdered them in cold blood. When asked for the reason of this unknightly conduct, he said he did it to revenge the death of his father, who had been killed in the war with the English in France.

The Scots now resolved upon making an attempt upon Berwick. As that important town was too strong to be attacked openly, it was necessary again to resort to stratagem. The earls of Angus and March collected a strong naval force, and taking advantage of a dark night in the November of 1355, they ran their ships up the river, and landing not far from the town, reached the foot of the walls. Having prepared everything for the completion of their enterprise, they scaled the walls at daybreak, and after slaying the governor, sir Alexander Ogle, and some of his men, they gained possession of the town, which they plundered, and obtained an immense booty. The governor of the castle, Copland, made a sally to drive them out, but he was repulsed, and in his retreat through the Douglas tower, which formed the communication between the town and the castle, he was so closely pressed by the Scots, that they made themselves master of that outwork, and, flushed with their success, proceeded to attack the castle itself. But they found it impregnable, and the steward of Scotland arriving in haste to be a witness of the success of his party, was so convinced of the uselessness of attempting the castle, that he departed with his men, leaving only a small party to keep possession of the town.

The only effect of these exploits was to draw down on Scotland the full vengeance of king Edward. He hastened home from Calais, bringing with him many of the veteran officers who had served under him in the wars in France, and, halting for three days in his metropolis, appeared before Berwick at the head of an army said by the Scottish annalists to have numbered eighty thousand men. He immediately entered the castle, and made preparations for storming the town, when the small force left by the steward capitulated, and was permitted to retire into Scotland.

Edward now marched with this formidable army into Scotland; and he ordered the fleet to sail into the Forth, and there await his movements. The English monarch seems now to have resolved, without further dissimulation of his intentions, to reduce Scotland to an English province. On his arrival at Roxburgh, Baliol, who latterly had been allowed to play only a very secondary part, presented himself before him, and, with all the necessary ceremonies, resigned the kingdom of Scotland into his hands. In return he received from Edward a pension of two thousand pounds a-year, and during the few remaining years of his life, he held the rank of an English baron. Edward now laid claim to Scotland by a double title, the gift of one of its rival kings, and the acknowledgment of feudal sovereignty from the other, and he gave orders for increasing his force, in such a manner as to overcome all opposition. We are told, that when he encamped at Roxburgh, his army covered an extent of twenty leagues. To such a force Scotland had nothing to oppose in the field, and necessity, as well as wisdom, obliged the patriotic leaders to follow the advice of king Robert Bruce. Orders were given to the population to leave the open country, carrying away all their valuable property, and burning and destroying the provisions and forage which could not easily be removed, and all who were capable of bearing arms, were directed to assemble in the woods and mountain-passes, to watch the enemy, and be ready to attack his convoys and foraging parties. To gain time to carry these orders into effect, the earl of Douglas sought Edward's camp, and pretending that he hoped, by means of the steward, to prevail upon the whole Scottish nation to acknowledge his title, he succeeded in obtaining ten days' truce. After amusing the king with delusive promises, and pretended communications from the Scottish chieftains, until the truce was nearly expired, Douglas suddenly disappeared from the English camp. Edward, furious at being thus outwitted, ordered his army to advance, and wreaked his vengeance on the unhappy country through which he passed. Neither town nor village, nor even the churches and monastic buildings were spared, but all were remorselessly delivered to the flames, and this invasion, which took place in January and February, 1356, was long remembered as the "burnt candlemas." But the English army began soon to run short of provisions, and even to feel the effects of famine, for as to plunder there was none, so well had the Scottish inhabitants executed their orders to clear the country. The fleet, which was expected

to supply their wants, delayed its appearance, although it was known to have sailed from Berwick. After waiting ten days anxiously at Haddington, Edward pushed on to Edinburgh, hoping to hear some intelligence of it at Leith, and there, to his dismay, he learnt that his ships had been dispersed, and many of them destroyed by a tempest. There was now no alternative but a retreat, and orders were given for this purpose without delay. It was now that the Scots began to show themselves from the woods and mountains, and many of the English soldiers, who in the disorders of the retreat, had quitted the main body, were cut off and slain. The king himself had a narrow escape in passing through the forest of Melrose. At length, however, he reached Carlisle safely, and dismissed his army.

Edward's invasion had thus been totally unsuccessful, but it had nevertheless been a severe visitation for Scotland, the rulers of which seem, at this moment, to have been more desirous of obtaining peace than of attempting reprisals. Douglas, seeing no chance of further hostilities at home, passed over to France to seek that active service which seems to have become a necessary part of his existence, and fought in the French ranks at the battle of Poictiers. Escaping from the carnage of that dreadful defeat, he returned to Scotland, and found his countrymen busily occupied in their pacific negotiations. A meeting between commissioners of the two kingdoms, to arrange the question of David's ransom, had been appointed to take place at Berwick, preparatory to which the regent held a parliament at Edinburgh, on the 26th of September. Commissioners were there chosen, fully empowered to treat and conclude in the matter of the ransom of the king, and they proceeded in great state to Berwick on the appointed day. The Scottish commissioners were, on the part of the clergy, the bishops of St. Andrew's, Caithness, and Brechin, and, on the part of the regent and the barons, the earls of March, Angus, and Sutherland, sir Thomas de Moray, sir William Livingstone, and sir Robert Erskine. There came, as commissioners on the part of England, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the lords Percy, Neville, Scrope, and Musgrave. The proceedings on this occasion were carried on with an ostentatious magnificence which had seldom been seen in the transactions between the two countries, nor were the Scots, in this respect, behindhand with their neighbours. The bishop of St. Andrew's alone had a train of thirty knights, with their squires and company, and the other commissioners had a similar attendance. To crown the whole, the captive monarch was carried to Berwick, escorted by the whole military array of Northumberland.

All these preparations showed that it was now the will and intention of both parties to bring the negotiation to a conclusion, and accordingly king David, after an imprisonment of eleven years, was at length restored to his kingdom. The ransom was now fixed at a hundred thousand pounds, a sum which was then equivalent to about twelve hundred thousand pounds of modern money; but it was made more easy to the Scots by the arrangement that it was to be paid by annual instalments of only four thousand pounds each. Twenty youths, heirs of the first families in Scotland, were delivered into Edward's hands as hostages for the regular payment of these sums of money. The son of the steward was one of these hostages. It was further stipulated, that three of the principal nobles of the kingdom should proceed to England by turns as additional hostages; and if, at any one of the terms fixed for payment of the instalments, the Scots should fail to pay, David was to return to his imprisonment. At the same time a ten years' truce was agreed to, during which free commercial intercourse was to take place between the two countries, no hostile attempt of any kind was to be made by one against the other, and no subject of the one was to be taken into allegiance by the other.

The treaty was in every respect an advantageous one for the king of England, not only in respect of the terms of the ransom, but because it was calculated to encourage a friendly intercourse between the two countries, which must facilitate his future intrigues.

David's first public act was to call a parliament at Scone. It was on this occasion that an incident occurred which exhibited strongly to the Scots the unpopular character of their king. As he was proceeding in state to the hall where the parliament assembled, the crowd pressed upon him to greet and welcome him on his return, until he was incommoded and interrupted in his progress. Instead of expressing his satisfaction at the hearty though rude

method in which his subjects expressed their joy, David burst into a fit of anger, and seizing a mace from one of his attendants, he brandished it furiously, threatening to beat down all who again approached his person. This action seems to have been long remembered by the Scots, and never forgiven. The first business of this parliament was to provide for the payment of the king's ransom. The first provision, imitated from what had been once attempted in England, was to make the king a wool merchant, by ordering that all the wool and wool-fells of the kingdom should be sold to him at the rate of four marks the sack of wool, upon which he, selling it again at a high price to the foreign merchants, realised a considerable sum of money by this traffic. Certain commissioners were then appointed on their oaths, to make a minute and accurate survey of the rents and produce of all the lands in the kingdom, with a list of the names of the proprietors. White sheep, domestic horses, oxen, and household furniture were excepted from the account to be given in by these commissioners; but the survey was to be so minute in its details, that the names of all mechanics, tradesmen, and artificers were to be entered in it, in such a manner that the government might ascertain what tax should be paid on the real value of their property, and what sum each person should be expected to contribute of his own free will. All persons were strictly forbidden, by proclamation, to sell or export any sheep or lambs during the time that the commissioners were occupied in making this survey; to prevent which, officers were stationed on the borders, who were to seize every hoof or fleece attempted to be carried off, and confiscate it to the king's use. Strong measures were also taken to hinder individuals from evading in any way this tax; and the king's officers and tax-gatherers who committed any deceit or fraud were threatened with heavy punishment. It was next provided that in each county there should be good and sufficient sheriffs, coroners, bailies, and other officers. All lands, rents, or customs which belonged originally to the king, to whatever persons they might have been granted, were to be resumed, in order that the whole of the royal lands should continue untouched. This, and another enactment much to the same effect, were intended not only to enable the crown to support its dignity without further taxing the people, but also to recall the various grants of crown lands and appointments which the various individuals who had from time to time during the king's captivity made to their friends and followers. It appears from the old chroniclers that after the battle of Neville's Cross, the kingdom was thrown into such confusion, that the family feuds broke out with unrestrained violence, and nothing was heard of but private wars, homicides, and rapine. It is even intimated that these misdeeds were encouraged by the example of the steward himself, against whom some of the enactments of this parliament seem to have been partly directed. By one of these it was ordered, that all the lands, possessions, and goods of the homicides, after the battle just mentioned, who had not yet bound themselves to obey the law of the land, should be placed in the hands of the king, until they gave sufficient security to obey the law; and that all pardons or remissions granted to persons of this description by the governors of the kingdom during the absence of the king, should not be ratified, except at the royal pleasure. And it was also provided that, if any person, after the captivity of the king, had resigned to the regent any tenement which he held of the crown in chief, which property had been bestowed upon another who had alienated it in whole or in part without the royal permission, all such tenements should again revert to the crown. These enactments must have given great offence to many of the nobles and others who had enriched themselves during the late disorders, and they must have been in many respects disagreeable to the people, yet they appear to have been carried without any opposition. It has been supposed indeed that some of the nobles most affected by them kept away from the parliament, which approved entirely of the treaty settling the ransom of the king.

CHAPTER XI.

INTRIGUES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE; MURDER OF THE KING'S MISTRESS; JEALOUSY BETWEEN DAVID AND THE STEWARD; MARGARET LOGY; NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

Edward had experienced the difficulty of reducing Scotland by force, and he now seems to have wished to unite it with England by a wiser policy of conciliation, and he sought by every method to ingratiate himself with its prelates and nobility, as well as with the people at large. He gave protections and immunities to the Scottish merchants trading with England, who were everywhere received with favour; and he encouraged the Scottish youths to frequent the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the monks to visit English shrines, and associate in friendly intercourse with their religious brethren in this country. But there was a concealed object under all Edward's pacific overtures, which has only been disclosed in modern times by examining and comparing such of the secret records of these transactions as remain. David had lost his feelings of patriotism during his long residence in foreign lands; he had no love for his people, whose rough manners seem to have disgusted him, and he secretly hated the steward, who had been appointed the next heir to the throne. On the other hand, he had formed an attachment for English manners and English society, and he had allowed king Edward gradually to gain a great influence over his mind. Of this Edward was not slow to take advantage, and we find that the Scottish king had already lent himself to a plot of which the object was to place the crown after his death on the head of one of the English princes. It was on this account that the king of England now encouraged with such apparent sincerity the friendly intercourse between the two countries, under cover of which he was secretly carrying on an intrigue to deprive the steward of a succession which had been assured to him by the Scottish parliament, in case of the death of David without children. There seems to be no reason for doubting that many of the Scottish prelates and nobility had been gained over to Edward's designs. Some of them made frequent and mysterious journeys to England, and had private interviews with the king. Within a short time after David's delivery from captivity, Edward's sister, queen Joane, made two visits to the English court, for treating on certain subjects which are not specified, and her husband David soon afterwards repaired to England in person. After his return, the bishop of St. Andrew's, the earl of March, the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, and sir William Livingstone, were employed in frequent missions which were conducted with great secrecy; and there can be no doubt that some at least of these noblemen had entered fully into the designs of the English king.

One result of this intercourse was to give the young Scottish nobility and gentry a taste for travel and for chivalrous adventure, for the court of England was at this time the most chivalrous and splendid court in Europe. The barons sent by David on his missions thither, always led with them a numerous train of knights and esquires, and during the time the former were occupied in secret negotiations with the king, their followers joined cordially and joyfully in the fêtes and amusements of the court. It soon became fashionable among the Scottish knights to visit the continent and take part in the foreign wars. The earl of Mar, with a retinue of twenty-four knights and their esquires, entered the service of England, and accompanied Edward and his army to France. Sir William Keith (the marshal of Scotland), sir William Sinclair lord of Roslin, sir Alexander de Lindesay, sir Robert Gifford, and sir Alexander Montgomery, each with a train of sixty horse and a strong body of foot, had, a short time before, passed through England on their way to the continent to seek military service wherever they might find it to their liking. Scotland was thus deprived for a while of many of her best leaders, and their absence favoured the intrigues which were carried on against her independence.

The example of the earl of Mar found many imitators, and it may naturally be supposed that the jealousy of the French, whose king, captured at Poictiers, was now a prisoner in England, would be excited at seeing their great enemy not only relieved from the embarrassments of a Scottish war,

but actually recruiting his own army with Scottish combatants, and they soon began a series of counter-intrigues in Scotland. The party with whom the French regent secretly leagued himself was, as might be expected, that of the steward and his friends. David had already paid the first instalment of his ransom; the money had been raised not without difficulty, and now, as the term for the payment of the second approached, that difficulty was greatly increased. He had already given offence to the clergy, by levying taxes upon the ecclesiastical body, yet it seemed almost impossible to press from his exhausted subjects money sufficient to meet his demand. In despair, he yielded to the advice of the steward's party, and entered into a secret negotiation with the regent of France; and with a want of sincerity which he showed more than on other occasions, in spite of his secret transactions with king Edward and his leaning to England, he agreed to make war upon England, if France would advance him the money in which he was in present need. The French excused themselves from giving him full satisfaction in his demands, on account of the exhausted state of their country, and the captivity of their king and many of his principal nobles, but they agreed to contribute the sum of fifty thousand marks towards the payment of the ransom, on condition that the Scots should renew the war with England, and that the old treaty of alliance between France and England should be ratified. But this treaty, though apparently completed, was never executed by either party. In the ranks of the army which now invaded France were many of the bravest Scottish barons, and when this campaign ended in the treaty of Bretigny, the French, sacrificing the Scots, agreed to renounce all alliance they had already formed with them, and engaged never, in future, to enter into any treaty with Scotland against England. This transaction was a severe blow to the steward's party in Scotland, and gave strength to the party which was intriguing for the English succession.

An act of great atrocity was shortly afterwards perpetrated, that increased the bitterness of David's hatred to the party which supported the steward. Among the Scottish prisoners in England who had promised king Edward their allegiance and support, was the earl of Angus. This daring adventurer had been liberated on condition of assisting Edward in his French expedition with four ships of war, which he commissioned from the Flemings, but when he was at liberty, he hurried to Scotland, and deserting king Edward, remained there to take an active part in the dark feuds and intrigues which then prevailed among his fellow barons. Scotland was soon afterwards visited successively by devastating floods, and by a still more fatal pestilence, and the latter made such havoc in the higher ranks of society, that David retired for his own safety and to avoid the melancholy sights which met his eyes on all sides in the south, as far north as Kinross, in Moray, where, for a while, he established his court. David had taken to Scotland with him his beautiful English mistress, Catherine Mortimer, who had incurred the hatred of the Scottish nobles opposed to England, and, as it appears, especially that of the earl of Angus. Perhaps she was suspected of exerting her influence over the king to bind him more and more to the English politics. Be this as it may, a design was formed against her life, and the earl of Angus hired two ruffians, named Hulle and Dewar, to carry their base purpose into effect. They went to the private residence of the lady, and, assuring her that they were sent by the king to bring her to court, they succeeded in persuading her to trust herself to their guidance. She accordingly mounted a horse, and rode forwards in their company. But when they had entered on the desolate moorlands to the north of Melrose, and had reached a solitary spot where her cries could bring none to her assistance, she was dragged from her horse, and Hulle dispatched her with his dagger. This barbarous deed exasperated the king in the highest degree, and he caused the earl of Angus to be immediately seized and thrown into prison in Dumbarton castle, where he was attacked by the plague and died.

This base murder occurred in the year 1360, and appears to have driven him to support more decidedly and more resolutely the plans of the English king, for towards the end of that year, the secret negotiations between David and Edward became more close and frequent. Men respected for integrity as well as talents, the bishops of St. Andrews and Brechin, the archdeacon of Lothian, the earls of March and Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, and sir John Preston, were sent on a secret mission to England

on matters which were never publicly stated. The steward, who had many reasons for suspecting the ultimate object of all these missions, and who was alarmed lest he should eventually be deprived of the succession, leagued strongly with his friends to oppose it, and their opposition was shown in the most uncompromising manner. Nevertheless, the feeling in favour of the English alliance had been decidedly gaining ground among the people generally, for it was evident to every body that Scotland had been rapidly improving during the free intercourse between the two countries. The Scottish merchants carried on a very lucrative traffic with England, and through England with the continent, and riches gradually flowed into the country, and gave encouragement to agriculture and manufactures; and while the gentry brought the refinements of civilization from the English court, their youths came home endued with the learning of the English schools and universities. In the Scottish districts which remained in the hands of the English, the population met with an indulgent treatment, which could not fail to make them feel grateful to English rule, while their ancient customs and privileges were preserved and respected. For some years this pacific intercourse between the two kingdoms was carried on without interruption, and the truce was respected and renewed. In 1362, the bishops of St. Andrews and Brechin, the archdeacon of Lothian, sir Robert Erskine, and sir Norman Lesley, were sent on another secret mission to England, and their arrival at the court of king Edward was followed by a public negotiation for a final and permanent peace between the two countries, but it led to no immediate results. At this time, Edward Baliol lay upon his deathbed; and queen Joane, who had been residing at her brother's court, died in Hertford castle, leaving David a widower. It now appeared what had been, at least, partly the object of so many secret missions and negotiations; for the two kings determined to seize this as the moment for bringing forward a new plan for establishing the succession to the throne of Scotland, in case of David's death without children, which seemed a highly probable event.

In his jealousy of the steward, David appears to have been ready to adopt any plan that was likely to cut him off from the succession. He called a parliament which met at Scone at the beginning of March, 1363, and laid before it the terms of peace which he said had been proposed by king Edward, and which he strongly recommended for their adoption. These were, that on his death childless, they should choose for his successor on the throne one of Edward's sons—he recommended especially Lionel, the third son of the English king, as the one best qualified to govern them according to the spirit of their own laws and to protect their independence. On this condition, he said, the English king would remit the ransom, and was ready to disclaim, on the part of himself and his heirs, all attempt, in future to establish a right to the kingdom of Scotland. The parliament at once met this proposal by an indignant refusal; they said they would never consent to an Englishman reigning over them; the estates of the realm had by a solemn act, which they would not break, placed the succession in the steward, if David had no heirs of his own body; yet they declared that peace was their earnest desire, and that they were willing to make every sacrifice to obtain it, consistent with their honour and independence. At first David could hardly conceal his anger at this reply, but he soon repressed his feelings, and affected to be satisfied. The parliament then proceeded to show that its desire for a lasting peace went further than empty words, and sir Robert Erskine, the archdeacon of Lothian (Wardlaw), and Gilbert Armstrong, were appointed the commissioners of the parliament to treat on this subject. The nobles at the same time declared that they would use every exertion to raise the sum required for payment of the ransom, and they would not only enforce the strict observance of the truce, but that they were ready to make amends for the infringement of it by the party hostile to the peace, meaning, no doubt, that which had the steward for its head.

This open declaration of the wish to change the succession had given the steward great alarm, and he lost no time in calling his friends together. They entered into a league for the purpose of forcing the king to relinquish all design of altering the succession, or, as they did not conceal, of driving him from the throne, and the nobles of this party, including several, such as the earl of Douglas, who had hitherto been acting with the king, entered into bonds of mutual defence. They then assembled their followers in arms, and invading the lands of those who remained faithful in their allegiance to

the king, they threw them into prison, and ravaged and plundered their possessions. They even carried their hostilities so far as to attack and oppress the towns and trading burghs which were flourishing in consequence of the encouragement that had been given them to trade with England. Provoked by this rebellion, David showed unusual activity and decision. With the assistance, it is supposed, of the king of England and of the English barons who held lands in the southern districts, he assembled an army much more numerous than the forces of the insurgent chiefs, and marched directly against them. The steward perceived now the danger in which he had placed himself. With little hopes of ultimate success if he pushed matters to extremities, he saw that if once proclaimed a rebel to the parliament, his hopes of the succession would be destroyed, while, as it was, all the chances were in his favour. Accordingly, on the approach of the royal army, the steward and his confederates laid down their arms, and submitted, and in a full assembly of the Scottish nobility at Inchmurdach, on the 14th of May, 1363, their bonds were renounced and cancelled, and the steward, renewing his oath of fealty to David, promised publicly that he would in future be obedient to the king, and defend him and his ministers against all opposition, under the penalty of forfeiting his lands and possessions and all title to the succession, and of being accounted a perjured knight. The king, rejoiced at having so easily suppressed a dangerous rebellion, made a formal recognition of the steward's title, and conferred the earldom of Carrick on his eldest son.

It was not long, however, before new causes of distrust between the king and his subjects arose. The former sunk quickly from his temporary exertion into the indulgence of his natural love of pleasure and quiet, and it was at this moment that he met with the beautiful Margaret Logie, the daughter of John de Logie, one of the lesser Scottish barons. David, who had never been taught to restrain his passions, became violently enamoured of this lady, and determined to possess her at any sacrifice. When he found that there was no other way of ensuring success, he made her, by a public marriage, queen of Scotland. The steward was again alarmed, for this new alliance might not only destroy all his prospect of the throne, but it might substitute in his place a boy who on one side, would be only of plebeian origin; and the nobles were indignant at the disrespect shown to the high blood which they all boasted, by this low marriage. Some new confederacy seems to have been formed, but all we know of it is, that the king caused the steward of Scotland and his son, Alexander lord of Badenoch, to be seized and thrown into prison, and that he himself, disgusted with the turbulence of his subjects, went into England on a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, while the queen, with an escort of thirty knights, proceeded on a similar errand to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Other causes of uneasiness tormented David's mind at this time. With all the efforts of his parliament and subjects, he was unable to pay with punctuality the instalments of his ransom, and he was now so much in arrear, that it was only by king Edward's indulgence he was not remanded to his prison in the tower of London. This circumstance, joined with the consciousness that he was neither loved nor respected by his subjects, was galling to his spirit, and he was led again to attempt to relieve himself from the ransom by a new conspiracy with Edward to make Scotland an appendage of the crown of England. On this occasion the introductory steps were taken with more formality, though still with secrecy. The two kings, with their privy councillors on each side, held a meeting at Westminster on the 26th of November, 1363. The document recording the articles agreed to at this conference is preserved, and has been printed in that mass of valuable historical records, Rymer's *Fœdera*. It begins by stating, that the articles thus agreed to were to be considered as secret, and not binding to either party, but that David was to make another experiment on the sentiments of his countrymen, and if possible persuade them to accept them, as the best means of securing perpetual peace and union between the two countries. These articles were in substance that if David died without heirs male of his body, the king of England and his heirs should succeed to the throne of Scotland, upon which that kingdom was to be restored to its integrity as it existed at the time of the death of Robert Bruce, and the ransom was to be cancelled. Edward further engaged solemnly that he would preserve unimpaired the laws and usages of Scotland, which kingdom was to be preserved distinct and entire, by name and title of a separate state.

The kings of England were to be crowned kings of Scotland at Scone, upon the ancient stone seat, which was to be carried back from England, the ceremony to be performed by Scottish prelates; and all parliaments regarding Scottish affairs were to be called and held within the kingdom of Scotland. The subjects of Scotland were never to be called upon to answer to any suit except within their own courts, and according to the laws of their own country. The king of England was to take a solemn oath that, as king of Scotland, he would preserve inviolate the rights and immunities of the church of Scotland, which was to be subject to no other external jurisdiction but that of the pope. Edward promised further that he would give no ecclesiastical benefices or dignities, nor civil or military offices, in Scotland, to any but true subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, and that, for Scottish affairs, he would take his councillors only from the nobles and lords of Scotland. He promised also to respect the present possessors of property, immunities, or privileges, and that he would make no revocations of former grants, especially of those made by Robert Bruce. Advantages were held out to the Scottish merchants; and baits were not spared to gain over the other classes of society.

David was to report to the king of England the sentiments of his people on the subject of this arrangement within fifteen days after the following Easter (1364), but we are quite ignorant if any further steps were taken. It is certain that this affair was never made public in either country, and that it was totally unknown to the old historians. During the time of this secret negotiation, a public conference was held with the Scottish commissioners, who had also repaired to England, for the establishment of a peace; and a parliament was called, to meet at Perth, in the beginning of the year, to hear their report of the proceedings. David, who had remained with his queen at London, to partake in the splendid festivities which celebrated the presence at the English court of three other kings, those of France, Cyprus, and Denmark, also returned to Scotland to meet his parliament, which assembled on the 13th of January, 1364. The embarrassments of the nation became there a subject of serious consideration, and the parliament showed an earnest desire to adopt any honourable means of relieving their country from its burthens, and obtaining a permanent peace and alliance with England. They declared their readiness to restore their estates in Scotland to all the disinherited lords; and offered to settle on the youngest son of the king of England the Isle of Man and Edward Baliol's inheritance in Galloway, as an equivalent for the ransom. If this offer were accepted, they declared their readiness to assist Edward in his Irish war, by sending a strong force against the enemies of the English in that island. If these conditions were not accepted as the basis of a treaty, they said that, rather than renounce all hopes of a just and lasting peace, they were agreed that the ransom should be paid, if moderate intervals between each term of payment were allowed, and on the understanding that a perpetual union and alliance should take place between the two nations, if not on terms of a perfect equality of power, at least on such conditions as should in no degree compromise the freedom and independence of their country. They even agreed to combine with these conditions the restoration of the disinherited lords, the grant of the Isle of Man and Baliol's estates in Galloway to king Edward's son, and the invasion of Ireland, provided that a reasonable deduction were made from the sum total of the ransom. Provisions were made for raising additional taxes to meet the necessary payments towards the ransom; and the lords and barons assembled in parliament engaged solemnly to ratify any treaty which their plenipotentiaries should now make with the English king or his council. The steward of Scotland and his eldest son, with some of the principal lords of all parties, were present on this occasion, with a full attendance of the prelates, minor barons, and representatives of the burghs. They concluded their proceedings by all taking an oath that they would support and defend all these resolutions, and consider all who opposed them or refused to submit to them as rebels against the Scottish crown, and treat them as such.

The resolutions of the Scottish parliament naturally led to a new negotiation with England, and certain heads of a treaty of peace were agreed to as preliminaries, on the strength of which king Edward renewed the truce for four years, from the 20th of March, 1365. It was now proposed that there should be a twenty-five years' truce between the two kingdoms, and that Scotland

should pay a sum of a hundred thousand pounds in full of all demand for the ransom. Immediately after the renewal of the truce, a Scottish parliament was held at Perth, at which there was a large assembly of prelates with the greater earls and barons. The same anxious desire was again shown for the eventual conclusion of peace with England, with a willingness to make large concessions for the purpose of obtaining it. Edward believed that the earnestness shown in these negotiations by the Scots arose from their conscious weakness and from the helplessly exhausted state of the kingdom, and he became more oppressive in his demands. Yet, on the other hand, he redoubled his exertions to ingratiate himself with the middle and lower ranks of the Scottish people, by favouring their commerce and manufactures, and making them experience the advantages of peace over war, which to them especially had brought so many sufferings. The secret intercourse between the two kings continued as active as ever; and there appears to be no room for doubt that several of the greater barons had entered warmly into Edward's projects. They were continually drawn into England under pretence of pious pilgrimages or visits of pleasure, which, while they injured the resources of Scotland at the time by carrying its money out of the country, contributed to improve its people in politeness and civilization.

Still, in the negotiations, Edward assumed a tone which was calculated to offend the national pride of the Scottish people, and which did much towards counteracting his intrigues. He affected to speak of Robert Bruce as the person pretending to be king of Scotland, and in his various letters of protection to David he evaded the direct use of the royal title by calling him his dear brother and prisoner. He always spoke of Scotland as though it were a part of his dominions, and never abated the rigour of his demands. The spirit of the Scottish people was thus roused into resistance, and on the 8th of May, 1366, during one of David's frequent visits to England, the Scottish parliament met in the monastery of Holyrood, and there declared in the strongest language that they would never listen to Edward's propositions relating to the homage, succession, and dismemberment of the kingdom. They at the same time declared their willingness to submit to still greater privations in order to pay the ransom of the king, and thus relieve the country from a grievous burthen, and one which placed it in a humiliating condition with regard to England. A new proposal for raising money was at the same time suggested, in the vain hope that at the conclusion of the four years' truce they would be able to pay the whole ransom money. At this time the apprehensions of the renewal of the war seem to have been gaining ground, and were increased by the orders sent to the English lords-marchers to put the borders in a state of defence, and to command an array of all fighting men between sixteen and sixty. Both sides were alarmed at these preparations, for while the Scots looked upon them as foreboding a renewal of the war by the English, the latter imagined that the Scots were going to break the truce and invade the border. Amid these symptoms of uneasiness, a very full parliament of the Scottish estates met at Scone, on the 20th of July, and began to discuss earnestly and anxiously the increase of their monetary difficulties by the extravagant expenditure of David and his queen in their continual visits to England, and by the less extravagant but still great expenses of the commissioners employed in negotiations for peace.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE; REBELLION OF THE NORTHERN CLANS; DAVID'S DIVORCE, AND DEATH.

The truce of four years was now soon to expire, and no advance had been made towards establishing the mutual relations of the two countries on a satisfactory foundation. Under these circumstances the Scots determined to make another effort, and they sent the same commissioners to negotiate again. They were specially directed to obtain, if possible, a renewal of the truce for the long period of twenty-five years, and were authorized to make a condition that the Scots should pay annually four thousand pounds until the ransom was entirely cleared off. Arrangements were at the same time made for raising this money, in case their commissioners were successful. At the same time while the people of Scotland were thus heavily taxed to pay the ransom of a king whom they did not love, several acts were passed for the protection of their persons and liberties from oppression. One of these provided for the strict and impartial administration of justice; another provided that the sums of money collected for the king's ransom should not be applied to any other purposes; a third protected the immunities of the church; and a fourth was directed against the exactions of the king's officers and purveyors.

While the estates of the kingdom were thus anxiously exerting themselves for the relief of their exhausted country, some of the lords of the north were embarrassing the government by their turbulence. With the lawless independence of their forefathers, these highland barons set the king's authority at defiance, refusing to obey the summons to take their seat in parliament, or to pay their share of the taxes which it imposed. The principal leaders of this rebellion, which lasted with more or less force during the remainder of David's reign, were the earl of Ross, Hugh of Ross, John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and John de Haye, under whom and their less powerful confederates the extensive districts of Argyle, Athol, Badenoch, Lochaber, and Ross, were in open insurrection. Some of the less important acts of the parliament of Scone were directed against these rebels, and it was forbidden that the Scottish nobles should ride through the land, as they had been accustomed to do, with large trains of armed followers, in an oppressive and extortionate manner, trampling over people's fields in the country, and destroying their crops, and in towns forcing themselves into lodgings, and not paying for their board. The measures now taken against the northern lords were of so little effect, that their rebellion continued unsuppressed two years afterwards, when, at a parliament held at Scone, in the summer of 1368, they were again made the subject of legislation. It is unfortunate that the historical records of the time throw very little light on the internal state of Scotland during this turbulent period. The king and his council seem designedly to have attempted to throw the responsibility of the northern rebellion on the steward of Scotland, the heir-apparent to the throne, whose daughter was married to John of the Isles, one of the most powerful and obstinate of the refractory chieftains. It is not improbable that the steward looked with an eye of satisfaction at a commotion which embarrassed and weakened the power of the king, who he knew was his enemy, and which was a hindrance to the peace with Edward, whose influence he dreaded. The steward's influence in the north was great, and, in accordance with the acts of the parliament of 1368, the king addressed a writ to him and his two sons, the lords of Kyle and Menteith, charging them personally to defend his northern subjects against the rebels. He told the steward that it was his duty to put down a rebellion which threatened to deprive the states of the kingdom of the only safe place of retreat in case of a war with England. John of the Isles, Gillespic Campbell, and John of Lorn, were at the same time summoned to appear before the king and give security for their future pacific conduct, and for their obedience to the acts of parliament. The two former chiefs now submitted; the earls of Mar and Ross with some of their confederates, convinced at last of the danger to which the whole kingdom was exposed, came forward to join heartily in supporting the government; and the steward and his

two sons came and made themselves answerable for the districts of Athol, Strathern, Menteith, and other lands over which their power extended. John of the Isles alone refused to submit, and, in the wild and almost inaccessible seat of his power he set the crown and the parliament at defiance, and continued for months afterwards to hold his own territory in proud independence. The steward undertook to reduce him to obedience, but he failed in the attempt; and, at length, late in the autumn of 1369, David called together his barons, assembled an army, and marched northward against the rebellious chieftain. The approach of the king seems at length to have alarmed the refractory islanders, and when David reached Inverness, he was met by John of the Isles and a numerous party of the highland chiefs who followed his banner, who submitted to his authority and entered into a treaty, binding themselves not only to obey the royal authority and to pay their share of the taxes, but also to assist in putting down by force all others who should at any time offer resistance to the royal authority. The high steward became security for his son-in-law, the lord of the Isles, who also gave three hostages, his son Donald, his grandson Angus, and a natural son also named Donald.

Meanwhile the negotiations with England continued, though with decreasing confidence. The deliberations of the parliament of 1366 had ended in a new attempt to obtain a peace, but with as little success as ever. Edward next ordered some warlike preparations on the border, with the intention, no doubt, of overawing the Scots into a more submissive temper, and for which it was easy to find an excuse in the continued feuds among the Scottish chiefs, and the internal weakness of the Scottish government, which could hardly restrain individual inroads upon the English territory. Some of these chieftains began to show their contempt of the government not much less openly than the rebels in the north. The earl of Douglas refused to attend in parliament or to join in the deliberations of the council, and he obtained from the king of England a safe conduct to proceed through his territories on his way to the continent. Another measure, which gave great offence to many of the Scottish lords, arose out of the necessities of the time. During the long period of confusion which followed the capture of the king at Neville's Cross, much of the patrimony of the crown had been alienated, and there had not been left sufficient to support its ordinary wants, much less to answer the extravagant expenses of David and his young queen. The condition of the crown in this respect was brought under the consideration of a parliament held at Scone, on the 27th of September, 1367, and it was determined that the patrimony of the crown should be immediately restored to the condition in which it stood under Robert Bruce and Alexander III. This general resumption was made with great rigour, and in some instances with cruelty. Arrears were claimed, and in cases where there had been *bona fide* sales to third persons, those sales were declared to be null and void, and the resumption was made without any attention to the claims of the possessors. Provisions were also made against the future alienation of the possessions of the crown.

The parliament of 1367 recommended that the negotiations for peace should be renewed, and they went so far as to give the king and his privy council authority to name commissioners for so desirable an object, and to levy a tax to defray their expenses, without calling a parliament for the purpose. Now, however, these negotiations became every day more futile, and generally ended in new and more rigorous demands on the part of king Edward, and in a declaration of the Scottish parliament that they would not surrender their independence. In the middle of these transactions David, intent only on his own pleasures, and heedless of the cost which his extravagance was continually adding to the burthen which already weighed so heavily upon his country, went with his queen on his usual expensive pilgrimage to Canterbury, with a retinue of a hundred knights and a numerous body of followers. To David, indeed, a visit to England appears to have been a relief from the troubles and annoyances which he met with at home from the embarrassment of his finances and the turbulence of his nobles. Although, as stated before, we have very little information on the internal state of Scotland at this time, we know it was torn with private feuds as well as with public misfortunes. The personal feuds prevailed among almost all classes, from the least considerable chieftain to the royal palace, and the king's continued jealousy of the steward was so great, that through several years of the period of

which we are now speaking, we find that great officer and his sons sometimes in prison and sometimes at liberty. King Edward was well aware of all these causes of weakness, which encouraged him to believe that at last the Scots would be obliged to submit to whatever terms he chose to dictate; while on the other hand he seems to have been constantly apprehensive of an attack on the English borders by some of the turbulent chieftains who so often set the crown at defiance. At the very time when the king and queen of Scotland were making their ostentatious progress to the shrine of St. Thomas, king Edward was sending orders to the wardens of the English borders to strengthen their castles, to summon their vassals in arms, and to call out the array of all who were capable of bearing arms, that they might be ready to repel the enemy at a moment's warning.

David himself certainly looked forward to a renewal of the war with the greatest unwillingness. Everything seems to show that he was more and more resolved to set aside the steward, and deliver the crown over to the king of England, of whose intrigues he was a willing instrument. But he found his designs thwarted by the patriotism of the Scottish parliament. A parliament held at Scone in 1368 again declared their resolution to withstand Edward's renewed demands, which involved their subjection and dependence. The deliberations of this parliament, which was the same that had directed energetic measures to be taken against the northern rebels, turned chiefly on the private feuds which disturbed the internal peace of the kingdom, and on its defenceless state in case of foreign invasion. The nobles were earnestly recommended to compose all their dissensions and carry on their disputes in no other way but by a process at law, in which the king was bound to administer justice equally without any favour or acceptance of persons.* The king was to consult with the earls of March and Douglas, who were the wardens of the east marches, on the means of keeping peace on the border; but it was intimated at the same time that those noblemen were not well disposed towards the public good. The chamberlain of Scotland was to be sent with four experienced knights, Walter de Lesley, Walter de Haliburton, Hugh de Eglintoun, and Walter Moygne, to visit the castles of Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, and see that those important fortresses were properly repaired, garrisoned, victualled, and furnished with all the munitions of war, so that there might be nothing wanting for an obstinate defence in case of attack. They were then to visit the other castles of the realm, and cause them also to be put in a good state of defence.

The truce was now within a little more than a year of its termination, and Scotland, saved at this moment from the extremities of famine only by its liberty of purchasing the necessaries of life from England, was so little prepared for war, that the prolongation of the truce became an anxious matter of deliberation. Another attempt was made by the parliament to pay off the ransom, and the bishop of Glasgow and Sir Robert Erskine were sent to England to negotiate. It happened, fortunately for Scotland, that Edward was at this moment again involved in a war with France, and eager to concentrate all his strength, he suddenly became more moderate in his pretensions with regard to Scotland. After a short negotiation, a treaty was concluded, by which the truce between England and Scotland was renewed for fourteen years, to commence with the 24th of August, 1369. In spite of the great exertions of the Scottish parliament, fifty-six thousand marks of the king's ransom still remained unpaid, and it was agreed that this should be defrayed by an annual payment of four thousand marks. An arrangement was also made with regard to the estates in the county of Roxburgh, which were then in the possession of Englishmen, or whose possessors had come under the peace of the English king. It was agreed that one-half of the rents should be received by the Scottish proprietors who had been dispossessed, and that the lands and their tenantry should remain in fealty to Edward and his heirs, but they were to be governed by the advice of a council of English and Scottish subjects. Thus did Scotland at last obtain a longer breathing time from the uncertainties and anxieties which had lately embarrassed its councils,

* Item, deliberant quod, quia necessarium est providere atque disponere super et pro defensione regni, omnes dissensiones motæ inter magnates et nobiles aliter quam per viam justitiæ communis festinanter sopiri debeant et sedari per regem, ita quod nullus inquietat alium aliter quam per processium communis justitiæ, quam quidem dominus noster rex unicuique debeat semper administrare æqualiter sine favore aliquo et acceptione personarum.

to consider of its internal troubles. It was on the conclusion of this truce that the submission of the northern chieftain, John of the Isles, put an end to the rebellion in the north, and thus relieved the government from another cause of uneasiness. On his return from the expedition against this chieftain, David held a parliament at Perth, which proceeded immediately to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, the expenses of the royal household, and the administration of justice, for the unsettled state of the country appears to have hitherto defeated every attempt to regulate these matters. Committees were formed to examine into each of these subjects, and that appointed to consider the subject of the king's debts was to hold its deliberations perfectly secret, and none of the representatives of the royal burghs were admitted to it. The reason of their exclusion was soon seen, for it ended in a mean and wanton breach of the good faith on the strength of which the money and goods of merchants were advanced for the king's use. It was declared that all the debts of the king throughout the realm, which had been contracted up to the period of the exchequer court held at Perth at the Epiphany in the year 1368, were cancelled; that whatever was borrowed subsequent to this date should be promptly paid; and that no customs should be levied by the king's officers for the aid of the crown, but according to the ancient and established practice of the realm. The next important measure of this parliament was an attempt to equalize the taxation over the whole country, for which an opportunity had been given by the submission of the highland chiefs. It was further ordained that no native subject, or foreigner, whatever might be his rank, should send or take money, gold or silver, out of the country, except the sums necessary for the travelling expenses of those who had been permitted to leave the realm, unless he paid to the exchequer forty pence on every pound. Another important enactment of this parliament was directed against the extortion and malversation of the officers of the crown in the different countries which were to be made the subject of a searching inquiry, and severe punishment was denounced against all who should be found guilty.

As the king was thus relieved from his debts and other embarrassments, he seems to have become weary of his wife. We have no information whatever on the causes of the quarrel between David and his queen, but he demanded a divorce. She is said to have been extremely beautiful, and may possibly have had other admirers. All that we know of her leads to the conclusion that she was very extravagant in her expenditure, and she no doubt added considerably to the burthen of her husband's pecuniary embarrassments. She is said, nevertheless, to have laid by large sums of money, and to have amassed a considerable treasure. Perhaps, if we knew the simple truth, the king, who married her only to satisfy a sudden passion, had become satiated, and was willing to get rid of its object. She appears to have had a taste for political intrigue, and by her interference in state affairs, she had drawn upon herself the hatred of the Scottish nobility so extensively, that the application for a divorce appears to have been well supported by his subjects, and the sentence, which seems to have been given without hesitation, was pronounced in the Lent of 1369. Margaret is said to have incensed the king against the steward and his family, and to have been more than once the cause of their imprisonment. The steward and his sons were again in prison at the time of the divorce, but immediately afterwards they were not only released but restored to favour. The queen, who was not a consenting party to the divorce, secretly carried her treasures on board a ship in the Forth, and sailed for France. She directed her course to Avignon, and laid her appeal in person before the papal court which was then held there. David immediately sent envoys to the pope to counteract any impressions that her representations might make, but they were altogether unsuccessful; and the court of Rome took up the cause of the lady with so much zeal, that the kingdom of Scotland was thrown into great alarm, for it was at one time threatened with an interdict. The ex-queen died soon afterwards on her way to Rome, but this event was so far from putting an end to the process, that it was carried on through several years, to the great annoyance of David's successor, and it is not known when it was ended, or what was the final result.

David seems now to have been seized with a general disgust for the pleasures which had formed the chief object of his life—perhaps he was at last overtaken with repentance. He took a sudden resolution to set out on an expedition to the Holy Land,

and with this view, he assembled at his courts all the bravest of his knights, announced to them that it was his intention to appoint a regency, and invited them to accompany him to Palestine, where he was going to pass the remainder of his days in warring against the enemies of his Redeemer. But David was destined never to carry this design into execution; for he was suddenly attacked by a mortal disease, and after lingering awhile, he expired in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22nd of February, 1370. He was then in the forty-seventh year of his age, and in the forty-first of his reign. Few kings have ever died less generally regretted by their subjects.

The death of the king threatened for a moment to involve the kingdom in a civil war. The earl of Douglas, who was at that time at Linlithgow, suddenly proclaimed his own title to the throne, and announced his intention of opposing the claim of the acknowledged heir, the steward of Scotland. This powerful and turbulent baron pretended to unite in his own person the claims of Comyn and Baliol, and some offence which had been given him by the party of the steward seems to have driven him into this hasty demonstration. But sir Robert Erskine, who had the command of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, marched against him without delay, and was joined on his way by the earls of March and Moray; and their united force was too great to allow the pretender any hope of success from an appeal to arms. Douglas met his opponents in a peaceful conference, and he declared himself satisfied by their arguments of the emptiness of his own title and of the justice of that of the steward. In reward for his prompt submission, the steward's daughter Isabella was promised in marriage to Douglas's son, with an annual pension. Douglas himself was appointed king's justiciar on the south of the Forth and warden of the east marches. A few well-applied gifts to those who had come forward so zealously to support the steward's title to the throne cleared away all further opposition, and he was crowned in the abbey of Scone, in great pomp and splendour, on the 26th of March, 1371, and proclaimed as king Robert II. After the usual oaths of homage had been taken, the new king stood up and declared his eldest son, John earl of Carrick and steward of Scotland, heir to the throne in the event of his own death, and this nomination was approved by the whole assembled multitude, clergy and laity.

Thus did the crown of Scotland pass into a new race, for Robert derived royal blood only through his mother, the daughter of Robert Bruce. He was descended in the direct line from a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of the Fitz-Alans, who had left England to settle in Scotland in the twelfth century. Walter Fitz-Alan held the high office of steward of the king's household in the reign of David I., and the dignity having been made hereditary in the family, the title was at length converted into a surname, and thus originated the family of Stewart, or, as the name of the royal race is more usually spelt, Stuart. The power of this house had been strengthened by numerous and powerful alliances. Robert Stuart who now ascended the throne had been twice married. By his first wife he had four sons, John earl of Carrick, Walter earl of Fife, Robert earl of Menteith, and Alexander earl of Buchan, and six daughters, all married into the most powerful families in Scotland. By his second wife he had two sons, David earl of Strathern, and Walter earl of Athol, and four daughters, the eldest of whom was subsequently married to James earl of Douglas, and the other three were wedded into houses little less powerful. He had also eight natural sons, who also ranked among the nobility of the land, and lent their support to his throne.

BOOK III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART TO THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF ROBERT II.; DEATH OF KING EDWARD; MASSACRE AT ROXBURGH; BORDER HOSTILITIES; FRENCH EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND, AND WAR WITH ENGLAND.

Robert the Second thus succeeded to a kingdom involved in great embarrassments, at an age (fifty-five) when he was already approaching the decline of life, and when the energy of his youth had given place to a love of peace and inactivity. This disadvantage, however, was balanced by his long experience in Scottish state affairs, and by the support of a numerous family; and his gentle and affable manners rendered him generally popular among his subjects, though he had not always the strength or influence to repress their turbulence. Fortunately, however, neither England nor Scotland were at this moment in a condition to wish for war. The former was gradually losing the possessions in France which had been secured by Edward's victories during the earlier part of his reign; and the heavy taxes which the wars in which he was already engaged required, joined with his own feeble health, made it necessary to avoid any measures that would call for new exertions. In addition to the other disadvantages of her position, Scotland was suffering from a famine of such a severe character, that its population was supported entirely on grain imported from England and Ireland. It was, therefore, determined on the part of the Scots to respect the truce, and fulfil punctually the obligations with regard to the ransom; and on the side of England the encouragement to friendly and commercial intercourse was not relaxed.

Still it was difficult to keep the turbulent borderers on either side in peace, and events occurred, in spite of all the precautions of the respective governments, which ended in a war between the two kingdoms, and some open acts of the governments themselves shewed but too clearly the feeling of national hostility which lurked beneath their peaceful professions. In the summer of 1371 a new treaty of amity was entered into between Scotland and France, in which the two powers engaged to support each other against their common enemy, England. By this agreement the subjects of each power were to be hindered from serving in the English armies against the other; no truce or peace was to be concluded by one party without including the other; and in the event of any competition for the crown of Scotland, the king of France was to maintain by force of arms the right of the claimant approved by the majority of the Scottish estates. The French king also proposed certain secret articles, in which he engaged to obtain from the pope a dispensation for breaking the existing truce with England, to pay and furnish with arms a large body of Scottish knights, and to send a thousand French men-at-arms to cooperate with them, if king Robert would invade the English territory. This treaty was confirmed by the king of Scots at Edinburgh on the 28th of October, 1381, but he appears not to have agreed to the secret articles. About the same time great offence was given to the Scots by the omission of the title of king in the usual receipt for the payment of the ransom-money, which was looked upon as a proof that Edward still harboured designs against the national independence of Scotland.

In spite of these occurrences, the two countries remained at peace during several years, which were employed by king Robert in strengthening his family in the possession of the throne, in regulating the expenses of the royal household, and in introducing substantial reforms into the administration of justice. These objects constituted the main business of two parliaments held in March 1371, and April 1373. Little else occurred to arrest the pen of the historian until the death of Edward III. of England, which occurred on the 1st of June

1377. This event tended to increase the chances of peace between the two kingdoms, and there can be little doubt that the wishes of the two governments were directed towards a friendly alliance. But in Scotland, at least, the king had at this time but a precarious power over his subjects. During the troubles which had torn the kingdom to pieces since the death of Robert Bruce, the nobles had been increasing in power and turbulence, and many of them had individually the force and the will to involve their country in hostilities whenever it suited their interests or gratified their revenge. The latter feeling gave rise, soon after the accession of Richard II. to the English throne, to an outrage of a very atrocious character. The castle of Roxburgh was held by an English garrison, and the town was much frequented at this time by Englishmen. There was held at Roxburgh a rather celebrated fair on the feast of St. Lawrence (the 10th of August.) At this fair, in 1376, one of the retainers of the earl of March was slain by some Englishmen in one of the brawls so frequent on such occasions. The earl, who was one of the most powerful and turbulent of the Scottish nobles, demanded satisfaction from the garrison, with a threat that if it was not given, he, individually, would no longer respect the truce. The threat and demand were slighted, and a whole year passed by without any further notice being taken of the matter. At length the fair of St. Lawrence came round again, and English merchants and traders crowded into the town, and took up their lodgings without suspicion of treachery. But, early in the morning of the fair, the earl of March attacked the town with a strong armed force, and set fire to it. The English were dragged from their houses and booths, and murdered without respect of age or sex, or burnt in their dwellings, and, after collecting a rich booty, the earl marched off with his men as though he had performed a legitimate act of war.

The English borderers, provoked at the atrocity of this attack, flew to arms, and ravaged the lands of sir John Gordon, a baron of the earl of March's party, who had been very prominent in the massacre at Roxburgh. Gordon retaliated by collecting his vassals, and making a raid into England, from whence he returned with a large booty in cattle and prisoners. He was intercepted in his retreat by an English borderer, sir John Lilburn, with a superior force, and an obstinate engagement took place in a mountain-pass, which ended in the defeat of the English. Sir John Gordon was himself seriously wounded, but he secured his booty, and carried off sir John Lilburn as his prisoner. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, the warden of the English marches, incensed at this breach of the truce, raised an army of seven thousand men, and entered the possessions of the earl of March with the resolution of taking exemplary vengeance on the turbulent Scot. But while he lay encamped near Dunse, in Berwickshire, a trick was played upon his army which threw ridicule upon the expedition. In the dead of night the English camp was surrounded by a tumultuous rabble of Scots, armed with the rattles used by the peasantry to drive wild beasts away from their flocks, and with these and a horrible mixture of discordant yells and shouts, they threw the English into the utmost terror and confusion. The English force consisted chiefly of knights and men-at-arms, who had slept on their arms, leaving their horses picketed round the outside of the camp, in the care of ther valets and camp-boys. The men stood to their arms, and prepared to resist an attack, but the horses, terrified at the noise, broke loose, and ran wild over the plain, whence most of them were carried off by the Scots. When daybreak at last appeared no enemy was visible, and the English soon discovered the stratagem by which they had been alarmed, and the loss of their horses. Angry and mortified, they were obliged to return into England on foot, though they first pillaged the lands of the earl of March, and carried away a considerable booty. The same hostilities were carried on by the Scots on the western borders, and a piratical fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish ships, under a Scottish adventurer named Mercer, infested the seas. The Scottish government was too feeble to restrain these outrages, and that of England was at this moment wanting in the energy to resist them. It was left to an English merchant named Philpot to fit out a fleet at his own expense, with which he encountered and destroyed, or captured, the whole of Mercer's armament. Among these were fifteen Spanish vessels, and a considerable number of rich prizes.

These border raids continued for some time to exasperate the people of the two countries against each other, in spite of the repeated appointment of commissioners on

both sides to hold courts for the redress of grievances, which only ended in shewing how difficult it was to coerce the turbulent aristocracy of Scotland. The hostilities continued unchecked, and at length a party of adventurers, under Alexander Ramsay, surprised and captured the castle of Berwick. When the Scottish and English wardens summoned Ramsay to surrender, he set them both at defiance, telling them that he would give up his prize neither to king Richard nor to king Robert, but that he would keep it while he lived for the king of France. The earl of Northumberland, with a force of ten thousand men, laid siege to the castle, which was taken after an obstinate defence, in which Ramsay and his handful of borderers for some length of time held the whole English army at bay.

This event occurred in the year 1378. When the castle of Berwick was reduced, the earl of Northumberland marched with his army into Scotland, to ravage the southern districts, where the lands of the hostile borderers lay. As they advanced, sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, with a considerable force, though quite unequal to that of the English earl, encountered sir Thomas Musgrave with an advanced party of English at Melrose, and after a short but obstinate engagement defeated them, taking Musgrave and his son, with many knights and other prisoners. Douglas then fell back upon Edinburgh, and the Percy, when he had done all the mischief he could, returned to England. The following year presented a repetition of the same scenes of slaughter and devastation, until at length, in 1380, John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, whose influence at this time ruled England, marched to Scotland at the head of a powerful army, with the declared object of establishing peace and good order between the two countries. He was met by sir Archibald Douglas, the bishops of Dunkeld and Glasgow, and the earls of Douglas and March, and a cessation of all hostilities having been agreed to, the duke of Lancaster disbanded his army, and soon afterwards a conference was held between him and the earl of Carrick, the next heir to the Scottish throne, which ended in the renewal of the truce for three years, and an indulgence from the king of England with regard to the payment of arrears of the ransom of king David.

The English chroniclers tell us that the duke hurried the conclusion of this truce in consequence of private intelligence of the breaking out of the popular insurrection in England under Wat Tyler, and that, when the public news of these events arrived, the Scots were furious at the loss of the opportunity of invading and plundering the English territory while the king was embarrassed with the rebellion of his subjects. Nevertheless, when the duke of Lancaster, apprehensive for his own safety if he returned immediately to England, asked permission to remain in Scotland, he was treated with the utmost hospitality. The abbey of Holyrood was fitted up for him, and he was escorted thither in great state by the earl of Douglas and Archibald lord of Galloway, with a numerous retinue; and when affairs in England had taken such a turn that he had nothing more to fear, he was accompanied on his way home with an honorary escort of eight hundred Scottish spears.

In spite, however, of the friendly feeling thus exhibited, and the undoubted wish of the two monarchs to preserve peace, the restless barons of Scotland urged their king into a new treaty with France. The secret articles proposed on the former occasion appear to have formed the foundation of this new treaty, and the Scottish nobles had been gained over by the promise of forty thousand francs of gold, and a thousand suits of armour, to be distributed among them, whilst a thousand French men-at-arms were to be sent over to their assistance in making war upon England. Accordingly, on the expiration of the truce in 1383, the Scots recommenced hostilities, and sir Archibald Douglas captured the castle of Lochmaben, which had remained in the hands of the English. On the other hand, the duke of Lancaster, with a numerous army, marched into Scotland, and a fleet of victualling ships attended on his progress. The inhabitants of the English counties on the border complained that this army, during its short halt before crossing the border, was as destructive as a Scottish invasion, and we may therefore imagine the havoc they would make in an enemy's country. But they found that the Scots had so completely cleared the country of everything moveable, that they had even carried away the straw that formed the roofs of their houses, and the English soldiers in a wasted country, with an unusually severe season (it was the month of March), suffered greatly. When they approached Edinburgh, eager

for the plunder of that rich city, the duke, mindful of the generous hospitality he had experienced there, gave strict orders that it should not be injured, and established his camp at some distance from it. The system of warfare so strongly recommended by Robert Bruce was thus successful under his son-in-law; the English army was obliged by its necessities to retreat, and king Robert issued orders for assembling the force of Scotland to intercept the English in their way home. At this moment messengers came from the king of France, to announce his truce with England, and a Scottish parliament was called to deliberate on the best course to pursue under these new circumstances. Thus the duke of Lancaster was allowed to make good his retreat without opposition, and before he left the Scottish territory he plundered and laid waste the vast estates of the great border earls whose turbulence had been one great cause of these hostilities.

The Scottish king was now anxious for peace, and he ordered his nobles to lay aside all further hostilities. The nobles, on the contrary, were eager for war, and, long habituated to respect the commands of the crown only when they had no inducement to do otherwise, they declared openly their disapprobation of the decision of their sovereign. While they were in this humour, and the parliament was still deliberating, there arrived a party of French knights and esquires, who, tired of remaining idle at home, had come to Scotland in search of employment, and their presence increased the military ardour of the Scottish chiefs. It was agreed between the earls of Mar and Douglas and the lord of Galloway, that the French knights should be treated with an inroad on the English border, and they were privately invited to the castle of Dalkeith, where the earl of Douglas treated them with great hospitality. They all took horse at Dalkeith, and after three days' riding reached the border, and found an army of fifteen thousand Scots mounted as usual on hardy and active poneys, ready to receive them. With this force they broke into the northern counties of England, and ravaged and plundered the extensive estates of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham. The king of Scotland immediately sent a herald to England to disavow the outrage, which he declared had been done entirely without his knowledge. But it was evident that his nobles were no longer under his control. The earl of Northumberland retaliated by an inroad into Scotland, and the borders continued to be the scene of continual hostilities. The turbulence of the barons seemed, indeed, to be increasing throughout the country; and amid the confusion lesser chiefs, and even men of low extraction, collected together bands of ruffians, and under pretence of making war upon each other, plundered and massacred without respect of persons. This was especially the case in the Highlands, and the disorders had reached such a head, that they were made the subject of a parliamentary investigation in 1385, and the earl of Carrick, the heir to the throne, was sent with an army to the disturbed districts, to take strong measures for enforcing order and obedience. This parliament was chiefly occupied with the disorders of the kingdom, which appeared to have been overrun with every species of violence and injustice. Lesser barons were expelled from their estates by those who were more powerful, and their possessions were withheld from them in spite of the decisions of courts of justice, or the commands of the sovereign. Private feuds more often ended in private war than in an appeal to the decision of the laws, which were only respected by those who were weak. And the greater barons unhesitatingly plunged into war with England, without consulting king or parliament. It was during this period of turbulence that the earl of Douglas expelled the English from the extensive district of Teviotdale, which was restored to its Scottish owners.

While affairs were in this state in Scotland, a new element of hostility was in preparation abroad to plunge the Scots into a war with England. The knights who had taken part with the Douglas in his great border raid, had returned to France delighted with this scene of turbulence, and the facility with which it was executed, and, not remarking that the cause of their success was the occasion chosen by the earl when the English army, deceived by the truce, had disbanded, and that they had retreated before another army could be got together to attack them, they carried home extraordinary reports of the vulnerability of England at home. They said that the English, who had proved themselves such terrible combatants abroad, when attacked at home shewed neither courage nor conduct, and might easily be conquered. The government of France was seduced by these

representations, and, after some reflection, determined to put in force the late treaty with the Scots, by sending an army into Scotland to invade England from the north. John de Vienne, admiral of France, and one of the most experienced captains of the age, was chosen to command this expedition, and he carried over into Scotland a thousand knights, esquires, and men-at-arms, the flower of the French army, with about the same number of crossbow men and common soldiers. A naval armament was at the same time prepared to attack the English coasts, and take off attention from the attack on Scotland.

The French fleet never sailed, but John de Vienne and his small but brilliant army, came to anchor in the ports of Leith and Dunbar in the May of 1385. They were received with great joy by the Scottish nobles, who shared in a liberal distribution of French gold and of foreign armour, for the French commander had brought with him fourteen hundred suits of the latter, and fifty thousand francs of gold. But these visitors were destined to take home a very different account of the pleasures of Scottish warfare from that which had been given by the small party of French knights whose representations had been the cause of their mission. On their arrival at Edinburgh, the king was absent in a distant part of the country, and they were received by the earls of Moray and Douglas. It was quite impossible to find room for them all in the capital, so that it was found necessary to seek lodgings in the villages around. Comforts were rare in Scotland at this time, and when the French knights, fresh from the luxurious hotels of Paris, found themselves billetted amid poverty and privations, it is not to be surprised if there was much murmuring and discontent. Nor were the complaints all on their side, for the people were prejudiced against the foreign language and the loose manners of their guests, who appropriated to themselves whatever they liked, and assumed an air of haughty superiority which was particularly disagreeable to the Scots. The lesser barons and the people soon quarrelled with these visitors, and did everything they could to give them annoyance. "What evil spirit brought you here?" they said to them; "who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods and begone! for no good will be done as long as you are here. We neither understand you, nor you us. We cannot converse together, and in a short time we shall be completely wasted and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned so much mischief as you do. They burnt our houses, it is true, but that was all, and with four or five stakes, and plenty of green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed." Such was the language which, according to Froissart, from whom we learn these incidents, the Scots soon began to use towards their troublesome visitors, and the hostility increased to such a degree, that their foraging parties were frequently cut off by the peasantry, so that more than a hundred men were slain in the space of a month.

The king at length arrived in Edinburgh, and received the French admiral with courtesy, but he soon shewed an evident disinclination to enter into a war with England, and seemed rather to partake in the feelings of his people. But the earls of Douglas and Moray, and the other greater nobles who had received French money, and expected in addition to enrich themselves with plunder in England, took part with the Frenchmen, and were urgent for war. At length, after much reluctance on the part of the king, the nobles prevailed, and an army of thirty thousand horsemen was soon assembled in the neigbourhood of the capital. The Scottish soldiers, however, seem to have been as little inclined to act cordially with the Frenchmen as the rest of their countrymen, and a series of regulations for the government of the army, drawn up on this occasion by a council of officers, and still preserved, seems to show how difficult it was to appease their animosity. Amongst these articles, the following have been pointed out as peculiarly characteristic. No one was to plunder in Scotland under pain of death; the merchants and victuallers who supplied the camp were to be protected from injury, and to be paid promptly; a soldier who killed another was to be hanged; a varlet who defied a gentleman was to lose his ears, and a gentleman challenging another was to be placed under arrest and brought before a court-martial. In cases of riots between the Scots and French, they were strictly forbidden from appealing to arms, but the ringleaders were to be taken and judged also by a court-martial. Perhaps the article which forbade

the burning of churches and the ravishing or slaughter of women and infants, was also directed against the French. It was further directed that every Frenchman or Scot was to have half the ransom of a prisoner taken with his own hand, and that every French and Scottish soldier was to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his back and breast.

It seems evident that king Robert was himself averse to the war, and his infirmities hindered him from being an eye-witness of its ravages. While he remained at Edinburgh, his sons, with the earls of Douglas, Moray, Mar, and Sutherland, marched at the head of the army. The combined forces first sat down before the castle of Roxburgh, but they were soon convinced that it would be in vain to lay siege to it. They marched thence towards Berwick, capturing in their way the two small forts of Ford and Cornal, the garrisons of which made a desperate defence. The castle of Wark was also taken by storm, but it cost the assailants a severe loss. The country was everywhere ravaged with fire and sword, and an accumulating mass of plunder and prisoners accompanied the march of the army as it proceeded by Alnwick to the gates of Newcastle. Here intelligence reached the Scottish leaders that the barons of England had assembled their forces and were marching rapidly against them. It had always been the policy of the Scots to avoid great battles, and they now prepared to retreat with their booty. The proud admiral of France was shocked at the Scottish mode of making war, and he urged strongly and vainly the earls of Douglas and Moray to remain where they were, and give battle to their opponents.

While the invaders fell back upon Berwick, the king of England was marching to the north, with a numerous and well equipped army. Instead of seeking out the Scottish plunderers, he marched directly through Liddesdale and Teviotdale into Scotland. Douglas and the French admiral, when they heard of this formidable expedition, moved nearer to watch the progress of their enemies, taking strong positions where they were not likely to be in danger, which the Scots were easily able to do from their superior knowledge of the country. The French commander was still impatient for a battle, insisting that their united force was sufficient to encounter the English. According to an anecdote given by Froissart, the earl of Douglas, wearied with the admiral's importunities, invited him to ride with him to a neighbouring eminence, that they might argue the matter calmly on the way. As they reached the eminence, the sound of martial music and the tramp of horses suddenly broke upon their ears, and John de Vienne found that Douglas had brought him to a height which overhung a mountain pass, through which the English army was at that moment defiling, and from which he could count the enemy's banners and estimate their force. There needed no further proof of the folly of risking an engagement with a force so much superior in numbers and discipline.

The English army pursued its devastating course, through a country in which the inhabitants had left nothing to destroy except bare walls and green crops, and the churches and monasteries. Melrose and Dryburgh were delivered to the flames. Edinburgh itself was plundered and burnt. The monastery of Holyrood was spared at the intercession of the duke of Lancaster, who had been hospitably lodged in it. Many other towns and villages were burnt by the English army, which now began to run short of provisions. The duke of Lancaster recommended the bold but somewhat perilous measure of passing the Forth and leading the army into the northern provinces which had not been stripped by the Scots, but the king was so much alarmed at this proposal, that he accused his uncle of treasonable motives in suggesting it. It only now remained for the English army to retreat, and as usual they experienced the inevitable consequence of the destruction which had attended their progress. Multitudes of the soldiers died on their way home from the hardships and privations they endured in a country utterly stripped and wasted.

Meanwhile the army under Douglas and the admiral had not been idle. Instead of following the English army, they turned off into the western marshes, and there, joined by the forces of sir Archibald Douglas, they overrun and ravaged Cumberland with dreadful ferocity. After having laid waste the lands of the principal border barons, they made an attack upon Carlisle, but were beaten off with loss. The jealousies between the Scots and their foreign allies now broke out anew, and with an increase of bitterness. From all we gather from the historian, the French believed that every exploit which required superior bravery or military skill

was performed by themselves, and that they were embarrassed by a tumultuous army which was either unwilling or unable to second them. The Scots seem to have regarded their allies as a parcel of adventurers come to share in the plunder which they might just as well have had all to themselves. When they returned to Edinburgh, to their old quarters, the mutual ill-feeling became more intense. The Scottish inhabitants of own and country returned from their hiding-places in the woods and mountains with a rapidity and cheerfulness which astonished their French allies, and they had soon taken possession of their dwellings and restored them to a condition to be habitable. But the presence of two thousand Frenchmen, who were not used to live so hardily as themselves, was at this moment a heavy burthen, and gave rise to loud complaints. John de Vienne had calculated on another raid into England, and he probably expected that as king Richard's great army was disbanded they might have had the chance of meeting with and engaging an English force more proportionate to their own; but he was now distressed by the hostility of the Scottish people, and he abandoned that design to send away a part of his force to France, and thus relieve the Scots of some portion of their burthen. But the Scots only saw in this proceeding a new subject of complaint. They said that the French wanted to escape without paying for the manifold injuries they had done in riding through the country, trampling and destroying their crops, cutting down their woods to build lodgings, and plundering their markets, and they refused to let a single vessel leave their ports with a Frenchman on board until they had received full satisfaction. Most of the French knights were anxious to depart; for they were by this time reduced to a wretched condition by sickness and privation, and they were nearly all without horses, so that it would have been dangerous to provoke their hosts too far. The admiral, accordingly, entered into an agreement, by which he bound himself to discharge all claims of damage and reparation which were made against his soldiers, and not to leave the country himself till they were fully satisfied. The French knights were thus allowed to depart, and Froissart quaintly informs us that "divers knights and squires had passage and returned into Flanders, as wind and weather drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland." John de Vienne himself discharged his responsibilities as quickly as possible, and returned to France. Thus ended an expedition on the great effects of which the French reckoned so much, and were so grievously disappointed.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR; BATTLE OF OTTERBURN; THE EARL OF FIFE REGENT; DEATH OF ROBERT II. AND ACCESSION OF ROBERT III.

THE nation was now plunged into war, and hostilities continued to be carried on with great animosity. The government of Richard II. became weaker and weaker, and no combined measures were taken to suppress the inroads of the Scots, who began systematically to ravage the English counties on the border. The booty that was thus successively carried off from the English territory was immense. Soon after the departure of the French, the king's second son, Robert, earl of Fife, with the earl of Douglas, and the lord of Galloway, raised an army of thirty thousand men, and marching rapidly and unexpectedly through the intervening country, threw themselves suddenly on the rich and beautiful district of Cockermouth and the adjacent parts, which had not been visited in this way since the days of Robert Bruce. During three days they plundered and wasted, without the slightest opposition.

In the resolution of the Scots to carry on the war, the wishes of king Robert had again been overruled by his nobles. It was decided at a council held in Edinburgh, that the whole military force of the kingdom should be mustered at Jedburgh, in order to invade England on an extensive scale. The king's eldest son, the earl of Carrick, was feeble of body, and apparently not very strong of mind, and his next brother, the earl of Fife, was appointed to command in this important expedition. On the day appointed for the muster, the Scottish army assembled at Yetholm, a small town at the foot of the Cheviot hills, about twelve miles from Jedburgh. It consisted of twelve hundred men-at-arms, and forty thousand infantry, including a small body of archers, forming together such a force as had not been gathered together in Scotland for a long time. While the leaders were deliberating on the direction in which they would march, an English spy was taken prisoner, from whom they learnt that the wardens of the English marches, not able to collect on the sudden any force sufficient to oppose to the Scottish army, had determined to remain quiet until they knew that the Scots had entered England, and then to pass the border into Scotland, and there plunder and destroy, in retaliation for the destruction made by the Scots. The earl of Fife immediately determined to separate his force, and while one division, consisting of nearly two-thirds of his whole force, under his own command, with Archibald, lord of Galloway, and the earls of Sutherland, Menteith, Mar, and Strathern, marched through Liddesdale towards Carlisle, the smaller division, commanded by the earl of Douglas, in whom all the valour and warlike abilities of his family seemed to be concentrated, was directed to invade the eastern marches, and divert the attention of the English wardens from the more important inroad. The earl of Douglas had with him a noble band of warriors, including the earls of March and Moray, sir James Lindesay, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir John Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburn and his two sons, sir John Haliburton, sir John Maxwell, sir Alexander Fraser, sir Adam Glendinning, sir David Fleming, and sir Thomas Erskine, with many other knights and esquires.

Another expedition at this moment occupied one of the Douglases, sir Archibald, popularly known as the Black Douglas, the natural son of sir Archibald of Galloway, a man of great celebrity among the Scots for his strength and valour in war, as well as for his gentleness and courtesy in time of peace. He had married one of the king's daughters, Egidia, who was as much celebrated for her beauty, as her husband was renowned for his warlike qualities. The Black Douglas had been provoked by the piracies of the Irish shipping on the coast of Galloway, and with five hundred lances he made a retaliatory descent on the Irish coast, at Carlingford. At first, as he had some difficulty in procuring boats to land his whole force, he attacked the town with only a part, but he willingly agreed to an armistice, when the citizens promised to buy off his vengeance with a large sum of money. The townsmen sent secretly in the night, a messenger to the English garrison at Dundalk, to inform them of their danger, and of the small number of the invaders; and the Scots were attacked suddenly by a body of English from Dundalk, and by a sally from the town. Though inferior in numbers, the Scots succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in dispersing their opponents, and the town was immediately captured and burnt to the ground. The castle was also taken and demolished, and fifteen merchant-men laden with goods also fell into the hands of the victors. On their return from this successful expedition, Douglas took horse and rode in all haste to join the army which had crossed the English border.

Meanwhile the earl of Douglas, with the division of the army under his command, had marched rapidly through Northumberland without giving any of the usual signs of the presence of the invaders, and passing the Tyne at Branspeth, thrown himself into the heart of the bishopric of Durham before any one was aware of his approach. There the Scots began immediately their usual course of devastation, and burnt and slew without opposition over the whole country between Durham and Newcastle, and then led their army before the latter town. The English barons on the border had been completely surprised by this sudden invasion, and in the uncertainty in which the capture of their spy had left them they imagined that the small army under Douglas was only the van of the Scottish forces, which they supposed were following after, and they were therefore more cautious in their movements. On the first intimation of danger, the earl of

Northumberland began to collect a force at Alnwick, and sent his two sons, Henry and Ralph, to Newcastle, where they had assembled the principal gentry of Yorkshire. Froissart, who had received his information from men of both sides who were present, gives a detailed and interesting account of the events which followed, and which forms one of the most chivalrous episodes of the wars of this turbulent age. "All the knights and esquires of Yorkshire," he tells us, "were collected at Newcastle, and with the rest came the seneschal of York, sir Ralph Mowbray, the captain of Berwick, sir Matthew Redman, sir Robert Angle (Langley), sir Thomas Gray, sir Thomas Holton, sir John Felton, sir John Lierbon, (Lilburn), sir William Warrichon (supposed to be Widrington), sir Thomas Boynton, the baron of Halton, sir John Colpedic (Copland), and so many others, that the town was filled with more than it could lodge. The Scots lay three days before Newcastle, engaged in continual skirmishes; and the two sons of the earl of Northumberland were so courageous that they were always the first at the barriers, where many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. There was a long conflict between the earl of Douglas and sir Henry Percy, in which the former by his gallantry captured the pennon of the Percy, to the great mortification of sir Henry and the English in general. The earl of Douglas then said vauntingly, 'I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from afar.' 'Pardieu! earl of Douglas,' replied sir Henry, 'you shall never carry it out of Northumberland —be assured that you shall not long have that pennon to boast of.' 'Then,' answered the earl, 'you must come this night and seek for it. I will establish your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will have the courage to take it away.' As it was now late, the skirmish ended, and each party retired to their quarters to disarm and comfort themselves; for they had plenty of everything, especially of flesh meat. The Scotch kept up a very strict watch, concluding, from sir Henry Percy's words, that they should have their quarters broken up this night; but they were disappointed, for sir Henry was advised to defer his attack.

"On the morrow," continues Froissart, "the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle, and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and castle called Pentland, of which sir Haymon d'Alphel (sir Raymond Delaval), a very valiant Northumbrian knight, was the lord. They arrived there about four o'clock in the morning, and learning that the knight was in it, they made preparations for the assault, which was executed with so much courage that the place was won and the knight made prisoner. After they had burnt the town and castle, they marched to Otterbourne, which was eight English leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped. This day they lay still; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets sounded, and they made ready for the assault, advancing towards the castle, which was tolerably strong and situated among marshes. They attacked it long and unsuccessfully, until they were weary, and sounded a retreat. After they had returned to their camp, the chiefs held a council, and the greater part were of opinion that they should decamp on the morrow, without any further attempt on the castle, in order to rejoin their main army in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this by saying, 'In despite of sir Henry Percy, who the day before yesterday declared that he would take from me his pennon which I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcastle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the castle, for it is to be taken. We shall thus gain double honour, and see if within that time he will come for his pennon. If he do, it shall be well defended.' Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had said, for it was not only honourable, but he was the principal commander; and, from affection to him, they all quietly returned to their quarters. They there made huts of trees and branches, and fortified themselves strongly. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance of the marsh on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.

"I will now," says Froissart, "return to sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas should have conquered their pennon in the skirmish before Newcastle. They felt the more for this disgrace, because sir Henry had not kept his word; for he had told the earl that he should never carry his pennon out of England, and this he represented to the knights who were with him in Newcastle. The English imagined that the

army under the earl of Douglas was only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind; for which reason those knights who had the most experience in arms, and were the best acquainted with military affairs, strongly opposed the proposal of sir Henry Percy to pursue the enemy. They said, 'sir, many losses happen in war; if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough, for he has come to the gates to seek it, and has been well fought with. Another time you will gain from him as much, if not more. We say so, because you know as well as we do that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field. We are not sufficiently strong to offer them battle, and perhaps this skirmish may be only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thousand strong, they will surround us and have us at their mercy. It is much better to lose a pennon, than two or three hundred knights and esquires, and leave our country in a defenceless state.' This speech checked the eagerness of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council. But other news was soon brought them by some knights and esquires, who had followed and observed the Scots, and remarked their numbers, disposition, and where they had halted. This was all fully related by knights who had traversed the whole extent of country through which the Scots had passed, with the object of gathering the most exact information for their lords. They spoke thus, 'sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you that we have followed the Scottish army, and that we have observed all the country where they now are. They first halted at Pentland, and took sir Haymon d'Alphel in his castle; thence they went to Otterbourne and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they seemed to have taken measures for a long stay. We know for certain that their army does not consist of more than three thousand men, including all sorts.' Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out, 'To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe to my God and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and I will beat up their quarters this night!' All the knights and esquires in Newcastle who heard of this design, were desirous of being of the party, and made themselves ready. The bishop of Durham was expected daily in Newcastle; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before that town, in which were the sons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them battle. The bishop had collected a number of men, and was hastening to their assistance, but sir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by six hundred spears of knights and esquires, and upwards of eight thousand infantry, which, he said, would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others. When they were all assembled, they left Newcastle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, and making for Otterbourne, which was eight short leagues distant. But, as they were desirous that their infantry should keep up with them, they could not advance very fast.

"The Scots were supping, and some had gone to sleep, for they had laboured hard during the day at the attack on the castle, and intended to renew it in the cool of the morning, when the English unexpectedly came upon their camp, and mistook at their entrance the huts of the servants for those of their masters. They forced their way into the camp, in spite of its strength, and raised their cry of a Percy! a Percy! In such cases, as you may suppose, an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots that the English had made their first attack on the quarters of their servants, which checked them a little. The Scots, apprehensive of an attack, were not unprepared for it; and, while the lords were arming themselves, they sent a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment. In the mean time the night advanced; but it was sufficiently light, for the moon shone, and it was the month of August when the weather is temperate and serene. When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but instead of marching to meet the English, they proceeded along the side of a mountain which was hard by. During the preceding day they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, 'should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so.' Thus they had settled their plans before hand, which was the saving of them;

for it is of the greatest advantage to men-at-arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged their mode of defence, and to have weighed well the chance of victory or defeat."

The English had soon overpowered the servants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found fresh bodies of men ready to oppose them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, meanwhile, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the flank of their enemies quite unexpectedly, shouting their war cries. This was a great surprise to the English, who, however, formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on every side. The battle now raged with fury; great was the pushing of lances, and very many of each party were struck down at the first onset. The English being more numerous, and eager to defeat their enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being discomfited. The earl of Douglas, being young and impatient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, shouting a Douglas! a Douglas! Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, indignant at the affront the earl of Douglas had put upon them by conquering their pennon, and desirous of meeting him, hastened to the place from which these shouts came, calling out loudly, a Percy! a Percy! The two banners soon met, and many gallant deeds of arms were done. The English were superior in strength, and fought so sturdily that they drove the Scots back. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his son who bore the same name, were Douglas's standard bearers, and it was only by the most extraordinary bravery that they hindered it from falling into the hands of the English.

The two parties were now mixed together in desperate conflict, hand to hand, and the Scots were beginning to give way, when the earl of Douglas, seeing his men repulsed, seized a heavy battle-axe with both his hands, and rushed into the midst of his enemies, clearing a way before him with his terrible weapon. He advanced thus, till he was met by three spears, pointed at him at the same moment, one of which struck him in the shoulder, the other entered his body between the stomach and the belly, and the third pierced his thigh. He was in an instant borne to the ground, and at the same moment some one struck him on the head with a battle-axe. The Scots who had followed, fell around him, and the main body of the English combatants marched over body, ignorant of the quality of the person on whom they trampled. The battle continued to rage as if nothing had occurred, with varied successes in different parts of the field, for while in one place the earl of March bravely but with difficulty maintained his ground, in another the earl of Moray drove before him the English to whom he was opposed. "Of all the battles that have been described in this history," says Froissart, "great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or esquire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy."

Few acquitted themselves more bravely than the two sons of the duke of Northumberland. In the midst of the tumult and confusion, sir Ralph Percy, having advanced too far into the ranks of his enemies, was surrounded and overpowered. Breathless with fatigue, and severely wounded, he surrendered himself to a Scottish knight named sir John Maxwell, one of the household retainers of the earl of Moray. When sir Ralph was made prisoner, his captor asked him who he was, for the increasing darkness made it now difficult to distinguish individuals. The Percy was so much weakened by loss of blood, that he had hardly the force to utter his name. "Well!" replied the knight, "rescue or no rescue, sir Ralph, you are my prisoner; my name is Maxwell." "I agree to it," said sir Ralph, "but pray attend to my condition; for I am so desperately wounded, that my drawers and greaves are full of blood." Upon this, the Scottish knight proceeded to render him every assistance; and at the same instant hearing the cry of Moray, and seeing the earl approach with his banner, he addressed him with the words, "my lord, I present you with sir Ralph Percy as a prisoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded." The earl was much pleased at this, and replied, "Maxwell, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day." He then ordered his men to take care of sir Ralph, and they bound up and stanched his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could tell at that moment to which side the victory leaned.

The friends and followers of the earl of Douglas now made their way to their lord, and they found him stretched help-

lessly on the ground, with one of his knights, sir Robert Hart, laying by his side, covered with fifteen wounds, and his warlike chaplain, William of North Berwick, vainly endeavouring to protect him. Three of the earl's cousins, sir James Lindsay, and sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires, made their way to the earl, and sir John Sinclair asked, "Cousin, how fares it with you?" "But poorly," replied Douglas. "Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers, or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you, Walter, and sir John Sinclair, raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Collamine, that valiant esquire who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage and loyalty, and do you continue to raise the cry of Douglas, but tell neither friend nor foe whether I am in your company or not; for, if the enemy knew the truth, they would be greatly rejoiced."

The two brothers Sinclair and sir James Lindesay, obeyed the last orders of their chieftain, and, raising his well-known banner, they shouted, a Douglas! a Douglas! and pressed onwards. Their followers, who had remained behind, hearing the war-cry of their clan so often repeated, ascended a small eminence, and pushed their spears with such courage, that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The latter were thus driven beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas now lay dead, and they thus reached his banner, which was borne by sir John Sinclair. Their numbers were continually increasing, as the shout of a Douglas! was repeated and passed from mouth to mouth, and the greatest part of the Scottish knights and esquires were now assembled at this point. The earls of Moray and March came thither also, with their banners and men. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before. To tell the truth, says the narrator, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was eight English leagues distant, whereby the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was, to them, of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack they so completely repulsed the English, that the latter never rallied again, and they were already driven far beyond the spot where the body of the Douglas lay. It was in this last struggle that the English leader, sir Henry Percy, so well known in subsequent history by his popular name of Hotspur, was taken prisoner by the lord Montgomery, after a personal engagement of long duration and great obstinacy. In these personal encounters the battle seems chiefly to have consisted, which gave it that chivalrous character so much admired by the knightly Froissart, and which made the defeat at last more fatal. Among the prisoners were sir Ralph de Langley, sir Robert of Ogle, sir Thomas Gray, sir Thomas Halton, sir Thomas Abington, sir John Lilburn, sir William Walsingham, sir John de Copland, and many others of the heads of northern families. Sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, is mentioned as the only English knight who escaped from the field. The valour of an English esquire, named Thomas Felton, merited the admiration of both parties. This man, who was attached to the household of lord Percy, boldly attacked the banner of the earl of Moray, in the last struggle before the English gave way, and he was instantly surrounded by the Scots. "He was," says Froissart, "a handsome man, and, as he showed, valiant in arms. He had on that and the preceding nights been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English, he would acquit himself so loyally that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I never saw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a strength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed such deeds of valour, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots, but he was slain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him prisoner for his courage; and several knights proposed it

to him, but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends.

"According to what I have heard," Froissart continues, "this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat; but when the Scots saw that the English were discomfited, and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying, 'sit down and disarm yourselves, for I am your master,' but they never insulted them more than if they had been brothers. The pursuit lasted a long time, and to the length of five English miles. Had the Scots been in sufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity."

Such was the more romantic than important battle of Otterburn, which cost the Scots one of their bravest chieftains, and was perpetuated in a lasting feud between the houses of Percy and Douglas. For ages afterwards, this engagement continued to be celebrated by the borders on both sides, as that in which the valour of each had been put to its greatest trial, and had passed through the trial with the least blot.* It has been here described almost in the words of Froissart, and even the minutest incidents of this eventful field, as told by the contemporary historian, afford us too vivid a picture of the manners

* There are several versions, Scotch and English, of the ancient ballad on the battle of Otterburn, but the oldest is certainly the English ballad printed by bishop Percy from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library. (M.S. Cotton. Cleopatra, c. iv.) It is in many respects so curious an illustration of Scottish history, that it deserves to be given entire:—

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

Yt felle abowght the Lamass tyde,
When husbonds wynn ther haye,
The dowhtye Douglass bowyed hym to ryde,
In Ynglond to take a praye;

The yerlle of Fyffe, withowghten stryffe,
He bowynd hym over Sulway:
The grete wolde ever together ryde;
That race they may rue for aye.

Over Ottercap hyll they came in,
And so dowyn by Rodelyffecragge,
Upon Grene Leyton they lighted dowyn,
Styrande many a stagge;

And boldely brente Northomberlonde,
And haryed many a towyn;
They dyd owr Ynglyssh men grete wrange,
To battell that were not bowyn.

Than spake a berne upon the bent,
Of comforte that was not colde,
And sayd, "We have brent Northomberlond,
We have all welth in holde.

Now we have haryed all Bamboroweshyre,
All the welth in the worlde have wee;
I rede we ryde to New Castelle,
So still and stalwurthlye."

Uppon the morowe, when it was daye,
The standardes schone fulle bryght;
To the Newe Castelle the toke the waye,
And thether they cam fulle ryght.

Sir Henry Percy laye at the Newe Castelle,
I telle yow withowtten drede;
He had byn a march-man all hys dayes,
And kepte Barwycke upon Twede.

To the Newe Castelle when they cam,
The Skottes they cryde on hyght,
"Sir Harye Percy, and thaw byste within,
Com to the fylde, and fyghte:

For we have brente Northomberlonde,
Thy eritage good and ryght;
And syne my logeyng I have take,
With my brande dubbyd many a knyght."

Sir Harry Percy cam to the walles,
The Skottyssh oste for to se;
"And thow hast brente Northomberlond,
Full sore it rewyth me.

Yf thou has haryed all Bamboroweshyre,
Thow hast done me grete envye;
For the trespasse thow hast me done,
The tone of us schalle dye."

"Where schall I byde the?" sayd the Dowglas,
Or where wylte thow come to me?
"At Otterborne in the high way,
Ther maist thow well logeed be.

The roo full rekeles ther sche rinnes,
To make the game and glee:
The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
Amonge on the holtes on hee.

Ther maist thow have thy welth at wyll,
Well loged ther maist be.
Yt schall not be long, or I com the tyll,"
Sayd syr Harry Percye.

"Ther schall I byde the," sayd the Dowglas,
"By the fayth of my bodye."
"Thether schall I com," sayd syr Harry Percy
My trowth I plyght to the."

A pype of wyne he gave them over the walles,
For soth, as I yow saye:
Ther he mayd the Douglas drynke,
And all hys oste that daye.

The Dowglas turnyd hym homewarde agayne,
For soth withowghten naye,
He tooke his logeying at Oterborne
Uppon a Wedynsday:

And there he pyght hys standerd dowyn,
Hys gettyng more and lesse,
And syne he warned hys men to goo
To chose ther geldyngs gresse.

A Skottysshe knyght hoved upon the bent,
A wache I dere well saye:
So was he ware on the noble Percy
In the dawnynge of the daye.

He prycked to his pavyleon dore,
As faste as he myght ronne,
"Awaken, Dowglas!" cryed the knyght,
"For hys love, that syttes yn trone.

Awaken, Douglas!" cryed the knyght,
"For thow maiste waken wyth wynne:
Yender have I spyed the prowde Percy,
And seven standardes wyth hym."

and sentiments of the times, to be passed over in neglect.

Sir Matthew Redman, as already stated, when he saw that the English were defeated, mounted his horse and rode from the field. But he had been observed by sir James Lindesay, who also, having his horse at hand, mounted it, and, with his battle-axe hung to his neck, and his spear in his hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle behind. He soon came so near to Redman, that he might have hit him with his lance, and then he shouted out, "Ha! sir knight, turn about; it is disgraceful to fly thus; I am James Lindesay, and if you do not turn, I will drive my spear into your back." Sir Matthew made no reply, but stuck spurs harder into his horse than before. In this manner the chase lasted for three miles, when sir Matthew's horse stumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his sword from the scabbard, and put himself in a posture of defence. The Scottish knight made a thrust at him with his lance, thinking to strike him on the breast; but, by a sudden movement of his body, he avoided the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. The English knight immediately stepped for-

"Nay by my trowth," the Douglas sayed,
"It ys but a fained taylle:
He durste not loke on my bred banner,
For all Ynglonde so haylle.

Was I not yesterdaye at the Newe Castell,
That stonds so fayre on Tyne?
For all the men the Percy hade,
He cowde not garre me ones to dyne."

He stepped owt at hys pavyleon dore,
To loke and it were lesse;
"Araye yow, lordyngs, one and all!
For here begynnes no peysse.

The yerle of Mentayne, thow arte my eme
The forwarde I gyve to the:
The yerlle of Huntlay cawte and kene,
He schall wyth the be.

The lorde of Bowghan in armure bryght
On the other hand he schall be;
Lord Jhonstone and lorde Maxwell,
They to schall be with me.

Swinton, fayre fylde upon your pryde
To batell make your bowen:
Syr Davy Scotte, syr Walter Stewarde,
Syr Jhon of Agurstone."

A FYTTE.

THE Perssy came byfore hys oste,
Wych was ever a gentyll knyght,
Upon the Dowglas lowde can he crye,
"I wyll holde that I have hyght:
For thow haste brente Northumberlonde,
And done me grete envye;
For thys trespasse thou hast me done,
The tone of us schall die."

The Dowglas answerde hym agayne
With grete wurds up on hee,
And sayd, "I have twenty agaynst thy one,
Byholde and thow maiste see."

Wyth that the Percye was grevyd sore,
For sothe as I yow saye:
He lyghted dowyn upon his fote,
And schoote his horsse clene away.

Every man sawe that he dyd soo,
That ryall was ever in rowght;
Every man schoote hys horsse him froo,
And lyght hym rowynde abowght.

Thus syr Hary Percye toke the fylde,
For soth, as I yow saye:
Jesu Cryste in hevyn on hyght
Dyd helpe hym well that daye.

But nyne thowzand, ther was no moo;
The cronykle wyll not layne:
Forty thowsande Skottes and fowre
That day fowght them agayne.

But when the batell byganne to joyne,
In hast ther came a knyght,
Then letters fayre furth hath he tayne,
And thus he sayd full ryght:

"My lorde, your father he gretes yow well,
Wyth many a noble knyght;
He desyres yow to bide
That he may see this fyght.

The baron of Grastoke ys com owt of the west,
With him a noble companye;
All they loge at your fathers thys nyghte
And the battel fayne wold they see."

"For Jesus love," sayd syr Harye Percy,
"That dyed for yow and me,
Wende to my lorde my father agayne,
And saye thou saw me not with yee:

My trowth ys plight to yonne Skottysh knight,
It nedes me not to layne,
That I schulde byde hym upon thys bent,
And I have hys trowth agayne:

And if that I wende off this grownde
For soth unfoughten awaye,
He wolde me call but a kowarde knyght
In hys londe another daye.

Yet had I lever to be rynde and rente,
By Mary, that mykel maye;
Then ever my manhood schulde be reproyvd
Wyth a Skotte another daye.

Wherfore schote, archars, for my sake,
And let scharpe arrowes flee:
Mynstrells, play up for your waryson,
And well quyt it schall be.

Every man thynke on hys trewe love,
And marke hym to the Trenité:
For to God I make myne avowe
Thys day wyll I not fle."

The bloody harte in the Dowglas armes,
Hys standerde stode on hye,
That every man myght full well knowe:
Bysyde stode Starres thre;

The whyte Lyon on the Ynglysh parte,
Forsoth as I yow sayne,
The Lucetts and the Cressawnts both
The Skotts fought them agayne.

ward, and cut the spear in two with his sword; upon which sir David Lindesay, finding that he had lost his lance, threw the shaft on the ground, and dismounting, grasped his battle-axe, which was flung across his shoulder, a weapon in the use of which the Scots were extremely dexterous. This single combat lasted for a long time, one with the sword, and the other with a battle-axe, and there was no person near to interfere. But at length the Englishman, hard pressed, was obliged to surrender, and he said, "Lindesay, I yield myself unto you." "Indeed!" replied the Scottish knight, "rescued or not?" "I consent," said sir Matthew Redman; "you will take good care of me." "That I will," answered sir James. Sir Matthew then put his sword into its scabbard, and said, "Now, what do you require of me, for I am your prisoner by fair conquest?" "And what is it you would wish me to do?" replied sir James. "I should like," said the other, "to return to Newcastle; and within fifteen days I will come to you in any part of Scotland you shall appoint." "I agree," said sir James, "if you will pledge yourself that in three weeks you will be in Edinburgh, and that wherever you go, you will acknowledge yourself as my prisoner." Sir Matthew having

Uppon sent Andrewe lowde cane they crye,
And thrysse they schowte on hight,
And syne marked them one owr Ynglysshe men,
As I have told yow right.

Sent George the bryght, owr ladies knight,
To name they were full fayne,
Owr Ynglysshe men they cryde on hyght,
And thrysse the schowtte agayne.

Wyth that scharpe arowes bygan to flee,
I tell yow in sertayne;
Men of armes byganne to joyne;
Many a dowghty man was ther slayne.

The Percy and the Dowglass mette,
That ether of other was fayne;
They schapped together, whyll that the swette,
With swords of fyne Collayne;

Tyll the bloode from ther bassonnetts ranne
As the roke doth in the rayne.
"Yelde the to me," sayd the Douglàs,
Or els thow schalt be slayne:

For I see, by thy bryght bassonet,
Thow arte sum man of myght,
And so I do by thy burnysshed brande,
Thow art an yerle, or ells a knyght."

"By my good faythe!" sayd the noble Percy,
"Now haste thou rede full ryght,
Yet wyll I never yielde me to the,
Whyll I may stonde and fyght."

They swapped together, whyll that they swette,
Wyth swordes scharpe and long;
Ych on other so faste they beette,
Tyll ther helmes cam in peyses dowyn.

The Percy was a man of strenghth,
I tell yow in thys stounde,
He smote the Dowglas at the swordes length,
That he felle to the growynde.

The sworde was scharpe and sore can byte.
I tell yow in sertaine;
To the harte he cowde hym smyte,
Thus was the Dowglas slayne.

The stonderdes stode styll on eke side,
With many a grevous grone!
Ther the fowght the day, and all the nyght,
And many a dowghty man was slone.

Ther was no freke, that ther wolde flye,
But styffly in stowre can stond,
Ycone hewyng on other whyll they myght drye,
Wyth many a bayllefull bronde.

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth and sertenly,
Syr James a Dowglas ther was slayne,
That daye that he cowde dye.

The yerle Mentaye of he was slayne,
Grysely groned uppon the growynd;
Syr Davy Scotte, syr Walter Steward,
Syr John of Agusstonne.

Syr Charlles Morrey in that place,
That never a fote wold flye;
Sir Hughe Maxwelle, a lord he was,
With the Dowgles dyd he dye.

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth as I yow saye,
Of fowre and forty thowsande Scotts
Went but eyghtene awaye.

Ther was slayne upon the Ynglysshe syde,
For soth and sertenlye,
A gentell knyght, sir John Fitz-hughe,
Yt was the more petye,

Syr James Harebotell ther was slayne,
For hym ther hartes were sore,
The gentyll Lovelle ther was slayne,
That the Percyes standerd bore.

Ther was slayne uppon the Ynglyssh parte,
For soth as I yow saye,
Of nyne thowsand Ynglyssh men
Fyve hondert cam awaye:

The other were slayne in the fylde,
Cryste kepe their sowles from wo,
Seyng ther was so few fryndes
Agaynst so many a foo.

Then one the morne they mayd them beeres
Of byrch, and haysell graye;
Many a wydowe with wepyng teyres
Ther makes they fette awaye.

Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne,
Bytwene the nyghte and the day:
Ther the Dowglas lost hys lyfe,
And the Percy was lede awaye.

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Syr Hughe Mongomery was hys name,
For soth as I yow saye,
He borowed the Percy home agayne.

Now let us all for the Percy praye
To Jesu most of myght,
To bryng his sowle to the blysse of heven,
For he was a gentyll knight.

sworn to observe these conditions, the two knights remounted their horses and parted, the one pursuing his way to Newcastle, and the other returning towards the field of battle.

But the night was now getting darker, and sir James Lindesay took the wrong road, in consequence of which he had not proceeded half-a-league before he fell in with the bishop of Durham, and more than five hundred English. Supposing them to be his friends in pursuit of the fugitives, he rode incautiously among them, upon which one asked who he was. He replied, "I am sir James Lindesay." The bishop, who was near and heard this, pushed forwards and said, "Lindesay, you are taken; surrender yourself to me." "And who are you?" said Lindesay. "I am the bishop of Durham," was the reply. "And where do you come from?" said Lindesay. "By my faith, friend," said the bishop, "I intended being at the battle, but I was unfortunately too late; and in despair I am returning to Newcastle, whither you shall accompany me." "If you insist upon it, I must comply," answered sir James; "but I have made a prisoner, and am now one myself—such is the chance of war." "Whom have you taken?" asked the bishop. "After a long pursuit, I captured and ransomed sir Matthew Redman." "And where is he?" said the bishop. "On my faith," replied sir James, "he is returned to Newcastle; he entreated I would allow him three weeks' liberty, which I agreed to." "Well, well!" said the bishop, "let us go on to Newcastle, where you shall converse with him." Thus sir James proceeded to Newcastle as the prisoner of the bishop of Durham.

In consequence of the sudden invasion and rapid movements of the Scots, the English had done everything in hurry and confusion. Newcastle had been the rallying point in the east, but only a part of the military force of the surrounding districts had been able to assemble there under the banners of the Percies. The bishop of Durham exerted himself to collect the remainder, and he reached Newcastle at the head of about two thousand horse and five thousand foot, in time to sup there the same evening that the two Percies had marched to Otterburn. While at supper, the bishop was informed of the march of the English, and of the route they had taken, and he immediately rose from table, and ordered his horses to be drawn out, and march, although it was now night, and they had already marched some distance. They took the road towards Otterburne, and had advanced about a league from Newcastle, when news was brought that the English and Scots were fighting. The bishop now ordered his men to halt, that he might obtain more certain intelligence, and at the same moment several fugitives arrived breathless from the combat. When asked how the affair went, they said, "Ill, and unfortunately, for we are defeated, and here are the Scots close at our heels." The bishop's men were alarmed at this news, and began to leave their ranks, when the first messengers of evil were followed by crowds of fugitives, and then struck with a sudden panic they all joined in the flight, and never stopped till they reached Newcastle. No more than five hundred of his knights and men-at-arms remained with the bishop, and with these, after a moment's consultation, he determined also to return to Newcastle, to learn with more certainty the circumstances of the defeat, and be prepared to march against the enemy on the morrow. They were putting this resolution in practice, when they met and captured the Scottish knight, sir James Lindesay, who reached Newcastle almost as soon as his prisoner, sir Matthew Redman. The latter proceeded, on his arrival, to announce the fate of the battle, and to tell how he had himself been made prisoner by Lindesay, when, to his surprise, he was informed by the bishop, or by some of his people, how sir James had been taken. Next morning, when the bishop and his troops had marched out of the town, sir Matthew went to his lodgings in search of his master, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. "What has brought you here, sir James?" was the first salute of sir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts, advanced to meet him, bid him good day, and replied, "By my faith, Redman, ill luck; for I had no sooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we may finish the business here, if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree to that," replied Redman; "but you must come and dine with me; for the bishop and his men have marched to attack

your countrymen. I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindesay. "In such manner," says the narrator, "did these two enjoy each other's company in Newcastle."

Meanwhile the bishop had collected all the forces in Newcastle, which, including his own men and those who had fled from the battle, amounted to about ten thousand, and with these he marched out at day-break, and took the road to Otterburne. They had not advanced two leagues, when it was announced to the Scots that the bishop of Durham had rallied his troops, and was on his march to give them battle, and this news was soon confirmed by the return of their scouts. "The barons and knights of Scotland, on being thus informed of the bishop of Durham's approach with ten thousand men, held a council whether to march away or abide the event. On mature consideration, they resolved on the latter, on account of the difficulty of finding another position so strong as that they then held for defending themselves and guarding their prisoners, of whom they had many. These they could not carry with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themselves in a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such a manner that it could be entered by only one pass. They then made their prisoners swear that, rescued or not, they would acknowledge themselves prisoners. When this was all done, they ordered their minstrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a custom, when assembled in arms, for those who are on foot to be well dressed, each having a large horn slung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different sizes, the noise is so great that it may be heard four miles off, to the great dismay of their enemies and their own delight. The Scottish commanders ordered this sort of music now to be played. The bishop of Durham with his banner, under which were at least ten thousand men, had scarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play such a concert, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noise, so that those of the English who had never before heard it were much frightened. This concert lasted a considerable time, and then ceased. After a pause, when they thought the English were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceased. The bishop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle array, until they came within sight of the enemy, two bow-shots off. The Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the bishop examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment, and how they had strengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they should act, and it seemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not advisable to risk an attack, for there were greater chances of loss than gain, and so they determined to return again to Newcastle. The Scots, perceiving that the English were retreating, and that there was no promise of any battle, retired within their camp to refresh themselves with meat and drink. Thev then made preparations for departure; but because sir Ralph Percy had been dangerously wounded, he begged of his master to allow him to return to Newcastle, or wherever else in Northumberland he might have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in case this favour were granted him, he pledged himself, as soon as he should be able to mount a horse, to surrender himself at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland. The earl of Moray, under whose banner he had been taken, readily assented to this request, and had a litter prepared for him. In a similar manner several knights and esquires obtained their liberty, a time being fixed for them to return in person to those who had captured them, or to send the amount of their ransoms. I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterbourne, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit, eight hundred and forty; and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots there were only about one hundred slain, and two hundred made prisoners. As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge from the number of killed

and prisoners on each side, if this battle were not hardily fought. When everything had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Hart, and sir Simon Glendenning, were enclosed within coffins and placed on cars, they began their march, carrying with them sir Henry Percy and upwards of forty English knights. They took the road to Melrose on the Tweed, and on their departure they set fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England, without any opposition, and on the morrow decamped very early, and arrived at Melrose, which is an abbey of black monks, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms. They there halted, and gave directions to the brethren for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whose obsequies were very reverently performed on the second day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of stone, with the banner of Douglas suspended over it." "When they had finished the business which had brought them to Melrose," Froissart continues, "they departed each to his own country; and those who had prisoners carried them with them, or ransomed them before they left Melrose. In this matter the English found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleased them much, as I learnt at the castle of the count de Foix, from John de Chasteauneuf, who had been made prisoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar; he praised the earl exceedingly for his generosity in allowing him to fix his ransom at his pleasure. Thus did these men-at-arms separate, having very soon and handsomely settled the amount of the ransoms for their prisoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thousand francs from the ransoms, and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert de Versy, and sir Simon Frazer, pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete or so gainful a victory. When the news of it was brought to sir Archibald Douglas and the earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carlisle, where they were with the larger division of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the same time vexed that they had not been present. They held a council, and determined to retreat into Scotland, since their companions had already marched thither. They accordingly broke up their camp, and re-entered Scotland."

Froissart's account of the chivalrous battle of Otterburn is no doubt in general correct, though on some parts he was certainly wrongly informed, and he appears to have been a little prejudiced by the circumstance that his informants were, as he confesses, either Scots or Frenchmen. As he informs us that about a third part of the whole Scottish army had marched under Douglas into the county of Durham, Froissart's account of the disparity of numbers must be exaggerated,* and it is not easy to understand from his account the still greater disparity of the numbers of killed and wounded. He was mistaken even in the date of the battle, which was fought on Wednesday, the 5th of August, 1388. The Scots were long proud of this victory, though it added nothing to their national glory, like the

* I cannot tell why, in this matter, Mr. Tytler should prefer the authority of Froissart to that of the Scottish historians. Andrew Winton makes the number of the Scots at Otterburn much greater. The English ballad, naturally enough, makes them more numerous than the English, which seems improbable. The death of Douglas was lamented in Scotland, and became the subject of various traditions. According to one of these, he was killed treacherously by one of his own grooms. According to another story, a prophecy in Douglas' family foretold that he should gain a victory by his death. This is changed into a dream in the Scottish ballad, which describes his death as follows:—

When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
I wat he was fu' fain!
They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,
And the blood ran down like rain.

But Percy, with his good broad sword,
That could so sharply wound,
Has wounded Douglas on the brow,
Till he fell to the ground

Then he call'd on his little foot-page,
And said, "Run speedilie,
And fetch my ain dear sister's son,
Sir Hugh Montgomerie."

"My nephew good," the Douglas said,
"What recks the death of ane?
Last night I dream'd a dreary dream,
And I ken the day's thy ain.

My wound is deep; I fain would sleep;
Take thou the vanguard of the three
And hide me by the braken bush
That grows on yonder lilye lee.

O bury me by the braken bush,
Beneath the blooming brier,
Let never living mortal ken
That ere a kindly Scot lies here.

He lifted up that noble lord,
Wi' the saut tear in his ee;
He hid him in the braken bush,
That his merry men might not see.

battle of Stirling and Bannockburn; for it was but the result of a border foray, in a war undertaken against the will of their king, to gratify the restless feelings of the feudal barons.

King Robert remained still adverse to war, and as years and infirmities gained upon him, and the turbulence of his subjects increased, he now agreed to yield up, at least, the power of a king, and in a parliament held at Edinburgh, in 1389, the earl of Fife, Robert's second son, an ambitious and intriguing man, was chosen regent of the kingdom. The earl of Carrick, who was the next heir to the crown, was passed over on account of his alleged incapacity, for he had been lamed by the kick of a horse, and it was pretended that he was no longer fitted for the active management of affairs. Perhaps this pretence was but a cover for the intrigues of his younger brother. The first acts of the new regent gave no great promise of future statesmanship; for he lowered the dignity of the ruler of Scotland, to embark in a petty quarrel with the English borderers. The English warden of the marches was now the earl marshal, who, since the battle of Otterburn, had endeavoured to conceal the disgrace of that defeat, by boasting of his readiness to revenge it. He publicly challenged the Scottish borderers to meet him in battle, and offered to fight them in a fair field, were they even double his numbers. The condition of Scotland at this time required peace; yet the earl of Fife ran the risk of sacrificing the interests of his country to accept this vain and unauthorized bravado. He summoned the Scottish nobles to assemble under his banner, and led in person a considerable army across the English border, where he encamped, and sent a messenger to the earl marshal, to inform him that he had accepted his challenge, and would wait for him to come out to battle. The earl marshal declined the defiance, and entrenching himself in a strong position, waited to be attacked. On this, the regent returned into Scotland with his army, with the credit, or rather discredit, of having wasted the strength of the kingdom in a useless, if not ridiculous expedition. Soon afterwards a truce of three years was concluded between England and France, and Scotland was prevailed upon to be a party to the cessation of hostilities.

The earl of Fife was not destined to enjoy long the honours of the regency. Soon after the truce, just mentioned, king Robert retired to his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, to enjoy the repose to which he was becoming daily more attached; and his love of which had now been increased by sickness. He died there on the 13th of May, 1390, at the age of seventy-four, and his remains were deposited in the abbey of Scone. His eldest son, John earl of Carrick, was crowned with great solemnity, on the morning of the 14th of August, the day after his father's funeral; and his wife, Annabella Drummond, was crowned queen on the following day. The name of John was upopular, because it reminded the Scots of their king, John Baliol, and to appease the popular prejudice, the new king took the more popular name of Robert the Third.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST ACTS OF ROBERT III.; THE "WOLF OF BADENOCH;" THE DUKES OF ALBANY AND ROTHESAY; FLIGHT OF THE EARL OF MARCH; HENRY IV. INVADES SCOTLAND; MURDER OF THE DUKE OF ROTHESAY.

Scotland seemed for a while hardly to have changed its ruler, for the earl of Fife, into whose hands the late king had resigned the reins of government, still held them in his grasp, and the mild and gentle temper of the new monarch offered but a feeble resistance. The third Robert was eminently a just and patriotic king, but he was entirely wanting in that sternness of character which was necessary to coerce the turbulent barons over whom he had been called to reign. Never, perhaps, had the power of the barons been individually so great as at this moment, and they had, for some years,

been accustomed to commit outrages of every description without restraint. The ambition and intrigues of the brother who virtually ruled the kingdom at this moment were beginning to show a darker character, while another brother, the earl of Buchan, whose ferocity had obtained for him the popular title of the Wolf of Badenoch, had been permitted by his father to rule with an absolute power over the northern parts of the kingdom. This man gave a fearful proof of his contempt for the royal authority, it is said even before the crown had been placed on his brother's head. In consequence of some quarrel with the bishop of Moray, the "Wolf" rushed down with his highlanders from the mountains, ravaged the country around, and then sacked and plundered the cathedral of Elgin, not sparing even the sacred vessels and vestments, and after polluting it with blood, finally committed it to the flames, and not only the church but the town adjoining was burnt to the ground. The sacrilegious character of this deed excited a general feeling of horror, yet the perpetrator remained untouched in his den. An incident which happened on the morning after the coronation shows at once the oppressive conduct of the nobles, and the amiable character of their king. The barons and their retinues who attended at the coronation had recklessly destroyed the crops on the fields around the abbey of Scone, in which that ceremony was performed, and the canon who filled the office of storekeeper of the house had applied to the king's chamberlain for redress, and been turned away with scorn. Probably the lenient temper of the king was well known to him; but be this as it may, early in the morning, not only the king, but the whole court, were disturbed by a dreadful uproar, and looking out they beheld a great mob of farm-servants and villagers assembled under the windows of the royal bedchamber, having before them a rude effigy stuffed with straw, and abundantly furnished with the drums, horns, and rattles then used in village festivals. With these they struck up such a peal of dissonant music, mixed with horrible yells, that the whole court was thrown into dismay. The canon, who appeared at their head, was seized and dragged into the royal presence, and when questioned by the king on the meaning of this disturbance, he is said to have replied as follows:—"May it please your majesty, the sounds you have just heard are our rural carols, which we play when our crops are brought in; but as you and your barons have spared us the trouble and the expense of cutting them down this season, we thought it but right to give you a sample of our harvest rejoicings." This singular method of making known the grievances of the monks excited the anger of the nobles, who would have punished it on the spot, but the king interfered, and not only pardoned the canon, but ordered the damages done to the monks to be examined into, and full compensation to be made.

The impunity with which the earl of Buchan had been allowed to carry out his raid against the bishop of Moray, encouraged Duncan Stuart, a natural son of that chief, who seems in ferocity of manners to have been not unworthy of his father, to perpetuate a still more daring outrage. He collected together an army of wild ketherans, or foot soldiers, armed with sword and target, and passing over the hills into Angus, began to rob the country, and commit every kind of atrocity on the inhabitants, without any provocation. The sheriff of Angus, sir Walter Ogilvy, instantly collected his power, and being joined by sir Patrick Gray and sir David Lindesay of Glenesk, marched against the highlanders, and encountered them at a place called Gasklune. But he was almost instantly defeated; Ogilvy was slain, and sir Patrick Gray and sir David Lindesay, desperately wounded, made their escape with difficulty. This outrage, like the former, passed without punishment, as did many others that arose from the private feuds of the nobility. These often sprung from the most trifling causes. Robert Keith, a proud and powerful baron, quarrelled with his aunt, the lady of Fivy, the wife of sir David Lindesay, in consequence of a misunderstanding between his servants and some masons on the subject of a water-course; and without more ado, he raised his men, and besieged the lady in her castle. Sir David Lindesay happened to be at court, but he hastened to the assistance of his wife, and defeated Keith with the slaughter of sixty of his men.

A feud between two highland clans had a still more extraordinary termination. The clan Kay, had long been engaged in fierce hostilities with a rival sept named the clan Quhete, or clan Chattan, which they agreed, with a strange mixture of ferocity and chivalry, to decide by a combat of thirty against thirty. This project is said to have been

encouraged, perhaps suggested, by the earl of Moray and sir James Lindesay, as a good scheme for making the turbulent highlanders destroy one another, and it was approved by the court. A day was appointed for the combat, and barriers were raised in the level ground of the north-inch of Perth. When the day came, the king and a great concourse of the Scottish nobility assembled to witness this singular combat, and sixty stout highlanders, full armed in the manner of their clans, presented themselves in the lists. But, before the signal for battle was given, one of the clan Chattan lost his courage, and slipping from his companions, he threw himself into the river Tay, swam across, and disappeared in the neighbouring woods. As the numbers were now unequal, the combat could not proceed, and the king, who had been persuaded against his own judgment to consent to it, was glad to put an end to the revolting exhibition, and break up the assembly. But when he was on the point of giving his orders for this purpose, a stout armourer of Perth stepped within the barriers, and offered to take the place of the absent man for half a mark. A savage combat now began, which was long carried on with a ferocity that shocked the feelings of the more chivalrous portion of the spectators. At length only one combatant of the clan Kay remained, while eleven of the opposite clan were still able to wield their weapons, and the king threw down his gage, and awarded the victory to the clan Quhete. For some time after this event, the highlands remained more tranquil, and the government of the north was committed to the young heir to the throne, David earl of Carrick.

Fortunately, during this period Scotland remained at peace with England. The truce between England and France, to which Scotland had been a party, was renewed for eight years; it was during the whole of that period equally respected by all parties, and Scottish commerce was again encouraged and protected. The country internally was rapidly improving, and it was only the feuds and intrigues of its aristocracy that stood in the way of its prosperity. A friendly intercourse between England and Scotland again took place, and enabled the rougher natives of the north to profit by the civilization of the south. This is all we have to say of Scottish history during a period of about ten years. At the latter end of April, 1398, Robert III. held a parliament at Perth, at which the foreign title of duke was first introduced into Scotland. The king's eldest son, David earl of Carrick, was created duke of Rothesay, the king's brother the earl of Fife was made duke of Albany, and the gallant sir David Lindesay received the title of earl of Crawford. The king had hitherto left the management of the kingdom entirely in the hands of his younger brother, the duke of Albany, as he was now called, a man of great ambition, and unscrupulous in the means he adopted to indulge his love of power; but the duke of Rothesay, the immediate heir to the throne, had now passed his twentieth year, and showed a spirit which was not likely to submit long to his uncle's government. The duke of Rothesay was the favourite son of his father and of his mother, and during his youth he had experienced an indulgence which had produced in him a love of pleasure that led him into excesses which sometimes threw a shade over his greater and better qualities. With tastes of a more refined character than those of the nobles with whom he was born to associate, the young prince seems to have looked upon them with contempt, if not with aversion, while many princely qualities, a handsome person, and popular manners, rendered him the idol of the populace. This very circumstance made him more obnoxious to his uncle, who saw with alarm, as the young heir to the throne grew up to manhood, the development of an ambition and of a talent for governing which promised him but a short tenure of the power he then held. The king himself appears to have had misgivings for the safety of his son, and we find him entering into frequent bonds with his nobles by which the latter, in consideration for an annual pension, engaged to give their service in supporting and defending the king and his eldest son, the earl of Carrick; in time of peace as well as in time of war.

A party was soon formed among the friends of the young prince, supported by the influence of the queen, for the purpose of compelling the duke of Albany to abdicate his power. It was represented that the kingdom was in a state of absolute anarchy, and that murder, robbery, and every frightful crime, were perpetrated throughout the kingdom with impunity. This they attributed to the selfish policy of the duke of Albany, who attempted to bind the nobles of the land to his interests, by

giving them impunity for their offences. We learn from these representations that the king's household was a scene of frequent personal disputes between the different branches of the royal family. It was suggested to the king that the surest way of putting an end to these disorders, was, either to take the government into his own hands, or, if he had not the strength and energy to rule by himself, to take the reins out of the hands of the duke of Albany and place them in those of the person naturally entitled to hold them, the young heir to the throne.

The king listened with secret pleasure to these councils, and the duke of Albany became convinced that his best policy was to give way for the moment, and a parliament was held at Perth on the 27th of January, 1399, for the purpose of reforming the disorders of the kingdom. The three estates there assembled in a full meeting began by an assertion which points out to us the miserable state of the kingdom, while it contains the earliest declaration in Scotland of the king's responsibility through his ministers. They said that "the misgovernance of the realm and the defaults in the due administration of the law were to be imputed to the king and his ministers, and if the king chose to excuse his own mismanagement, he was bound to be answerable for his officers, whom he must summon and arraign before his council, whose decision was to be given after they had made their defence." It was then declared that since the king, for sickness of his person, was unable to labour in the government of his kingdom and to enforce the due execution of its laws, it was judged expedient that the duke of Rothesay should be the king's lieutenant generally throughout the land, for the term of three years, with full power as if he were the king, but under the obligation of his oath to administer his office according to the directions of the parliament, or, in its absence, with the advice of a council of government, consisting of some of the principal barons and ecclesiastics of the realm, with the duke of Albany at their head. A further provision of this act declared that the king should not hinder the prince in the execution of his office by counter-orders, "as has hitherto happened," and that if such counter-orders were given, the regent was not to pay any attention to them. The parliament then proceeded to levy the taxes necessary for the wants of the government; to forbid the numerous retinues of the barons, who rode with them through the country, committing slaughters, burnings, and destructions; to recommend the cultivation of a close alliance with France, and to direct measures for concluding a permanent peace or a long truce with England.

This latter object was defeated by the great and sudden revolution which occurred in England in the course of the same year. The weak monarch, Richard II., deposed by his barons, was succeeded by Henry IV., a king who possessed the energy as well as the talents for ruling a great people. In Scotland there appears to have existed a strong feeling against king Henry's usurpation of the crown; any negotiations that may have been entered into for peace were immediately broken off; and a man who pretended to be king Richard escaped from prison, was received in that character, and used as a sort of puppet to alarm and annoy the prince who really occupied the throne of England. But a still more hostile feeling arose on the border, where, on the expiration of the truce immediately after king Henry's accession, the Scots began to renew their old border raids, and carried slaughter and devastation among their English neighbours. A strong party of Scots captured and destroyed the castle of Wark, but another party was overtaken and defeated with considerable loss by sir Robert Umfraville, at a place called Fullhopelaw.

As far as we can understand the accounts of the dark transactions of this period, the duke of Albany soon regained his influence over the king's mind, while the youthful excesses of the young regent injured his popularity, and favoured the treacherous designs of his uncle. The friends of the prince seem to have thought that his irregularities might be corrected by marriage, and steps were immediately taken to find him a wife; but even this measure, which was managed by the duke of Albany, turned out disastrons to the country. The earl of March, one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, was the first to offer his daughter, and as the proposal was accompanied with a promise of a large dowry, it was immediately accepted. The prince was affianced to Elizabeth of Dunbar. But the preliminaries were hardly completed, when the Douglases, jealous of the advancement thus held out to a rival house, gained over the duke of Albany, and took mea-

sures to hinder the alliance. Archibald earl of Douglas, protested against the conclusion of a matter so grave as the marriage of the heir to the throne, without the advice of the three estates, and then, tempted by the payment of a far more considerable dower than that which had already been paid by the earl of March, the king determined to marry the prince to a daughter of the Douglas. In haste to conclude this new match, the prince rode secretly to Bothwell, the castle of the earl of Douglas, and married Elizabeth Douglas.

The proud earl of March was furious, when he heard of the dishonourable intrigue of which he had been made a victim, and hurrying to the king's presence, he upbraided him with a breach of the contract, and demanded redress; but he could not even obtain a promise of repayment of the sum which he had already paid down. He then burst into a violent passion, and left the court, declaring that he would see justice done to his daughter, or would take such revenge as would convulse the whole kingdom. His anger was increased, when he heard that the prince's marriage with a daughter of the house of Douglas had actually taken place; and, without further debate, he committed his castle of Dunbar to the charge of his nephew, Maitland, and repaired to the court of England. The moment the earl's flight was known, the Douglases, armed with the royal authority, attacked and took possession of his castle, and seized upon his estates. The earl, labouring under this accumulated load of injuries, threw himself into the arms of the new monarch of England, who, threatened with war by France, and well aware that the king of Scotland and the duke of Albany entertained hostile feelings towards him, was glad to have gained so valuable an ally, and received him with the utmost favour. The earl of March demanded the restoration of his lands, but being treated with scorn, he renounced his allegiance to king Robert, and swore fealty to king Henry.

To the no small astonishment of the Scots, the king of England suddenly revived the old claim of sovereignty over Scotland, and summoned king Robert, as his feudal vassal, to answer for the injustice experienced by the earl of March, threatening, in case of disobedience, to march into Scotland at the head of his army. The king of Scotland treated the summons with scorn, and Henry seemed in no hurry to fulfil his threat. But the earl of March joining with sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), and the lord Thomas Talbot, raised a force of two thousand men, crossed the border, and invaded the lands which had belonged to March beiore his flight from Scotland. They carried their devastations as far as the village of Popil, and were twice repulsed in attacks on the castle of Hailes; but they revenged themselves by burning and plundering the villages of Trapram and Methil. They then encamped with their booty at Linton, and prepared to pass the night there. But Archibald Douglas, the eldest son of the earl of Douglas, hearing of these proceedings, had collected a strong force, and, marching rapidly from Edinburgh, reached the hill of Pencrag, at no great distance from the place where the English were encamped, before the latter received any notice of their approach. The invaders were seized with a sudden panic, and leaving their encampment in disorder, fled towards the English border, closely pursued by the Scots, who took the banner of lord Talbot under the very walls of Berwick.

King Henry now prepared to execute his threat of invading Scotland. In the summer of the year 1400, he assembled his forces at York, and thence directed his summons to the king of Scotland to appear before him as his lord paramount. This, as might be expected, produced no effect, and he advanced to Newcastle, where the earl of March joined him and renewed his homage as to the sovereign of Scotland. In the month of August, Henry marched into Scotland, and proceeded towards Edinburgh, the castle of which was held by a strong garrison under the personal command of the duke of Rothesay, who alone of those who guided the reins of government showed the courage required by the occasion. He sent a challenge to the English king, accusing him of having invaded the kingdom for the sole love of plunder, and offering to decide their quarrel by a combat of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred nobles on each side. The accusation was in this instance certainly not correct, for the English army strictly restrained from the plunder and devastation which then marked the course of such invasions, proceeded on its march with a discipline and forbearance which had seldom been known. The chal-

lenge itself was more chivalrous than statesmanlike, for it could hardly be expected that king Henry would give up all the advantages of numbers and discipline, to leave his quarrel to the fortune of individual prowess. He returned a contemptuous reply to Rothesay's message,* and continued his march to Leith, where he halted and sent another summons to the king of Scotland, which, like the former, was disregarded. At Leith Henry had met his fleet, and having thus provisioned his army, he marched direct to Edinburgh, took possession of the Scottish capital, and laid siege to the castle. Here the king showed the same forbearance, as far as consistent with the ordinary cautions of war, and he extended his especial protection to the abbey of Holyrood. When two of the canons of that house came to him to intercede for it, he is said to have replied to them:—"I will never, as long as I live, injure any religious house, and the monastery of Holyrood, where my father found shelter while in exile, is especially entitled to the protection of his son. I am myself a Comyn, and by this side of my blood half a Scot; and I led my army hither, not to ravage the land, but to answer the defiance of certain amongst you who have described me as a traitor, and see if they dare to make good the base epithets applied to me in the letters to the king of France, which were intercepted by my people, and are now in my hands. I sought the writer in his own land, to give him an opportunity of establishing his innocence, or proving my guilt, but he has not dared to come forward and meet me."

It is generally understood that the allusion in the latter part of Henry's reply to the canons was to the duke of Albany, who, leaving Rothesay to defend Edinburgh castle, had collected a numerous army, and was now marching rapidly towards the capital, with the resolution, as he pretended, of compelling the English to raise the siege. But when the Scottish army had reached Caldermoor, some ten or twelve miles from Edinburgh, Albany ordered them to pitch their tents, and he sent a herald to the English king to inform him, that if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would march out and give him battle. The English king, to show his joy at this announcement, gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald. But Albany remained quietly in his strong position, and never fulfilled his promise; and many said afterwards that it was his intention by this traitorous inactivity to betray the prince into the hands of the enemy, and thus ensure his own undisputed possession of power. Be this as it may, Henry soon found that the castle of Edinburgh was by its position and strength proof against assault, and knowing that it was well provisioned, while the rigorous season was fast approaching, and his own numerous army was already suffering from sickness and want, he withdrew from Edinburgh and returned to his own kingdom, preserving the same discipline and forbearance in his retreat as was shown in his advance. His retrograde march was hastened by intelligence of the insurrection in Wales under the redoubtable Owen Glyndwr. He himself afterwards declared that he had retired from Scotland in consideration of a promise made to him through sir Adam Forester, which was never fulfilled, but what this promise was is unknown.

Internally, Scotland continued, in spite of all the provisions of parliament, to be in the same disordered state; the laws were despised, and deeds of violence were perpetrated with impunity. Nor was it to be wondered at, that such excesses were overlooked among the nobility, and their dependents, when they were perpetrated even on the steps of the throne. The follies of the young duke of Rothesay had not been corrected by his elevation to the office of regent, which, on the contrary, he too often used for selfish purposes, and to protect the troop of gay and unprincipled companions with whom he associated. By these means he was gradually losing his popularity, while the duke of Albany, whose dark and unprincipled ambition was now beginning to show itself in worse colours than ever, was watching the opportunity to ruin him. Hitherto the prince had been restrained in some measure from the wildness of his own character, and protected against his enemies, by the influence of three powerful friends, his mother, the queen; his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas; and Trail,

* Rothesay had said in his letter, that by deciding their quarrel in the way proposed, they would save the effusion of Christian blood, in answer to which king Henry expressed his wonder how Rothesay should think of saving Christian blood by shedding that of the nobility, who he hoped were Christians as well as others. The correspondence on this subject is still existing.

bishop of St. Andrews; but unfortunately all three died in quick succession, at the moment when the young prince was most in need of them. In their place he had to contend with two bitter and powerful enemies in the successor to the earldom of Douglas, Archibald the brother of Rothesay's wife, who resented his unkind treatment of her, and sir William Lindsay, of Rossy, who sought equally to revenge a sister, whom Rothesay had loved and forsaken. In addition to his other misfortunes, the duke of Rothesay seems to have given great offence to his father, the king, and he was certainly labouring under his displeasure after the period of the English invasion. King Robert now lived in complete retirement, where he listened chiefly to the counsel and information of his brother Albany, who made use of this advantage to embitter the old king's heart against his son. Opportunities were not wanting, and soon after he was freed from the good influence of his mother by her death, the young prince was led into excesses of such a kind as, when perhaps exaggerated by his uncle, so far provoked the king, that he was induced to give orders for putting him under a forced restraint, which was ill calculated to conciliate his impetuous temper. The prince made his complaint privately, but bitterly to one of the most intimate of his unprincipled companions, a knight named sir John de Ramorgny, who, under the cover of a polished and well educated mind, nourished a heart that was capable of every baseness and villany. This man, who had been an active minister to the prince's pleasures, joined in his indignation at the check which was put upon them by the interference and intrigues, as both knew or believed, of his uncle, and mistaking the prince's character, in which there was much that was generous and high principled, proposed, or at least hinted at getting rid of the duke of Albany by means of assassination. To his surprise, the duke of Rothesay received the base proposal with scorn and indignation, and, while he declared that he should not betray his adviser to the punishment he deserved, he upbraided him so bitterly, that Ramorgny never forgave him. In anger, and perhaps also in alarm, he went over to the duke of Albany, who immediately took him into his confidence, and to whom, in the prosecution of his designs, the intimate acquaintance which this new ally possessed of the private failings of his intended victim were of the utmost importance.

A dark plot was now formed for the destruction of the young prince, in which the duke of Albany, the earl of Douglas, sir William Lindsay, and sir John de Ramorgny were the principal actors. They soon persuaded the king that the wild conduct of his son required some more effectual restraint than any yet employed, and Ramorgny and Lindsay, who were on this occasion employed in poisoning the royal ear, were entrusted with an order to the duke of Albany, under the royal signet, to arrest the prince, and place him in temporary confinement. The impetuous conduct of Rothesay soon gave his enemies a favourable opportunity for carrying their plans into execution. The three years of his regency had expired, and his authority had not been renewed, yet he persisted in acting as though he retained it. It was the custom in Scotland, on the death of a bishop, to seize his castle into the king's hands, until the election of a successor. The bishop of St. Andrews, the last of Rothesay's good advisers, was just dead, and the prince determined immediately to seize the castle of St. Andrews, as an exercise of his power as regent, before any order from the king's hand could anticipate him. Information of his design had been carried to the conspirators, and as he was on his way thither, attended by a small retinue, he was overtaken by Ramorgny and Lindsay, who, fortified with the king's order, arrested him, and confined him in close prison in the very castle which he was going to seize. Here he was not allowed to remain long. One dark stormy day, well suited to the mission on which they were employed, the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas repaired to St. Andrews with a strong party of soldiers; and, having dismissed the few servants who had previously attended on the prince, they obliged him to mount a poor hack, and throwing a cloak over the princely garments he still wore, hurried him on to the castle of Falkirk. He was there thrown into a deep dungeon, and left to the charge of two ruffians named Wright and Selkirk. The conclusion of this terrible tragedy is wrapped up in much mystery, but it is generally understood that Rothesay was starved to death. According to a story which seems to have no very substantial

foundation, his death was made more lingering by the charity of a poor woman, who, accidentally passing through the garden, heard groans from a small grated window level with the ground. She found that it led to a dungeon deep under ground, in which the young duke of Rothesay was kept without food or attendance, and she is said to have stolen there by night to administer to his wants by dropping small cakes through the grating, and passing the milk from her own breasts to his mouth. His keepers, discovering this act of kindness, took immediate and effective steps to prevent its recurrence, and after leaving their victim fifteen days without food, they opened his prison door and found his body in such a condition as proved that in the agonies of his last moments he had attempted to obtain sustenance by gnawing his own flesh. His body was carried privately to the monastery of Lindores, and there buried; and in order to stop the inquiries to which public sympathy could not fail to give rise, it was published abroad that the heir to the throne had been suddenly taken ill and died of a dysentery.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW EFFORTS FOR THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES; INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF ROTHESAY; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; BATTLES OF NESBIT MOOR AND HOMILDON HILL; THE EARL OF CARRICK TAKEN AND RETAINED IN ENGLAND; DEATH OF ROBERT III.

Previous to the tragedy just described, a parliament had been held at Scone to make provisions for restraining the turbulence which seemed to be increasing in every part of the kingdom, and many wise and necessary laws were passed. But it was a vain labour to enact laws, which the people for whom more especially they were made were unwilling to obey, and which those whose duty it was to see them observed were unable or unwilling to enforce. Many of the enactments of this parliament show us the insecurity of feudal tenure and the injustice and abuses which seemed inseparable from it, and the tyranny of the feudal aristocracy in Scotland. The latter were their own judges, and scarcely allowed the laws of the land to have course within their several territories. They were accustomed arbitrarily to deprive their vassals of their lands, under the title of a resumption, whenever the opportunity offered of deriving important advantages by giving or selling them to another; and under the pretence of debt or other excuse, they robbed of their goods and chattels those who appeared to be getting too wealthy. Thus all inducement to improve the cultivation of of the land was destroyed, and agriculture was neglected. The acts of the parliament of Scone also reveal to us great abuses in the administration of justice through the negligence, venality, or favour of the officers of the crown, and the facility with which notorious offenders were allowed to escape. It was also found necessary to pass severe enactments against those who falsified weights and measures, or the coin of the realm, as well as against a variety of other frauds which were practised in the middle classes of society.

This parliament had not long concluded its session, when the murder of the heir to the throne, and the impunity of the assassins, showed how little justice there was in Scotland. It is probable that no one was deceived by the account which was given officially of the prince's death. The public voice soon pointed to Albany as the murderer, and the manner of his death seems to have been darkly whispered abroad. The clamour became at length so great, that it was necessary to take some means to stop it; and Albany produced the king's order for the arrest of his son as a justification of the only part he pretended to have acted in the matter, affirmed that no kind of violence had been used, and demanded that the matter might be examined before parliament. A parliament was accordingly held on the 16th of May, 1402, in the monastery of Holyrood, and the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas were examined with regard to the circumstances

attending the death of the prince, but there appear to have been no accusers, and all that we know of the transactions of this parliament is, that they were both acquitted of all suspicion of the murder. A declaration of their innocence was subsequently published under the king's seal, but the cautious terms in which it is worded betrays a consciousness of guilt on the part of the accused.

Meanwhile the irritation on the border had never entirely ceased, and it was now reassuming a more serious character. Little respect had been shown to the truce; the earl of March, with the Percies, ravaged the lands of the Douglases, while the latter, and their dependents and allies, revenged themselves by repeated inroads on the English side of the border. In one of these the earl of Douglas is said to have burnt Bamborough castle. The Scots, however, were less successful in these feuds than was usually the case, and the earl of Douglas, on whom the weight of public opinion for his share in the murder of Rothesay weighed heavily, sustained so many losses, that he gained the popular title of tyne-man (or lose-man), on account of the number of men who were slain under his banner, and people began to say that ill-fortune attended upon all his undertakings. The people of the Merse, moreover, who seemed to look upon the earl of March as their natural lord, entered into the war against him with so little spirit, that the Douglas found it necessary to call up the people of the Lothians. The flower of the warriors of this district made a successful raid into England, and carried home their spoil, but in a second they were more unfortunate. Having penetrated too far, Percy and March had time to collect a strong body of men, and they were intercepted at Nesbit Moor, in the Merse. After a desperate conflict, the leader of the Scots, sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, with many of his bravest companions, were slain, and most of the rest, including some of the most distinguished knights of Lothian, were carried away prisoners.

Although this was but an inconsiderable battle, it produced important results on both sides the border. While king Henry thanked the earl of Northumberland and his son, the gallant Hotspur, for their activity, and ordered them to collect the force of the border counties to resist more effectually the invasions of the Scots, the earl of Douglas, enraged at the defeat at Nesbit Moor, and believing that the English were fully occupied with the invasion of the Welsh, determined to collect all his strength and take ample revenge for the loss of Hepburn and his companions-in-arms. There assembled under his banner the greater part of the chivalry of Scotland, including the earls of Moray, Angus, and Orkney, with Fergus Macdowall at the head of the men of Galloway, and the heads of the houses of Erskine, Grahame, Montgomery, Seton, Sinclair, Lesley, the Stuarts of Angus, Dunideer, and Lorn, and many other knights of great distinction. They were joined by Murdoch, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, at the head of a strong body of archers and spearsmen. The whole force which crossed the border on this occasion amounted to not less than ten thousand men.

The earl of Northumberland and his son were prepared for this formidable invasion, and, assisted by the earl of March and his son Gawin of Dunbar, assembled their forces to meet it. They permitted the invaders to advance without opposition, and the Scots marched through the heart of Northumberland up to the gate of Newcastle undisturbed. Their leaders, imagining that king Henry had all his strength with him in Wales, and that the borderers were panic-struck, were now confident in the strength of their army and in the uninterrupted success which had attended their march, and gave way to a fatal security. Having collected their spoils, they began a slow retreat, and had encamped carelessly in the neighbourhood of Wooler in Northumberland, when intelligence was suddenly brought that the pass in front of them was occupied by an English army, under the redoubtable Hotspur, who was marching to attack them. Douglas lost no time in preparing for the combat, but he committed a fatal error in the choice of his position. He placed his men in a solid square, on a high eminence called Homildon Hill, as though he had only to resist an attack of the English men-at-arms, whereas the greater part of Hotspur's army consisted of archers, whose skill in the use of the bow had proved in so many cases disastrous to Scottish armies, and Homildon was surrounded by eminences which commanded the hill within bow-shot.

When the English came in view of the Scottish position, Hotspur, with characteristic impetuosity, would have rushed on to the attack with his men-at-arms, but he was restrained by the earl of March, whose

old and experienced eye saw at once the error which had been committed by the Scots, and holding Percy's horse by the reins, he urged that the archers should be allowed to begin the battle. Fortunately for the English, his advice was followed. The archers marched slowly down the hill where the English army had halted, pouring forth as they went volleys of arrows which fell with fearful execution on the close ranks of their enemies. Many of the barons and gentlemen were slain, for even their tempered armour was not proof against the English arrows, and we are told that the unprotected bodies of the wild Galwegians presented the appearance of hedgehogs. The Scots for a while seemed paralysed at the destruction which thus fell upon them, and which became greater as the English archers approached nearer. At length one of the bravest of the Scottish barons, sir John Swinton, stood forwards, and exclaimed that they should rush down the hill upon their enemies, and not stand still to be slain like deer. Calling on his fellow warriors to follow, he couched his lance, and was giving the rein to his horse, when another baron, sir Adam de Gordon, with whom he had long been at deadly feud, dismounted and stopped him. "Let us be reconciled on this spot," he said, "that I may receive knighthood at thy hand; for I may never receive the honour from one more noble and brave." Swinton dismounted, embraced his old foe, and gave him the accolade, and then both remounted and charged down the hill, with their followers, amounting to about a hundred horsemen. But they were all slain or dismounted before they reached the enemy's ranks. Douglas had now given the word, and the Scottish army began to follow the example of this devoted band, and descend the hill, upon which the English archers fell back slowly on their own men-at-arms. But at each retrograde step the archers discharged a new volley, with such deadly aim that the Scots fell thick on every side, and the numbers of the slain and the furious prancing and kicking of the wounded horses impeded their progress. Confusion and terror soon pervaded their ranks, if ranks they could now be called, and they began to disperse and fly, upon which the English archers laid aside their bows, and rushing in with their knives and short swords completed the discomfiture. We are assured by the English writers, that the English men-at-arms never struck a blow, but that the battle was gained merely by the archers.

The slaughter of the Scots was dreadful, and immense numbers were drowned in attempting to cross the Tweed where it was not fordable. Almost every person of rank and station who survived was made a prisoner. The earl of Douglas, in spite of the extraordinary temper of his armour, had received five wounds. With him were captured Murdoch, earl of Fife (the eldest son of the duke of Albany), the earls of Moray, Angus, and Orkney, and Fergus Macdowal, the chieftain of Galloway. Eighty knights of the first Scottish families were taken, including the names of sir Robert Erskine of Alva, the lord Montgomery, sir James Douglas master of Dalkeith, sir William Abernethy of Salton, sir John Stuart of Lorn, sir John Seton, sir George Lesley of Rothes, sir Adam Forester of Corstorphine, sir Walter Bickerton of Luffness, sir Robert Stuart of Durisdeer, sir William Sinclair of Hermandston, sir Alexander Home of Dunglas, sir Patrick Dunbar of Bele, sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, sir Lawrence Ramsay, sir Helias Kinmont, and sir John Ker; with three French knights, sir Piers de Essars, sir James de Helsey, and sir John Darny. Among the slain were sir John Swinton, sir Adam de Gordon, sir John Levingston of Calendar, sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, sir Roger Gordon, sir Walter Scott, and sir Walter Sinclair. Seldom had a battle, in a war undertaken for such unworthy objects, brought so much mourning and alarm over Scotland.

The battle of Homildon hill was fought on the 14th of September, 1402. It led to consequences of greater moment, which belong more to English than to Scottish history. We learn from the former how the Percies, offended at king Henry's commands not to dispose of their prisoners without his directions, entered into a formidable conspiracy against their sovereign, and joined with the Scots and the Welsh in an attempt to dethrone him.

Meanwhile, the Percies held their prisoners at their own disposal, though they professed to be ready to obey the king's commands. One act of cruelty, perpetrated by Hotspur, stained the glory of this great victory, and afforded a striking example of feudal tyranny. There seems to have been deadly enmity between the Percy and one of his prisoners, sir William

Stuart, of Forest, in Teviotdale, and Hotspur caused him immediately to be put on his trial for high treason, on the pretence that when, in his boyhood, that district had been Anglicised, he had taken the oath of allegiance to the king of England. The first jury impannelled for his trial brought in a verdict of acquittal. The accusation, indeed, was so absurd, that when Percy, in anger, caused another jury to be impannelled, and put him on his trial a second time, they gave the same verdict. Hotspur was furious at being thus thwarted in his vengeance, and he caused a third jury to be packed for his purpose, and so overawed, that without further hesitation, the unfortunate victim was condemned to the death of a traitor, which was instantly executed with all its cruel circumstances, and his quarters were placed on the gates of York. His esquire, Thomas Ker, who had been taken with him, underwent the same fate.

With the exception of his restriction on the disposal of the prisoners, Henry treated the Percies with favour and generosity, and he conferred on them the whole earldom of Douglas with all the territories appertaining to it, of some parts of which they seem to have already obtained possession. They proceeded therefore to carry on the war against the Scots, which served as a convenient cover for their treasonable designs. The conquest of the earldom of Douglas was not an easy matter, and it afforded the Percies an excuse for raising a numerous army of their adherents. With this, in the June of 1403, they marched in company with the earl of March to the border, but instead of undertaking any considerable exploit, the whole army sat down before a miserable little fortress, called Cocklawis, or Ormiston, on the border, and made a show of battering it with warlike engines. The commander of this border hold, a simple esquire named John Greenlaw, assumed the air of a powerful chieftain, and entered into an agreement with Hotspur, by which he was to surrender his solitary tower at the end of six weeks, if he were not in that time relieved by the king of Scotland or by the governor Albany, and in the mean time the army of the Percies was to remain inactive. A messenger was sent to Albany to inform him of the circumstances of the case, and no doubt he carried back to the Percies the secret assurance that he was ready to give powerful assistance to the intended insurrection in England. But it was necessary to save appearances, and the duke of Albany assembled his council, and gravely laid before them the message of Greenlaw of Cocklawis, and asked their opinion if he should go to raise the siege or not. It appears that the counsellors of the crown had no great opinion of the courage of the duke of Albany, and believing that they were acting according to his wishes when they advised peace, they recommended that the border reever should be left to his fate rather than risk a battle with the English army at a moment when the flower of the Scottish chivalry were captives in England. But to their astonishment, the duke of Albany, who knew better how matters stood, gave vent to a sudden and very unusual burst of patriotic spirit. "By heaven and St. Fillan!" he exclaimed, "I will keep the day of appointment before Cocklawis, were there none to follow me thither but Peter of Kinbuck who holds my horse yonder!" The council immediately agreed to the propriety of relieving John Greenlaw, and a formidable army was raised, and marched under Albany's command to the border.

The conspiracy of the Percies was now ready for explosion; the earl of Douglas, with sir Robert Stuart of Durisdeer, and the greater part of the barons and knights taken at Homildon Hill, were set at liberty, and again raised their forces to march under the banner of Percy, who, suddenly breaking off the Scottish expedition, hurried off to unite his forces with those of Glyndwr on the borders of Wales. The fact that Douglas had joined in alliance with Percy, was enough to drive away the earl of March, who refused to join in the conspiracy, and rode off to give information to king Henry, and urge him to take active measures against the insurgents. By a rapid march the king intercepted them at Shrewsbury, and the Scots acted a conspicuous part in the terrible conflict which established Henry on the throne. Sir Robert Stuart, with a great number of his countrymen were slain in the battle, and the earl of Douglas, severely wounded, became again a captive. Before the event was known, the duke of Albany arrived at Cocklawis, with an army of no less than fifty thousand men, announcing publicly his intention of giving battle to the Percies, though there can be no doubt that his real intention was to join them in making war upon king Henry. It was not till he reached Cocklawis, that he

knew the rebellion had broke out, and his first intelligence of it was the announcement of the battle of Shrewsbury. He saw at once that it was not the time for attacking king Henry, and having caused the news to be proclaimed through his army by a herald, he marched back into Scotland.

The duplicity and secrecy with which Albany had acted, made it easy on this occasion to preserve the peace with England. The Scots, who were made to believe that their quarrel was only with the Percies, who were rebels to the English king, were satisfied with their overthrow, while king Henry, although better acquainted with Albany's real intentions, had no object in entering into a war with Scotland. Some proposals were made for peace, but they only led to a brief and precarious truce.

In fact there was no friendly feeling possible at this moment between the two countries, for Albany not only kept in Scotland as a means of annoying king Henry the person who was made to represent king Richard, the maumet, or puppet, of Scotland, as he was termed by king Henry in derision, but he secretly lent his hand to all the conspiracies in England against the house of Lancaster. The governor's conduct with regard to the pretended king Richard, was, indeed, provokingly equivocal; for, cautiously avoiding any direct avowal of belief, which might compromise himself, he acted towards the pretender in such a way as to encourage the popular rumours. It is said that a man attached to king Richard's household, who bore a considerable resemblance to him, had been employed to act the part of fallen royalty.* Many of the enemies of Henry of Lancaster were actively engaged in England in spreading abroad the report that king Richard was alive and well in Scotland, and that he would soon return to drive out the usurper of his throne. In 1404, they sent secretly a gentleman named Serle, who had formerly been of king Richard's bed-chamber, and on his return he asserted that he had actually seen king Richard. This was the foundation of a plot in which the old countess of Oxford figured as the principal agent, but Serle was seized and executed, after confessing that the whole was a fraud. This plot was the forerunner of a conspiracy of greater magnitude, the leaders in which were the earl of Northumberland (Hotspur's father), and the archbishop of York. In this plot also, which resembled in its plan and ramifications that which had ended so fatally for the conspirators in the battle of Shrewsbury, the Scots were actively engaged. It was, however, discovered before the plans of the conspirators were matured, and several of them were arrested and brought to the scaffold. Others, with the earl of Northumberland, escaped to Scotland, where they received favour and protection. It appears that, in support of this conspiracy, the Scots were to invade England, with a powerful army, and, when it was discovered, Henry, apprehensive perhaps that Albany might return with the fugitives, issued his orders for raising an army to defend the borders against "his common adversary, Robert, duke of Albany, calling himself governor of Scotland."

In the midst of these mutual jealousies and mistrusts, an event occurred which gave king Henry an unexpected advantage. King Robert III. had had three sons, of whom the eldest had been murdered by the duke of Albany, and a younger, named Robert, seems to have died very young. One only now remained, Robert earl of Carrick, and this youth, a boy of only fourteen years of age, was the only barrier between the duke of Albany and the crown of Scotland, when the weak man who now wore it should die. The king, who wanted the spirit of resistance, knew well the aim of his brother, and was justly alarmed for the safety of his remaining son. The tuition of the young prince had been entrusted to one of the king's faithful friends, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, the nephew of the cardinal, and a few other stanch friends rallied round him. It happened that Albany's personal power was at this moment much weakened by the captivity of so many of his most powerful friends, taken in the battles of Nisbet Moor, Homildon Hill, and Shrewsbury, especially the unscrupulous earl of Douglas, and he was fearful of attempting anything against his young rival under this temporary disadvantage. But the king's friends were well aware of the danger to which the earl of Carrick was exposed, if he remained in Scotland, and it was determined to convey him to France, under the very

* Tytler and others have attempted to show that the man in Scotland was the true king Richard, who had escaped from prison, and that another man had been exhibited in England as the dead king; but we think their arguments are by no means sufficient against the strong probability that he was an impostor.

reasonable pretext that he was sent there to complete his education. At the same time Albany was carrying on a base and treacherous negotiation with king Henry, the purport of which was, that the former should seize the earl of Northumberland and his fellow-conspirator, lord Bardolph, and deliver them up to the king of England, in return for the liberation of his son Murdoch, earl of Fife, with the earl of Douglas, and his other captive friends. Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, an old friend of the Percies, became accidentally acquainted with this plot to betray the earl of Northumberland, who was residing with his grandson at the castle of St. Andrews, as guests of the bishop, and he immediately informed him of his danger, and counselled him to seek safety in immediate flight. The exiles, accordingly, made their escape into France. The friends of the young prince were now more anxious to carry him out of Scotland, and, everything being secretly arranged, the earl of Carrick was taken on a progress through Lothian to North Berwick, accompanied by the bishop and the earl of Orkney, with sir David Fleming, the lords of Dirleton and Hermandston, and a strong party of barons. When they reached the coast, a ship was laying at the Bass, ready for them, and the prince, with bishop Wardlaw and the earl of Orkney and a small suite, embarked, and set sail with a fair wind for France. The duke of Albany and the Douglases were furious at the departure of the prince—more so even than at the escape of the English exiles—and Fleming was marked out especially as the object of their vengeance. As the party which accompanied the prince to North Berwick were passing the moor of Lang-Hermandston, on their return, they were set upon by the Douglases, led by a son of the earl of Douglas, and Alexander Seton, and, after a fierce conflict, sir David Fleming was slain, and most of his companions were made prisoners. Such was the weakness of the laws at this time in Scotland, that Albany openly protected the authors of this disgraceful outrage, and the fear of the Douglases was so great that few people dared to speak against their doings.

But an accident still less expected happened to the young prince. The ship in which he had embarked had not been long at sea, when it was captured by an armed English merchantman, and carried to London. A truce existed between the two countries, although it was but ill respected by the subjects on either side, and the capture of the prince's ship was perfectly unjustifiable. The bishop of St. Andrews carried with him a letter from the king of Scotland to the king of England, recommending his son to the kindness of the latter, if he should find it necessary to land in his dominions, and this he presented with warm expostulations on the violence to which they had been subjected; but Henry committed the earl of Carrick and his attendants to the Tower of London, observing, in reply to the statement that they were carrying the prince to France for his education, "In truth, I myself am no indifferent French scholar, and my brother of Scotland could not have sent his son to a better master."

The capture of the young prince took place in the year 1405. It was an event which gave great satisfaction to the duke of Albany, who saw himself relieved from his presence in Scotland, with the power of keeping him away as long as he liked, and he made no remonstrance against the breach of the truce, or demand for his liberation. But the intelligence of the captivity of his son is said to have broken the heart of the Scottish king. He lingered for a few weeks in a state of melancholy, and died on the 4th of April, 1406. The character of king Robert III. was marked by every domestic virtue, and he was possessed in no small degree even of political wisdom and foresight, but his peaceful and gentle disposition were not suited to the times in which he lived, and he only furnished an example of the little avail, in those days, of wisdom and justice, even in a king, if they were not accompanied with the stern resolution necessary to enforce them.

CHAPTER V.

REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; REBELLION OF THE HIGHLANDERS, AND BATTLE OF HARLAW; DEATH OF ALBANY; JAMES I. RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY.

EVERYTHING conspired at this moment to promote the ambitious views of the duke of Albany. He had conciliated the nobles by the indulgence with which he overlooked their excesses, and he possessed, or at least knew how to assume, the qualities which dazzled and gained the populace. He was, moreover, not unskilful in the art of governing, and as he already held the power of regent in his hands, it would not have been easy to substitute another in his place. Accordingly, the parliament which met at Perth immediately on the death of king Robert, at once chose the duke of Albany regent of Scotland, after having made a solemn declaration that James earl of Carrick, then a prisoner in England, was their lawful king. As the position between the two countries was at this moment more than critical, it was determined to draw closer the alliance with France, and four envoys, sir Walter Stuart of Ralston, Lawder archdeacon of Lothian, John Gil, and John de Leth, were sent thither to renew the league with that country. Nevertheless, the duke of Albany, as well as king Henry, were desirous of peace, to which nothing perhaps contributed more than the captivity of so large a portion of the Scottish nobility in England. Albany made no attempt to obtain the release of the young Scottish king, who had been acknowledged by the parliament as James I., and as a cover to his remissness in this respect, he allowed his own son, the earl of Fife, to remain unransomed. But there was one among the prisoners for whose release he was anxious, and a long negotiation had been carried on for his ransom. This was the earl of Douglas, who had been doubly captured, first at Homildon Hill, and subsequently at Shrewsbury field, in which latter battle he had encountered the king of England, and struck him down with his own hand. The English king now at length consented to set him at liberty, but he demanded a ransom of a thousand marks for leave to revisit Scotland, and thirteen hostages for his return into captivity. The conditions of his release were, that he should return to his captivity at the end of a certain stipulated period, and that during the time he should do nothing contrary to the interests of the king of England. The great power of the head of the Douglases, and the importance which was attached to his presence in Scotland at this time, may be estimated from the readiness with which thirteen men of high rank were surrendered in exchange for him. Among them were his eldest son, Archibald Douglas, with his son James; the son and heir of James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith; sir William Douglas of Liddesdale; sir John Seton; sir Simon Glendinning; sir John Montgomery; sir John Stuart of Lorn; sir William Graham; and sir William Sinclair, of Hermandston. A circumstance of still greater promise for the prosperity of Scotland, which attended Douglas's reappearance there, was his reconciliation with the earl of March, who returned to his country, and was reinstated in his extensive possessions, with the exception of the lordship of Annandale and the castle of Lochmaben.

We have at this moment to turn our attention from the contemplation of the turbulence of political strife, to an example of religious persecution. The interval of peace between the two countries, and the facility of intercommunication, encouraged the missionaries of Wycliffeism to carry their preaching into Scotland. An English priest, named John Resby, was, as far as we know, the first preacher of the reformation in the north. For a time his proceedings were unobserved, although he seems to have made a considerable number of converts; but becoming bolder, and preaching his doctrines more openly, he was arrested by a zealous churchman named Laurence of Lindores, who was at that time president of the council of the Scottish clergy, before whom he was immediately brought to trial. The catholic clergy of Scotland were utterly shocked when it was found that their victim, among a multitude of minor heresies, held that the pope had no power as the successor of St. Peter, that penances and auricular confession were of no avail, and that a life without sin was necessary in any

one who presumed to call himself "the vicar of Christ." John Resby was condemned to the stake, and burnt at Perth, with his books and writings, in the year 1407; but his preachings had not been without their effect upon the people, and they were enforced by sympathy for his fate.

Soon after this event, the peace between the two countries was again disturbed by border warfare, which, though not authorised by the government, was not disapproved. The truce had no sooner expired in 1408, than the men of Teviotdale rose, and taking advantage of the weakness of the garrison, captured the castle of Jedburgh, which had been in the hands of the English ever since the battle of Neville's Cross. This event furnished the regent with an opportunity of catching at popular favour. According to a policy which had been followed with few exceptions since the time of Robert Bruce, it was determined to demolish Jedburgh castle, but it was found that the mortar had become so hard, that walls and towers seemed to have been changed into one solid mass of stone, to destroy which would demand a very considerable outlay of money. A parliament was at this time assembled at Perth, and, anxious to dismantle the border fortress, they agreed to raise the money necessary for that purpose by a tax of two pennies on every hearth in the kingdom. The regent here interfered, and, declaring he would agree to no tax which like this would be an oppression of the poor, ordered the money to be given out of the royal customs. This act of liberality and patriotism was extolled from one end of the country to the other. The next exploit was performed by Patrick Dunbar, son of the earl of March, and, though it may be considered as belonging to the border war, can hardly be looked upon as part of the hostilities between the two countries. An English adventurer, named Holder, who combined the occupations of pirate at sea and captain of a free company on land, had obtained possession of a strong hold on a precipitous rock overhanging the German ocean, which, from its supposed impregnable position, was called Fast castle. Holder soon made himself the terror of the neighbourhood, both by land and sea, until he was attacked by Patrick Dunbar, who succeeded, with great difficulty, in capturing the castle. His younger brother, Gawin Dunbar, in conjunction with Archibald Douglas of Drumlanrig, near the same time, attacked and burnt the town of Roxburgh, which was also in possession of the English.

King Henry seems to have been desirous of preserving the peace, and to have overlooked these attacks on the border, though it was apparently in consequence of the capture of Jedburgh, which was in the territories of the Douglases, that in 1409 he addressed a violent remonstrance to the regent against the earl of Douglas, who had neglected to return to England a full year after the stipulated time. As Henry threatened to treat his thirteen hostages according to the laws of war, if Douglas did not return within a month, the earl was obliged to obey, but he soon afterwards purchased his liberty by the payment of a heavy ransom. If, however, the English king did not take immediate cognizance of the hostilities of the Scottish borderers, his officers on the border were less forbearing. Sir Robert de Umfraville, one of the most powerful barons on the English border, who held the office of vice-admiral of England, entered the Forth with ten ships of war, and ravaged the country on both sides that river in such a manner, that the booty he brought back to England had the effect of lowering the high prices to which the English markets had been raised by a severe famine, and the English in their exultation gave him the nick-name of Robin Mendmarket. Sir Robert was a soldier of great experience, and he was entrusted with the wardship and education of his nephew Gilbert de Umfraville, titular earl of Angus, then in his fourteenth year. He announced his intention of holding a grand military array in honour of the birthday of the young lord, and amid the festivities and cries of his vassals of Redesdale he raised earl Gilbert's banner for the first time, and announced as a fit termination of the feast a raid into Scotland. It happened to be Jedburgh fair, and thither the English borderers directed their course. The fair was plundered, and the town of Jedburgh, after being sacked, was committed to the flames.

The attention of the Scottish government was called from these minor outrages to a far more formidable attack in the north. The earldom of Ross was disputed by two powerful claimants, Donald lord of the Isles, and John earl of Buchan, to either of whom its possession would bring an enormous accession of power. This earldom had descended, through his mother, to Alexander

Lesley, whose sister Margaret married Donald of the Isles. Alexander earl of Ross married a daughter of the duke of Albany, and had by her but one child, a daughter named Euphemia, who resigned the earldom in favour of her uncle John earl of Buchan, that she might enter a monastery. But the lord of the Isles opposed this arrangement, and claimed the earldom in the right of his wife, on the ground that the countess Euphemia by becoming a nun was civilly dead, and had no power of disposing of her rights. The plea was heard by the regent's council, and rejected; and the extensive territory belonging to the earldom was delivered to the earl of Buchan. Donald declared that he would not abide by the regent's award; and, having first strengthened himself by entering into an alliance with the king of England, as though he were himself an independent monarch, he proceeded to raise an army of ten thousand highlanders to establish his claim to the earldom by force.

As soon as Donald had assembled his fierce followers, he invaded the earldom of Ross, the inhabitants of which immediately submitted to him. The first opponent he encountered was a chief named Angus Dhu (Black Angus), who attempted to arrest his course at Dingwall, but he was defeated with considerable loss, his brother Roderic was slain, and he was himself taken prisoner. Having once let loose his savage people, and given them a taste of plunder, Donald showed no inclination to place any limit to their depredations. He appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at Inverness, and compelled the whole strength of the district on the mainland which had submitted to take arms and join his standard, and then dispersed his vast host to ravage and lay waste the extensive districts of Moray, Strathbogie, and Garvyach. These last depredations brought upon the island chief a more formidable opponent than any he had yet met, in the person of the earl of Mar.

There was something peculiarly wild and romantic in the history of this nobleman, who had obtained his earldom by a violence even more extraordinary than that now employed by the islander Donald. We have already told how Duncan Stuart, natural son of the earl of Buchan, had disturbed the peace of the realm at the commencement of the reign of Robert III., by his ravages in the north. Another natural son of Buchan, Alexander Stuart, was equally notorious for his wild and lawless manners. He appears to have cast an envious eye on the rich earldom of Mar, which was then held by sir Malcolm Drummond, the brother of Robert the Third's queen, who had married Isabella countess of Mar. In the year 1403, Drummond was surprised and captured in his castle by a party of highland ketherans, and died in his confinement. Public opinion laid this outrage to the charge of Alexander Stuart, who soon afterwards presented himself at the head of his army of ketherans or highland freebooters, before the strong castle of Kildrummie, where the countess resided, attacked and stormed it, and by persuasion or force prevailed upon the lady to marry him. A few weeks after this, the tenantry and vassals of the earldom were called together in a solemn assembly before the gates of Kildrummie castle, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Ross, Alexander Stuart ceremoniously delivered into the hands of the countess the keys of the castle, declaring that it was his wish she should freely dispose of them as she thought best. To the astonishment of everybody, the lady returned him the keys, declaring that she freely chose him for her lord and husband, and that she gave to him the earldom of Mar, the castle of Kildrummie, and all her other lands. The necessary documents for conferring a legal form on this grant were immediately drawn up, and so weak were justice and law at this time in Scotland, that, in spite of the public horror inspired by the whole proceeding, the king ratified it by a royal charter, and Stuart was permitted to assume the titles of earl of Mar and lord of Garvyach.

This was the man who now came forward to arrest the wild progress of Donald of the Isles. The new earl of Mar was possessed of great military talents, and seems to have been born for a different station to that of a commander of highland freebooters. Laying aside his former wildness, he now made his appearance at court, and led by an eager desire of distinction, he proceeded to the continent, where he soon gained renown as one of the best knights of the day, and having entered the service of the duke of Burgundy, is said to have contributed in a great measure to his victory at Liège, against the insurgent subjects of the bishop. Mar had joined the duke with a hundred Scottish lances, men as eager after adventures as himself, who followed his banner abroad. As the hostile armies approached, two pow-

erful champions, armed with battle-axes, were seen to advance some distance before the army of the insurgents. The earl of Mar commanded his banner to halt, and calling upon his esquire, John of Ceres, to follow him, he encountered the two champions, and slew them. They proved to be the two leaders of the insurrection. The bravery of the Scottish earl and his followers was conspicuous throughout the action, and he returned to his country covered with glory, and became there one of the most zealous supporters of order.

The earl of Mar, now enraged at the attack of Donald on his territory, placed himself at the head of the whole power of Mar and Garvyach, and joined with that of Angus and the Mearns. Among the chiefs who ranged themselves under his banner, all distinguished warriors, were sir Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus, sir James Scrymgeour constable of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland, sir Alexander Irving, sir Robert Melville, and sir William de Abernethy; and sir Robert Davidson, provost of Aberdeen, which city Donald had announced his intention to burn, came with a troop of stout burgesses. Altogether, however, the earl's army is said not to have amounted to more than one-tenth of the number of Donald's host of ravagers, but they were all gentlemen, and the choicest soldiers of the north, and Mar, who was confident in the superiority of armed knights over the sort of force to whom they were to be opposed, marched immediately from Aberdeen, and came in sight of the highlanders at the village of Harlaw, near the head of the Garioch. Donald had on this occasion proclaimed a sort of Celtic crusade against the lowland Saxon, in which the old hostility between the two races had brought together, under his banners, a multitude of highland clans, among whom the principal were the Macintoshes and the Macleans. The standard of Mar was followed by the heads of the Irvings, Maules, Morays, Straitons, Lesleys, Stirlings, Lovels, and other Saxon families in highest repute for nobility and bravery.

Mar lost no time in attacking the enemy the moment the two armies came in view of each other. His advance, consisting of a small body of men-at-arms, under Ogilvy and the constable of Dundee, sustained the first attack, and soon drove forward the body of highlanders first opposed to them with considerable slaughter. He was followed by the main body of the lowlanders, under Mar himself. But the wild host of the northerns rushed into the battle with reckless fury, uttering horrible yells and shouts, and as one or two were cut down, their places seemed to be supplied by hundreds of new combatants. The knights and their followers became gradually weary with slaying, while the ferocity of the assailants seemed to be unabated, and the horsemen began to fight with less force as their assailants continually rushed in amongst them on foot, killed their horses, and despatched the riders while down. One of the first who fell was the constable of Dundee. Sir Robert Davidson, with the greater part of his burgesses, soon experienced the same fate. The sheriff of Angus with his eldest son, sir Alexander Irving of Drum, sir Robert Maule, sir Thomas Moray, William Abernethy, James Lovel, Alexander Stirling, Lesley of Balquain, and others, were also slain. Lesley is said to have had six of his sons killed by his side. As evening approached, Mar, almost alone of the great chiefs, and not more than half his army, remained still struggling with the foe, encumbered with the dead, and maintaining their ground with difficulty, amid the horrible yells and ferocious daring of their assailants. Darkness came over the combatants still fighting, and they desisted only apparently to recommence the struggle on the morrow. Mar and his companions in arms remained on the field, themselves exhausted and covered with wounds, but when daylight appeared they found that the field was their own. The highlanders, discouraged and broken, had made their retreat by Inverurie and the hill of Benochie, leaving about a thousand slain, among whom were their two great chiefs, Maclean and Macintosh. The victors in this sanguinary engagement lost about five hundred men, but they were nearly all gentry and men of family.

This battle of Harlaw, which was fought on the twenty-fourth of July, 1411, gave a lasting check to the power of the Gaels, and both from this circumstance, and for its sanguinary character, produced a deep sensation throughout Scotland. The regent immediately held a parliament, in which a statute was passed in favour of the heirs of those who had fallen, who were exempted from the feudal fines usually exacted on the entrance of their hereditary estates. The battle between lowlanders and highlanders

was sung in popular ballads throughout the country, and one of these, celebrating in a spirited strain the deeds of the chiefs in the struggle at Harlaw, has been preserved.*

The regent, on this occasion, displayed an unusual degree of spirit. Apprehensive lest the lord of the Isles should only have retreated to recruit his strength for another attack, Albany assembled an army and marched into Ross, where he captured and garrisoned the strong castle of Dingwall, on the Firth of Cromarty, and took possession of the earldom which had been the original subject of dispute. As the season was now too far advanced to allow of the regent's carrying his hostilities beyond, Donald retired into his island fastnesses, and there set him at defiance during the winter. But when the season for commencing military operations again arrived, the regent assembled his army and marched against him, and after a short war compelled him to acknowledge the supremacy of the crown of Scotland, to give hostages for his future good behaviour, and to waive all further claim to the earldom of Ross.

Immediately after the termination of this rebellion a new truce was concluded with England, which was to last for six years, from the 17th of May, 1412. Albany now became anxious for the liberation of his son Murdoch, who had been a prisoner in England since the disastrous battle of Homildon Hill. Albany's task with regard to the prisoner was a difficult one, and hence all his proceedings are clothed in mystery. There can be little doubt that his ambition prompted him to secure, if possible, the crown to his own family, and had the young prince remained in Scotland, it is probable that he would not long have stood in the way of this object. Next to securing the crown itself, the regent was desirous at least of keeping the supreme power, and he hoped that his son would be capable of retaining it. He was therefore as anxious to keep the king of Scotland in captivity as he was to obtain the release of Murdoch earl of Fife; and Henry IV., who saw through the duke's designs, was not unwilling in some degree to second them. Various excuses were easily found to evade any negotiation for the king, and as long as appearances were thought to require it, equal difficulties were made with regard to earl Murdoch; but now at length, in the case of the latter, these difficulties were overcome, and a treaty for his delivery appears to have been nearly completed, when it was suddenly interrupted by the death of king Henry. His successor showed no inclination to give up any of the advantages which the possession of the Scottish prisoners gave him, at a moment when he was engaged in the extensive wars which threw so much military glory over his reign.

The interval of peace was profitable to Scotland in more senses than one. The fierce hostilities which for so many years ravaged the country formed an insurmountable barrier to the march of civilization, and not only were its youths obliged to expatriate themselves if they would seek learning, but those patriotic Scots who wished to promote the education of their countrymen, found it prudent to establish schools for them in other countries, and not in their own. It was thus that, towards the end of the thirteenth century, Dervorguilla, the wife of John de Baliol, founded Baliol college in Oxford. Some years later, in 1326, a bishop of Moray laid the foundation of the Scottish college in Paris. Civilization was now so far advanced, that Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, the instructor and friend of James I., projected the establishment of a university in his own episcopal city. The foundation was commenced in 1410, and the professors soon commenced their courses of lectures; but it was not till the beginning of February, 1413, that the papal bull arrived, which confirmed the establishment of the now celebrated university of St. Andrews, an event celebrated in that city with great pomp and rejoicing.

But the contemplation of peaceful and beneficent events like this, is soon lost in the turmoil of political intrigue and warfare. The negotiations for the liberation of the earl of Fife had been renewed, and they were at length successful. With a view probably to this object, the regent had latterly laboured with apparent cordiality to preserve the peace with England, and he appears thus to have rendered the English king more favourable to his proposals. It was at length agreed that the regent's son should be exchanged for young Henry

* It was printed by Allan Ramsay in the *Evergreen*, from a modernized copy, and has since been printed in a more ancient form by a distinguished Scottish antiquary, David Laing, in a rare little volume entitled "Early Metrical Tales." A march called the Battle of Harlaw was once popular.

Percy, who had been taken into Scotland by his grandfather, at the time of his unfortunate conspiracy with the archbishop of York; and while Percy returned to England and was restored to his titles and lands, Murdoch Stuart was sent back to Scotland. The result of this transaction seems to have given the expected satisfaction to neither party. The Scottish regent no longer showed the same anxiety to restrain his people from acts of hostility towards England, while his son Murdoch, whatever may have been his inclination, was soon found to possess a feebleness of character which made him quite unfitted to carry out the ambitious designs of his father. The latter, moreover, now found it every day more difficult to evade the calls of his countrymen to take some steps for bringing home their young king. He had now reached his manhood, and sighed after his native country and the throne of his ancestors. Henry IV., while he retained him in captivity, had treated him with remarkable kindness, and had given the utmost care to his education, and his friends who came to England to communicate and converse with him, carried back the pleasing intelligence that their prince was possessed of the spirit and abilities which gave promise of a great monarch. He was himself well aware that he had been retained so long in captivity chiefly through the intrigues of his uncle, and he seems to have entered warmly into the plans of his friends in Scotland, to undermine the regent's power. These gradually became more numerous and influential, and although the power of the regent was too firmly fixed to be easily moved, he found it so far necessary to propitiate his enemies, as to enter into a new negotiation for the liberation of the king. The result of this negotiation, which took place in 1416, was, that king Henry agreed to give his prisoner leave to return to Scotland for a stipulated period, on condition that sufficient hostages should be given for his returning to captivity at the expiration of that period, under a penalty of a hundred thousand marks. This treaty had proceeded so far, that commissioners on each side were appointed for carrying it into execution, when it was suddenly broken off in a mysterious manner. The causes of this failure are totally unknown, but it is generally supposed to have been the result of the regent's intrigues, and James is said to have felt a resentment towards the family of Albany, which he never afterwards laid aside.

The policy of the regent became now suddenly more warlike in its character, and it is supposed that this change arose from a belief that the peace between the two countries facilitated the communications of king James with his friends, and led to plots against his own power, which would be put a stop to by the renewal of hostilities. A war also would give occupation to the restless nobility whom his indulgence had nurtured in turbulence, and, by provoking the king of England, and destroying the friendlly feelings which were gradually arising between the two countries, it seemed to be the surest way of keeping the Scottish king in captivity. Thus did he sacrifice all the best interests of his country for the gratification of his own personal ambition; and his conduct was the more base, as Henry V. had of late shown towards Scotland a cordiality of feeling which promised the most happy results for both countries. Yet Albany declared that war would be proclaimed against England as soon as the truce expired, and he announced his intention of undertaking the siege of Berwick at the head of sixty thousand men. Although it was said that the cannons and other warlike munitions for this expedition were already shipped, the siege of Berwick was never undertaken. But, instead of this, the regent seized the opportunity, in 1417, while king Henry was absent in France, to march with an army to the castle of Roxburgh, which was still in the hands of the English. Although the duke of Albany had showed some spirit in his expedition against the lord of the Isles, the Scots never believed in his courage, and in the present undertaking he seems not to have had their sympathies. Confident, however, in the force he led with him, and believing that all the military force of England was absent with the king in France, he set his miners to work, and seemed resolved to push the siege with vigour, when intelligence suddenly came that the duke of Bedford was marching against him at the head of forty thousand men. The regent immediately abandoned his enterprise, and withdrew his army into Scotland, and the only memorial which remained of his military achievements was the contemptuous title which the Scots gave to them of *the foul raid*, or the dishonourable invasion. The English borderers, too,

were soon in arms, and the governor of Berwick, sir Robert Umfraville, collecting their forces under his command, invaded the eastern marches of Scotland, and committed dreadful havoc, burning to the ground the towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, and Dunbar, with all the surrounding villages and hamlets. After this the war was carried on along the borders for some time without much spirit. A daring exploit was performed by a Scottish border chief, William Haliburton of Fastcastle, who surprised the castle of Wark, and took it by storm; but he had not held it long, when he was surprised in his turn by sir Robert Ogle, and the whole garrison and their leader were put to the sword.

King Henry was now in the midst of his conquests in France, and the French dauphin, hard pressed by his enemies, sent the duke of Vendôme into Scotland to demand assistance. The regent immediately called a parliament, and, as Scotland was already at war with England, it was determined to send a considerable force into France under the command of the earl of Buchan, Albany's second son, and the earl of Wigtown. The ships for the transport of these forces were to be furnished by the three powers of France, Castile, and Arragon, for Scotland was at this time almost without a fleet; and in spite of the exertions of the English to intercept them, seven thousand men, the flower of the Scottish army, reached France in safety.

This was the last event of any importance under the regency of the duke of Albany. He had already passed his eightieth year, and his evil passions seemed in no degree abated. He died in the palace of Stirling, on the 3rd of September, 1420, after a regency of fourteen years, and after having virtually ruled the kingdom, with very little interruption, during four-and-thirty. His power was so firmly established, that on his death his son Murdoch was allowed to assume the regency without opposition or question, and it was not even thought necessary to call a parliament to give the title or confirm the assumption of power. He seems to have owed this easy elevation to power to the nobles who had supported his father, and who looked forward to securing the same favour and indulgence they had hitherto enjoyed. It was soon seen that the new ruler was totally incapable of holding the reins of government, and the nobles who had, under his father, paid some respect to the representative of the crown, now looked upon him with contempt, and, without any regard to the laws, they all soon gave way to the most unbridled licence. To add to the confusion and misery of the kingdom, a pestilence swept through the land, which attacked all classes of society, and carried off, among other distinguished persons, the earls of Orkney and March, and lord Douglas of Dalkeith. The easy and even slothful temper of the new duke of Albany was such, that the example of insubordination was set even in his own family, and the old annalists have preserved an anecdote of youthful turbulence which, in the feudal times of Scotland, was considered unusually strange. It appears that duke Murdoch possessed a favourite falcon, which his son Walter had asked of him repeatedly, but in vain. One day the duke was fondling the favourite, as it sat on his wrist, when Walter, who was present, repeated his wish to have the falcon, and was again refused. He instantly approached his father, snatched the bird brutally from his wrist, and killed it by wringing its neck. It is said that the regent, deeply affected at the conduct of his son, threatened that, since his own children set an example of disobedience, he would bring back one who would make them all obey him; a saying which seemed ominous of the subsequent fate of himself and his family. It is supposed, indeed, that the regent would not have been unwilling to resign the regency, and obtain the release of the king, but that, conscious his assumption of the office was itself an act of treason, he wanted the courage to face the danger which seemed to threaten him when he stood a simple subject before his sovereign.

As there is little interest at this moment to fix our attention in Scotland, we may carry it away to note briefly the progress of the Scottish auxiliaries in France. As we have said, the flower of the Scottish military —all who were willing to seek distinction by the sword—had followed the banners of the earl of Buchan. They were received with marked distinction by their French allies, and had soon an opportunity of displaying their courage in opposing the duke of Clarence, the brother of the English king, who had, in 1421, been detached with a strong force, to invade the province of Anjou. The Scottish force, with a small body of French, lay at the village of Baugé,

on the river Coesnon, when the duke of Clarence was informed of their presence. He marched instantly to attack them, but being arrested by the brave defence of a small party of French, who held the church of Baugé, the Scots had time to form and prepare for battle on the opposite side of the river. As the duke of Clarence pressed forward at the head of his men-at-arms to gain possession of the bridge, he was vigorously attacked by the Scottish knights, and the duke himself, after being unhorsed and wounded by sir William Swinton, was slain by the earl of Buchan, before he could regain his horse. The English, after a violent struggle, were defeated with great loss; besides the duke of Clarence, the earl of Kent, with the lords Grey and Ross, and fourteen hundred men-at-arms were slain, and the earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were made prisoners. In reward of this exploit, the earl of Buchan was created high constable of France, and Stuart of Darnley received a grant of the lordship of Aubigny. Buchan subsequently returned to Scotland, to obtain a reinforcement, and he found his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas, who was anxiously promoting every negotiation for the liberation of the king, in treaty with Henry V., to assist him in his French wars with a body of two hundred knights and esquires, and two hundred mounted archers. It is said that king Henry, annoyed at the presence of the Scottish auxiliaries in France, required the king of Scots to order them to return, but that the latter, while he offered to fight under Henry's banner himself, represented that while in custody his orders would have no force with his countrymen; and it is supposed that Henry imagined that the Scots in the French pay would fight less willingly, when they knew that Douglas and a body of their countrymen were in the opposite ranks. Be this, however, as it may, Douglas was easily induced to break off the agreement. He was to receive of king Henry two hundred pounds a-year for his service, but Charles VII. offered him a richer prize, and in consideration of the grant of the duchy of Touraine, he engaged to lead over to France a force of five thousand Scottish combatants. But the proverbial bad fortune of the earl of Douglas followed him to France. One of the first operations in which he was engaged, was the siege of Crevan, where the Scots were surprised by the earl of Salisbury, and defeated with the loss of nearly a thousand men. The battle of Verneuil, fought on the 17th of August, 1424, was still more fatal to the Scottish auxiliaries. The French were resolved to risk a general engagement rather than allow Yvry, then besieged by the duke of Bedford, to be taken, and they had reached the neighbourhood of Verneuil, when an English herald arrived to announce the intention of the English to give them battle. The earl of Douglas, it appears, had spoken in derision of the duke of Bedford, under the nickname of "John with the leaden sword," and the duke, to whom his words had been repeated, now sent him word by the herald, that he was coming to drink wine and revel with him. The earl replied in the same strain, that he had come from his native land expressly to carouse with him, and understanding the message as a challenge to battle, he urged the French commander, the vicomte de Narbonne, to draw up their forces on the advantageous ground they then occupied, and wait the attack. But Narbonne insisted on advancing, and the Scots were obliged to follow their allies. The result was the entire defeat of the French, and the loss fell heavily upon the Scots. Not only their two leaders, the earls of Douglas and Buchan, but nearly all the Scots of rank or quality, were slain on the field, and the auxiliary army may be considered to have been destroyed. It is understood that the Scottish body guard, so long retained by the French monarchs, was originally formed of those who escaped from this fatal field.

At this moment preparations were making for the return of king James to Scotland. Before the death of Henry V., in 1422, the Scottish prince had been in constant communication with his countrymen, and was well informed of the weak administration of the regent, and of the unbridled licentiousness of the nobles. Scotland had, indeed, fallen into a state of barbarous anarchy, for which the only remedy possible, was the presence of the king, and his friends did all in their power to encourage and promote the earnest desire of the people at large for his return. The English regency manifested a friendly feeling towards Scotland, which gave greater confidence to the negotiations which were commenced after the accession of Henry VI., and a meeting was held between commissioners for that purpose at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, on the 12th of May, 1423,

at which James was present. In consequence of this meeting, a treaty was soon afterwards concluded, and ratified at London. As James had been detained in a time of truce, the English government could have no right to claim a ransom for him; but it was agreed, that for the expenses of his living during the long period he had remained in England, he should pay the sum of forty thousand pounds of English money, in yearly sums of ten thousand marks, and that not only should he give hostages chosen from the noblest families of Scotland, for the payment of this money, but that the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, should give their bonds for the payment of it, if their monarch should fail.

Before James left London he married the lady Joane Beaufort, daughter of the earl of Somerset, of whom he had become deeply enamoured during his imprisonment. She was a lady of royal descent by both her parents, and distinguished equally for beauty and accomplishments. The marriage was performed with great pomp in the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, and the marriage-feast was held in the palace of the celebrated cardinal Beaufort, her uncle. On the morrow of the marriage king Henry forgave the payment of the first ten thousand marks of the sum to be paid by James for his expenses, as the dower of his wife; and a truce of seven years was concluded between the two kingdoms. James then set out for his own dominions, accompanied by his young wife, and escorted by many of the English nobility. He was met at Durham by the earls of Lennox, Wigtown, Moray, Crawford, March, Orkney, Angus, and Strathern, and a splendid assemblage of the barons and gentry of Scotland. He was attended thence to the Scottish border by the earl of Northumberland, with an escort under the command of sir Robert Umfraville, sir William Heron, and sir Robert Ogle. At Melrose he remained in the abbey to fulfil that part of the treaty by which he was obliged to confirm it with his oath, within four days after he entered Scotland, and then he proceeded towards his capital, surrounded by his nobles, and welcomed by the universal rejoicings of his people. He held the festival of Easter, 1424, at Edinburgh, and on the 21st of May he and his queen were crowned in the abbey of Scone, the late governor, as earl of Fife, placing him on the throne, and Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, performing the coronation ceremonies. The king completed the ceremony by conferring the honour of knighthood upon Alexander Stuart, a younger son of the duke of Albany, the earls of March, Angus, and Crawford, William Hay, constable of Scotland, John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, Alexander Seyton of Gordon, and eighteen others of the principal nobility and barons of his realm.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF JAMES I.; JAMES'S FIRST PARLIAMENT; SEIZURE AND EXECUTION OF THE NOBLES; FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

It seems to have been generally understood, that the king had been well informed, in his captivity, of the condition of Scotland, and that he returned to his country with the firm resolution to purge it of evil-doers. The old historian of this period tells us, that the king had asserted to some of his friends, that if God gave him life, there should not be a spot in his dominions in which the key should not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, even though he himself led the life of a dog to accomplish it; and his acts in no way belied this promise, though, from the begining, he manifested as much prudence as determination. He began by causing strict inquiries to be made into the various abuses under which his kingdom was suffering. Immediately after his coronation a parliament was called, and its various enactments throw some light on the condition of Scotland at that time. The authentic records

of previous parliaments since the time of David II., appear to be entirely lost, so that we are unable to trace the development of parliamentary forms and principles during that period, which, in fact, from the condition of the kingdom, cannot have been very great. In the time of David, as we have seen, it became a custom, to simplify the labours of parliament, by appointing committees to consider and prepare the business or articles to be brought before it, and, in the meantime, the members were allowed to return to their homes and occupy themselves with their own affairs. These committees had now been changed for a certain number of persons chosen by parliament, to prepare the acts or articles to be proposed to them, and who were named the lords of the articles. This was a parliamentary institution peculiar to Scotland, and we shall find the lords of the articles acting an important part in the future history of the country. It was the first business of the parliament, on assembling, to elect the lords of the articles, after which, leave of returning home was given to all the other members of parliament, to reassemble for business when called upon.

The more important enactments of this parliament seem to have been drawn up under the king's eye, and point out the abuses which he was resolved to correct. The first commanded that all men should honour the church, and confirmed to its ministers their ancient freedom and privileges. The next was a strict provision against feuds and private war among the nobility, and inhibited the barons, not only from making war upon each other, but from riding about the country with numerous bands of followers, to the great oppression of the king's subjects. Those who were found offending against this law, were to be arrested and punished according to the king's pleasure. Magistrates and officers of the crown were to be appointed throughout the kingdom, and to be men of property, who might be proceeded against and punished if they did not do justice to the commons of the land. This was followed by a strong law against rebels, and against all persons whatever who favoured and supported them. Another enactment was directed against sturdy mendicants, who, it appears, traversed the country in troops, and when their demands were not immediately complied with, plundered by force. Instead of these, only such persons were to be allowed to beg who were properly ascertained to be incapable of gaining their living in any other way, and these were to be known by wearing a certain token to be given them by the sheriff of the county, or by the aldermen and bailies of the burgh. Beggars who carried no such tokens on their persons, were to be seized and subjected to the penalty of burning on the cheek, and banishment from the country. Other acts were made to restore the great customs, which, during the regency, had been given away to private individuals, and the royal domains, which had been greatly dilapidated. Another important class of enactments in this parliament, were those relating to the tax for the payment of the money due to England, and the mode of raising it, in which a determination was shown to tax the country more equally and more equitably than had been done in former reigns. We are led to suppose that during the late period of anarchy, there had been a general destruction of the regalities of the crown, extending even to the game and fisheries, for one of the acts of this period was a severe law against those who killed salmon illegally, and against the destruction of other fish. New regulations were made with regard to the custom on herrings, which appears to have been a very lucrative one. It was found necessary also to vindicate the royal right to mines; but it is not easy to discover what circumstance could make it needful to provide by an express statute, that wherever mines of gold or silver had been discovered within the lands of any lord or baron, if it could be proved that three half-pennies of silver could be produced out of the pound of lead, the mine should belong to the king. We have no reason to believe that the precious metals were procured in Scotland at this time. An act, similar to one that had frequently been enacted in former reigns, was at the same time passed, forbidding any gold or silver to be carried forth of the realm, without paying a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported; those who offended against this act were to forfeit the whole gold or silver, and pay a fine of forty-one pennies to the king. It was provided also, that in every instance where merchant strangers had disposed of their goods for money, they should be compelled to expend the same in the purchase of Scottish merchandise, or in the payment of their personal expenses, in evidence of which

they were to bring the testimony of the innkeeper where they lodged, or if they desired to carry the money out of the realm, they were to pay the duty on exportation. All the acts relating to commerce were of the same unenlightened character. There was more wisdom in the law relating to the currency, which had been greatly depreciated from the original standard; the money then in circulation was called in, and a new coinage issued, equal in weight and fineness to the money of England. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, it was ordered that in future no person should purchase any pension payable out of any benefice in Scotland, religious or secular, under penalty of forfeiting the same to the crown; and that no clerk, without express licence from the king, should pass over the sea, or send procurators for himself, on any foreign errand. The only other important act passed in this parliament was one for the encouragement of archery, in which the Scots had never been skilful. It was ordered that all the male subjects of the realm, on reaching the age of fourteen, should be duly provided with the usual arms of an archer; that on every ten-pound land, especially in the neighbourhood of parish churches, bow-marks should be raised, where the people should practise archery, and each at least shoot thrice about, or for neglecting this injunction, pay the penalty of a wether to the lord of the land. The favourite pastime of foot-ball was forbidden under a heavy penalty, that the common people might give their whole time to practising with the long-bow.

Many of these enactments it was nearly certain that the proud barons of Scotland would not obey, and they were perhaps made more severe in order to entrap them into disobedience. In most of those directed against the nobility, such as those against rebellion, and against riding about with too large retinues, and against private warfare, the punishment was left to the king's discretion. The caution with which the king proceeded against the great offenders showed at once the greatness of his resentment, and the resolution to carry his designs into effect. They had been received at court, when they came to attend on their parliamentary duties with a cordiality that was calculated to disarm suspicion. They returned to their estates in appearance perfectly satisfied with all that had been done, but fully prepared to disregard all the laws which had been enacted as far as regarded themselves, for they had long been in the habit of looking upon laws as things made for the lower and middle classes, but not for themselves, and they had not the slightest intention of surrendering any of the lands or other possessions they had usurped, or submitting to any royal or parliamentary inquisition into their titles.

Eight months were allowed to pass after this parliament was dismissed, which present to the historian a complete blank, for we have no records of the private or even of the public transactions of this period. It is probable, however, that the king employed it in cautiously maturing his plans of vengeance. He seems to have secured the support of the whole body of the clergy, no trifling force in those days, and to have admitted into his councils a small number of the barons who were devoted to the crown, and on whose co-operation he could place full dependence. These were the earl of Mar, his son sir Thomas Stuart, the chancellor William Lauder bishop of Glasgow, the treasurer sir Walter Ogilvy, the king's private secretary John Cameron, the chamberlain sir John Forester of Corstorphine, sir John Stuart, sir Robert Lauder of the Bass, Thomas Somerville of Carnwath, and Alexander Levingston of Callendar; most of them men of wealth and influence. At the end of the eight months the king summoned a parliament at Perth, which met on the 12th of March, 1425, and the great nobles of the realm attended without hesitation, and even without suspicion. It was understood that the principal object of the parliament was to take steps for the suppression of heresy, for the religious reformers were again active, and this was the first subject brought forward. It was, however, ordered that immediate inquiry should be made by the king's officers whether the statutes passed in the last parliament had been obeyed, and that in all cases where they had been disregarded the offenders should be seized and punished. At the same time proclamation was made, forbidding all confederations amongst the king's lieges, all assistance afforded to rebels, and all false reports tending to create discord between the sovereign and his people, on pain of death and confiscation of property. These also were measures which had accompanied the meetings of former parliaments, and, regarded as mere matter of form, they gave no alarm,

as it was not supposed that they were to be acted upon. Eight days passed thus with nothing to give warning of the blow which was preparing, but on the ninth all the members of the family of Albany who were within reach, who were the late governor and his younger son, the lord Alexander Stuart, were suddenly placed under arrest; and immediately after, to the astonishment of everybody, twenty-six of the greatest lords and barons in Scotland, including Archibald earl of Douglas, William Douglas earl of Angus, George Dunbar earl of March, William Hay of Errol constable of Scotland, Scrymgeour constable of Dundee, Alexander Lindsay, Adam Hepburn of Hailes, Thomas Hay of Yester, Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Alan Otterbourn secretary to the duke of Albany, sir John Montgomery, and sir John Stuart of Dundonald. Walter, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, the same whose brutal disrespect to his father was said to have hastened his resignation of the regency, had already been arrested and shut up in Lauder's castle of the Bass, as well as the earl of Lennox and sir Robert Graham, who were imprisoned in the castle of Dunbar. The duke of Albany, who had been first imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrews, was transferred to that of Caerlaverock.

The whole nobility seem to have been paralysed by this bold stroke, and none appear to have attempted the slightest opposition. The king at once took possession of Albany's castles of Falkland and Doune, in the latter of which he found his wife Isabella, daughter of the earl of Lennox, who was committed to the castle of Tantallon; and in rapid succession he made himself master of all the strongest fortresses in the country.

The parliament had been adjourned to the 18th of May, when it was to meet at Stirling. The king seems to have employed the intervening period in assuring himself of his own strength, and preparing for the tragedy which was to follow; and it has been supposed that the imprisonment of some of the nobles was merely intended to intimidate them, that they might leave the family of Albany to its fate. It is certain that on the jury which tried Walter Stuart, Albany's eldest son, there were no less than seven of the principal imprisoned noblemen, namely, the earls of Douglas, March, and Angus, sir John de Montgomery, the constable Hay of Errol, sir Herbert Herries of Teregles, and sir Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs. The trial of Walter Stuart was conducted with great pomp and solemnity, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, on the 24th of May, 1424. The king presided as supreme judge, sitting on his throne, in his royal robes and insignia, with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. All we know of the trial is, that he was charged with what the law-latin of the time termed *roberia*, and we are justified by what is known of his character in supposing that, in defiance of the king and the laws, he had perpetrated some one of those wholesale acts of devastation and plunder which had been so common among the turbulent barons during the regency of the house of Albany. His trial lasted but a day, and he was found guilty, and condemned to death. We have no account of the charges brought against the other members of this ill-fated family, but they were probably connected with the treasonable assumption of the regency. The duke, his aged father-in-law the earl of Lennox, now in his eightieth year, and another son, Alexander Stuart, were all brought to the scaffold. In a state of society like that which now existed in Scotland, people are apt to be dazzled into admiration of the boldness and profusion of those from whose very outrages they suffer, and the execution of so many members of this great family, who in personal appearance were some of the tallest and finest men of their age, excited in an extraordinary degree the sympathies of the multitude, who forgot the claims of justice in contemplating the nobleness of its victims.

The youngest of duke Murdoch's sons, James Stuart, escaped arrest, and fled to the islands of Scotland, in company with his father's chaplain, Finlay bishop of Lismore and Argyle. Having collected a band of freebooters, they took arms, and falling by surprise on the burgh of Dumbarton, they took it by storm, killed many of the inhabitants, completely plundered the town, and then committed it to the flames. Sir John Stuart of Dundonald, the king's uncle, was among the slain. James Stuart and bishop Finlay, after perpetrating this outrage, made a rapid retreat into their northern fastnesses; but they were so closely hunted by the king's emissaries, that they were obliged to make their escape into Ireland. Five of their accomplices were taken, and the royal vengeance was only satisfied when they were torn to pieces by wild horses.

The executions appear to have been limited to these offenders. The estates of those who had been executed were not, as was usual in such cases, seized by the crown, although the king was in want of money. All the other nobles, who had been thrown into prison, were released. But a bull was procured from the pope, addressed to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane, authorizing them to proceed against the bishop of Lismore, and such others of the clergy as might have been guilty of treason.

After the king's vengeance had thus been satisfied, the parliament proceeded with its legislative labours. Several of its enactments had for their aim the improvement of agriculture, and the protection of the landowners and farmers. It was ordered that every man of the estate of a labourer or husbandman, should either combine with his neighbour to pay half the expense of an ox and a plough, or dig every day a portion of land seven feet long and six feet broad. Musters, or, as they were called in Scotland, weapon-schaweings, of the fighting men of each county were to be held four times a-year. Severe penalties were enacted against those who stole green wood, or feloniously stripped trees of their bark, or broke into orchards to take fruit. Some severe restrictions were placed on the exportation of certain articles of commerce, such as tallow and horses, and a law was passed, forbidding any merchant to pass the sea for the purposes of trade, who did not possess in property, or at least in commission, three "serplaiths" of wool, or the value thereof in merchandise, under a penalty of forty-one pounds for each offence.

One act passed in this parliament shows that king James was actuated by noble feelings of justice and humanity. After declaring the duties of judges, and the necessity of administering justice with impartiality, it was provided, that if "ony pur creatur" should not possess the necessary knowledge, or pecuniary means to pursue his own cause, it should be the duty of the judge to procure "a legal and wise advocate," to act for him, and that the advocate was eventually to be paid by the party who should be proved to be "the wronger." "And if the judge refuses to do the law evenly, the party plaining should have recourse to the king, who shall so vigourously punish such judges, that it be an example to all others." Various measures were also adopted to check the practice of indiscriminate robbery and murder, which had prevailed throughout the country during the regency. It was announced that all who had been guilty of injuries against the persons and property of the king's lieges, should be pardoned on making reparation to the injured party, the extent of that reparation to be determined by a jury of honest and faithful men. This enactment was not to apply to the highlands, which were in such a state of lawlessness, that it seemed to require some more stringent measures to bring them to anything approaching to good order.

We perceive from the acts of this parliament that the doctrines of the reformation were secretly spreading in Scotland. The preaching, and more especially the sad fate, of John Resby, had produced a deep impression, and we learn from contemporary historians that his writings were carefully preserved and diligently studied, and they seem to have raised disciples to the doctrines they contained in most parts of the country, in spite of the opposition they had experienced from the duke of Albany, who had been particularly diligent in flattering and gaining over the Romish clergy. James himself had been educated at a court where the doctrines of Wycliffe were in great disfavour, and his hostile feeling was evinced in a distinct act, directing all bishops to make diligent inquisitions in their several dioceses after Lollards and heretics, in order that they might be condemned by the church, and delivered over to the civil power for punishment.

After the parliament had closed its labours, king James continued his efforts unabated to purge his kingdom of the many evil-doers who had been so long used to act in defiance of the laws. There was something savage in the severity with which he proceeded against the more powerful offenders, which can only be explained by a knowledge of the character of the people with whom he had to deal, and whom no other feeling but that of terror could restrain. It is certain, also, by the rapidity and apparent ease with which the king carried his plans into effect, that he must have been well supported by the middle and lower classes of society, and that he must always have had a powerful force at his command. Immediately after the parliament separated, James sent commissioners to seize the castle

of Loch Lomond, the property of Albany's younger son, the fugitive sir James Stuart, and it was surrendered without resistance. Its fierce lord, proscribed in his native land, closed his days in exile.

The inflexible resolution which the Scottish king had hitherto exhibited, seems to have raised him in the estimation of foreign princes. France, expecially, was anxious to draw closer its alliance with Scotland, and James's queen having in the preceding year given birth to a daughter, who was named Margaret, Stuart of Darnley, the lord of Aubigny, and constable of the Scottish army in France, and the archbishop of Rheims, arrived in 1425, as ambassadors from the French king, commissioned to negotiate a marriage between Louis the dauphin of France and the infant princess. King James at once agreed to the alliance, and the bishop of Aberdeen, the archdeacon of Lothian, and sir Patrick Ogilvy, who held the high office of justiciar of Scotland, were sent to France to carry back his answer. It was arranged that five years from that time the dauphin and the princess should be betrothed, and then the latter was to be sent with all due honour to the court of France. During the same year, an embassy was received from the states of Flanders, who came to negotiate for a renewal of their old trade with Scotland, and the king, in acceding to their proposal, obtained more ample privileges for the Scottish merchants trading to Flanders. On the other hand, king James about this time despatched a numerous and solemn embassy to Rome, apparently with the object of strengthening his own power by a cordial union with the church. It has been supposed that this embassy had some connexion with the persecution of the Lollards. James showed his determination to support the church, by issuing a commission for the restoration of all church lands which had been alienated during the regencies of the dukes of Albany

CHAPTER VII.

ANOTHER PARLIAMENT; JAMES'S VISIT TO THE HIGHLANDS; REBELLION OF ALEXANDER OF THE ISLES; FURTHER LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS.

ANOTHER parliament, held in the March of 1425, showed the earnestness with which king James laboured for the improvement of his country. It was a law of this parliament which established the new court called the session, which was to be held by the chancellor with certain discreet persons of the three estates to be chosen and deputed by the king, who were to sit three times in the year at whatever place the king appointed, to hear and judge all cases and quarrels which might be determined by the king's council. The expenses of these judges were to be paid by the parties against whom their decisions were given, out of the fines of court, or otherwise, as tho king should direct. The first session of the new court was to be held on the 30th of September, 1425, and they were to be subsequently held on the Monday of the first week of lent, on the morning preceding the feast of St. John the Baptist, and on the day after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, every year. An order was next made for the enrolment of all charters, letters of protection, and other grants or confirmations of rights and privileges, and all who then held such charters were required to produce them, to be entered on record. Other enactments were made for purifying juries, and for strictly regulating the appointment of persons to practise as attorneys. A commission was appointed, at the same time, to examine and revise the book of laws, and so far amend and explain all that were defective, contradictory, or obscure, that the ends of justice might not be longer defrauded by means of quibbling and fraud. A provision was next made to take away the plea of ignorance usually set up by the greater offenders against the laws. An act of this parliament directed that copies of all the statutes and ordinances should be sent to all the sheriffs, who were strictly enjoined to publish and proclaim them in the chief and

most notable places of their sheriffdom, and to take other steps to make them known, so that, in time to come, no man should have cause to plead ignorance of the laws of the land. The prelates, barons, and burghs were, moreover, commanded to procure and keep copies of these laws, at their own expense.

The other principal enactments of this parliament related to the commerce of the kingdom, in which the same unenlightened policy of restrictions was pursued, which then prevailed generally. It was ordered that all Scottish merchants passing the seas should bring back with them, as a part of their cargo, a certain proportion of harness, armour, and arms. The same strict order for annual musters and inspections of arms was re-enacted, and the sheriffs were ordered to see that every gentleman having ten pounds value in land, should be sufficiently harnessed, and armed with steel basnet, leg-harness, sword, spear, and dagger, and that all gentlemen of less property should be armed according to their estate. All yeomen between the ages of sixteen and sixty were to be provided with a bow and a sheaf of arrows. An embargo was placed on the commercial intercourse with Ireland, with the avowed design of putting a stop to the assistance given by the Irish to Scottish rebels. Other laws related to the regulation of weights and measures, and to other matters in which abuses had crept, injurious to the people at large.

We have said that the embargo on the intercourse with Ireland, was expressly enacted to prevent the Irish from assisting Scottish rebels, for it was stated that the king's open rebels had taken refuge in Ireland, and that the welfare of the realm was endangered by such unrestrained intercourse, as gave the king's rebellious subjects the opportunity of plotting with their friends, or enabled the Irish to become acquainted with the private affairs of Scotland. It was evident, by this enactment, that king James was meditating some energetic proceedings against his turbulent subjects in the north; and accordingly, when the parliament was adjourned, he announced his intention of marching in person to the highlands, and summoned it to meet him at Inverness. Thither he proceeded, with his principal nobles and barons, at the head of a powerful army, and fixed his residence for a while amid the rude and uncivilized tribes of the mountainous districts, whose chiefs, ensconced in their almost inaccessible castles, were in the habit of setting the power of the crown at defiance, and refusing to pay their share of the taxes, to attend parliament, or to perform any of the services required by the king's government. Most of these chiefs were constantly guilty of crimes which would be capital under any civilized and well ordered government, and there was no want of pretexts to bring them to justice.

The king's proceedings showed that he was well fitted for the task of bringing these turbulent subjects to order. On his arrival at Inverness, he summoned the most powerful of these ferocious chiefs to attend his parliament. Influenced either by fear, or by the belief, that in yielding to this mandate, they would be able to avert any further attack on their independence, the highland chiefs obeyed, and forty of them made their appearance at Inverness. They had no sooner entered the hall of parliament, than they were all seized by the king's guards, secured with iron fetters, and thrown into prison. The historian Fordun, has enumerated among the principal chiefs thus entrapped, Alexander lord of the Isles, and the most powerful and formidable of them all; Angus Dow and his four sons, of Strathnaver, who could bring four thousand men into the field; Kenneth More, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray and Makmathar, whose clan could send forth two thousand fighting men; Alexander Makreiny of Garmoran, and John Macarthur, each of whom could muster a thousand men; and John Ross, William Lesley, and James Campbell. The countess of Ross, mother of Alexander of the Isles, was also apprehended and thrown into prison. Some of these chiefs were immediately tried and executed. The offence of James Campbell was the murder of John of the Isles, for which he was hanged. Alexander Makreiny and John Macarthur were both brought to the scaffold. Others were also put to death. Some, however, were treated more leniently, and among these was Alexander of the Isles, whom the king restored to his liberty, after having admonished him to shew his gratitude by his future loyalty to the crown, and by laying aside his evil courses. But the king had no sooner broken up his army, and returned to the lowlands, than Alexander, abusing the royal

clemency, collected the force of Ross and the Isles, and with an army of ten thousand men, invaded the crown lands, wasted the country around, and destroyed the burgh of Inverness, because the king had held his court there.

But the proud lord of the Isles little knew the antagonist with whom he had to deal. The king no sooner received intelligence of this insurrection, than he collected an army, and marched with such rapidity into the highlands, that he overtook the invaders in the district of Lochaber. The king's army is understood to have been much inferior in force to that of the highlanders, but it had discipline and the weight of the royal name in its favour, and Alexander was weakened at the moment when the engagement was about to commence by the desertion of the two clans of Chattan and Cameron, who went over to the king's standard. Alexander's army was completely routed, and the fugitives were hunted out with such activity by the king's soldiers, that the lord of the Isles sent an embassy to sue for peace. The king was doubly incensed at the insolence of his subject in acting as if he had been an independent prince, and, after having sternly reprimanded the ambassadors, he returned to his capital, leaving strict orders with his officers not to relax in their pursuit until they had found out and captured the fugitive. The latter was at length driven to such a degree of misery and despair, that, having made his way secretly to Edinbugh, he seized the occasion of a festival, and when the king with his queen and the nobles of his court were standing before the high altar of the church of Holyrood, he presented himself, clothed only in his shirt and drawers, with a naked sword in his hand, and, approaching the king, fell on his knees before him, and, delivering up his sword, threw himself upon the royal mercy. Misery and destitution were so strongly marked in the countenance of the once proud chieftain, that it drew sympathy from the spectators. The king gave him his life, but he committed him to the care of William earl of Angus to be strictly imprisoned in the castle of Tantallon; while his mother, the countess of Ross, was no less strictly confined in the monastery of Inchcolm on a small island in the firth of Forth. Both, however, subsequently found favour and were released, and Alexander was restored to his lands and possessions.

To judge of the state of a country which required the energetic measures that the king was now employing, we have but to read the few anecdotes of the atrocities committed by the chiefs, related by contemporary historians. On one occasion a highland chieftain broke forcibly into the shed of a poor woman and carried away two of her cows. The aggressor took no care to conceal his outrage, but walked about openly and set the law at defiance. The woman made loud complaints, and, unable to obtain redress, she vowed that she would not take off her shoes again till she had reached the king's presence to make her complaint. The robber declared she should break her vow, for he would himself have her new shod before she went to court; and he immediately caused her to be seized by his men, who, at his command, fixed two horse shoes of iron to the soles of her naked feet with nails driven into the flesh, and in this condition threw her upon the highway. She was taken care of by some more humane persons, and, as soon as she was sufficiently recovered of her wounds, conveyed to court. She obtained access to the king, told her story, and confirmed it by showing her feet all scarred from the recent wounds. James was seized with great indignation. He sent his writs to the sheriff of the county in which the chief who had perpetrated this act of violence resided, and caused him to be seized and sent to him at Perth, where he was then holding his court. After he had been tried and convicted, he was covered with a linen shirt on which was a rude painting of his crime, and he was thus paraded through the streets, and then dragged at the horse's tail to the gallows, where he was hanged. The country had been long unused to acts of justice like this.

The same historian relates an anecdote of the king's rigour in restraining the personal violence of his nobles, and enforcing a due respect to his own person. One of his high nobility, nearly related by blood to himself, quarreled with another baron of the court in the king's presence, and forgot himself so far as to strike him in the face. The king ordered him immediately to be seized and the hand with which he had struck his adversary to be held out, and then, unsheathing the short sword which he wore at his side, the king gave it to the baron who had been struck, and ordered him on pain of death to strike off the hand of the offender. The courtiers interceded in vain, and it was only at the pressing request of the

queen, who was present, that the nobleman who had thus offended obtained his pardon, but he was instantly banished from court.

It is evident that, in a state of society where such acts were of ordinary occurrence, mere verbal laws would be of little avail, without the strong arm and the stern will to carry them into effect. King James knew well that it would require time to accustom the turbulent chieftains of Scotland to the authority of the laws, but his activity in the promotion of this object was quite extraordinary. A remarkable characteristic of his reign was the frequency of parliaments, which had, no doubt, the double object of increasing the authority of the laws and accustoming the nobles and barons to a frequent attendance at court, where they were taught to respect the royal power. The parliaments of 1426 and 1427 were occupied chiefly in regulating the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture of the country. We find enactments for the regulation of the trading companies, or guilds, which seems to show that many abuses had arisen amongst them, especially that of combinations, probably with the object of monopoly. The deacons of the crafts were, in the first of the years just mentioned, forbidden to meddle in matters which did not come strictly within their duties, and in 1427 the office of deacon was abolished. By another enactment, the aldermen and councils of the different towns were charged with the duty of fixing the price of labour and of manufactured articles, and in regulating the latter they were to take into account the price of the raw material and the labour of the workman. New regulations were made with regard to the proportions of agricultural produce which each landowner or tenant was bound to have on his land. Another law compelled the lords beyond the lofty range of hills anciently called the Mounth, to rebuild and keep in repair all the old castles, fortalices, and manor-places which had in former days stood on their lands, the object being, as stated in the law, to ensure the gracious government of the lands by good polity, and the good effects resulting from the consumption of the produce of the soil on the lands where it grew. The acts against exporting bullion were repeated with additional rigour. None were to be permitted to leave the country, whether clerks or laymen, unless they had first changed the money they had set aside for their expenses either with the money changers within the realm, or at least with the merchants resident in the country, and before they could obtain leave to proceed on their voyage they were to give due information to the king's chancellor of the performance of this preliminary, and of the object of their journey.

Free institutions were at this time in their infancy in Scotland, and they owe much of their development to James I. In this respect, his education in England had not been thrown away upon him. He saw the advantage of raising up the commons, as a counterbalance to the power of the aristocracy, and various circumstances favoured him in carrying this part of his design into execution. The obligation to attend personally in parliament was felt by the smaller barons, who held from the crown in chief, an intolerable burden, and they eagerly snatched at any provision to relieve themselves of it. In the parliament of 1427, it was enacted that the small barons and free tenants should be excused from attending in future parliaments, but that instead of them, each sheriffdom should send two or more wise men, to be chosen at the head court of the sheriffdom, in proportion to its size, except the sheriffdoms of Clackmannan and Kinross, each of which was to send but one representative. These representatives, in body assembled, were to elect an expert man to be called the common speaker of the parliament, and it was to be his duty to bring forward all cases of importance involving the rights or privileges of the commons. These representatives were to have full power entrusted to them by the rest of the smaller barons and free tenants, to discuss and finally determine what subjects or cases it might be proper to bring before the parliament; and their expenses, and that of their speaker, were to be paid by their electors, who owed personal attendance. This law was not to affect the bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, lords of parliament, and bannerets, whom the king would continue to summon by his special precept. This remarkable law contained the first outlines of a lower house of parliament.

These more important statutes were followed by a number of enactments of less importance, but all tending to show the multitude of abuses which had grown up in every department of the state. The country had been so much devastated and depopulated, that it was overrun with wolves,

and by one of these acts of the legislature, every baron, within his barony, was directed, at the proper season, to seek out and destroy their whelps, and he was to pay two shillings a head for every wolf's whelp that was brought. Wolf-hunts were to take place four times a-year, at which the tenants were commanded, under a penalty, to assist the barons. New acts were also granted for the protection of game and fish. In another parliament, held soon afterwards, the king caused the same oath of allegiance to be taken to the queen as to himself, a sufficient intimation that he wished her, in case of his death, to be regent.

It was fortunate for king James, that while he was employed in his legislative efforts, Scotland remained at peace with its neighbours. Some jealousy was given to England in 1429, by the treaty of marriage between the princess of Scotland and the dauphin, which followed the betrothal of a former year, and by which the king of Scotland undertook to furnish Charles VII. with a body of six thousand soldiers, instead of giving a dowry with his daughter, who, on her side, was to be provided by the French king, with as ample an income as had been settled on any of the queens of France before, and the county of Xaintonge and the lordship of Rochfort were to be given to the king of Scotland. In spite, however, of this treaty, the good understanding between Scotland and England seems to have remained unbroken, and the successes of Joane of Arc rendered unnecessary the sending over of the Scottish soldiers to France.

The king was thus left again to pursue his schemes of internal reform and improvement uninterrupted. In a parliament, which met at Perth on the 26th of April, 1429, he made an attempt to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, who were in a state of servile dependence on the lords of the soil. The condition of slavery in which they stood was a bar to all improvement in agriculture, for it was usual with the landlords, at pleasure, and without any notice or compensation, to turn out the occupier of a farm, and place another in his stead. The king expostulated with his barons against this practice, and he was seconded by a recommendation of the parliament, but it was one on which they could not legislate without intrenching upon feudal rights, which were still looked upon as sacred.

Sumptuary laws begin now to make their appearance, in consequence of the increasing opulence of the mercantile class, who attempted to rival the aristocracy in the extravagance of their dresses. It was ordered by this parliament that no person under the rank of a knight, or possessing a yearly income of less than two hundred marks, should wear clothes made of silk, adorned with the richer kinds of furs, or embroidered with gold or pearls. The eldest sons or heirs of knights were permitted to dress as sumptuously as their fathers; aldermen, bailies, and members of town councils, were to wear furred gowns; but all others were enjoined to dress in such grave and honest apparel as became their station in life. The wives of merchants and burghers were especially pointed at in this act, and they had no doubt rendered themselves liable to criticism by the extravagance with which they aped gentility. It was commanded that neither the wives of commoners nor their servants should wear long trains, rich hoods or ruffs, purfled sleeves, or costly *curches* (kerchefs) of lawn, and that all gentlemen's wives should keep their array within such bounds as were accordant with the personal estates of their husbands. New laws were also enacted to regulate the military equipment of the several classes. All who possessed property affording the yearly rent of twenty pounds, or movable goods to the value of a hundred pounds, were to be well horsed and completely armed as became gentlemen. Those who had no more than ten pounds in rent, or fifty pounds in goods, were to be provided with a gorget, rerebrace, vambrace, breastplate, greaves, leg-splints, and gloves of plate or iron gauntlets. Every yeoman who possessed twenty pounds in goods was required to provide himself with a good doublet of fence, or a habergeon, an iron cap or knapscull, a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword, buckler, and dagger; those who possessed only ten pounds in property were to possess themselves of a bow and sheaf of arrows, with a sword, buckler, and dagger; and the lowest class of all, who possessed no skill in archery, were to have a hat and doublet of fence, with a sword and buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. It was further ordered that every citizen or burgess possessing fifty pounds in property should arm himself in the same fashion as a gentleman; and the burgher yeomen of inferior rank, who possessed property to the

extent of twenty pounds, were to provide themselves each with a doublet and habergeon, a sword and buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, and a knife or dagger. Heavy fines were levied on those who neglected to obey this statute. Another act commanded that all barons and lords possessing estates within six miles of the sea should contribute proportionally to their means for the building and equipment of gallies for the public service. Various circumstances had of late drawn king James's attention to the very inefficient state of the royal navy, which was not at all capable of competing with the powerful subject, the lord of the Isles, and much less with the extensive armaments of his southern neighbours.

In the midst of these earnest endeavours to improve the condition of his country, an auspicious event brought joy to James's heart in his household. In the year 1429, the queen was delivered of twin sons, one of whom was named Alexander, and the other James. At their baptism, which was celebrated with great solemnity, the king conferred the honour of knighthood on the two infants, as well as on the heirs of the earl of Douglas, lord Crichton, lord Borthwic, Logan of Restalrig, and others of his nobility. One of the young princes only survived his infancy, and lived to succeed to his father's throne, under the title of James II.

King James was now meditating new plans of repression against his turbulent aristocracy, and especially against the wild clans of the north. In 1431, the latter broke out in new acts of violence. A kinsman of the lord of the Isles, named Donald Balloch, after proclaiming his contempt for the late submission of the islanders, collected an army in the Hebrides, and landing them in the district of Lochaber, began to ravage and plunder the country around. The earls of Mar and Caithness, to whom James had entrusted the care of the highlands, opposed the invaders at Inverlochy, but, although superior in numbers, the royal troops were defeated with great loss. The earl of Caithness, with many barons and knights, were left dead on the field of battle, and it was not without difficulty that the earl of Mar led away a part of his forces. Donald Balloch now overrun Lochaber without restraint, but did not venture to await till the king should proceed against him in person, for having collected all the plunder he could, he embarked his men, and, not apparently feeling safe in the isles, he made his retreat into Ireland. While the island chief was thus raising his banner against the crown in Lochaber, a fearful scene of private warfare threw the county of Caithness into trouble. A quarrel between two chiefs of rival clans, Angus Dow Mackay and Angus Murray, led to a battle in a valley on the banks of the Naver, which was contested with such ferocity, that out of twelve hundred men who entered the engagement, nine only are said to have survived it.

The king showed his usual energy on this occasion, and lost no time in proceeding against his turbulent subjects in the north. He had just concluded a renewal of the truce with England, which left him no cares in that direction to divert his attention. The terms of this truce, which was to commence with the 1st of April, 1431, are curious, as showing the insecurity of the personal intercourse between one country and another in the middle ages. The people of the one kingdom were forbidden to seize the merchants, pilgrims, and fishers of the other, when driven into their ports by stress of weather; all persons connected in the remotest degree with acts of piracy between the two countries were to be severely punished; and shipwrecked men were to be allowed to pass to their own homes. Each party promised to do its utmost to restrain the turbulence of the borderers, and it was agreed that no agressions by the subjects of either party should be made the occasion of a breach of the peace.

James, thus relieved from other cares, collected an army, and summoned his nobles and barons to meet him at Perth, where he held a parliament on the 15th of October, and a tax on all the lands of the kingdom was agreed to to defray the expenses of the northern expedition. The king appears on this occasion to have experienced some resistance among his nobility, who were perhaps not pleased to see the rapidity with which he put down every attempt at rebellion. The earl of Douglas and lord Kennedy were committed to ward in the castles of Lochleven and Stirling. From Perth the king marched to the castle of Dunstaffnage in Argyleshire, with the intention of passing over to the western islands. But the island chiefs were too much alarmed to make any attempt at resistance; they hurried to the king to

make their submission, declaring that they had only followed the banner of Donald Balloch by compulsion, and as a proof of their sincerity they seized and delivered into the hands of the royal officers a great number of the most notorious robbers and pirates, of whom three hundred were executed. So fatal was this kind of treachery to the island rebels, that Donald Balloch himself, repairing unsuspectingly to the court of one of the wild Irish chiefs or kings, was seized by his orders, and his head cut off and sent to the king of Scotland.

The lowlands of Scotland were at this moment suffering under the ravages of a fearful pestilence, which had first shewn itself in the February of 1431, and had continued to make its appearance at different places during this and the following year. On the 17th of June, 1432, when people's spirits were most depressed at the progress of this destructive scourge, a total eclipse of the sun, which was accompanied, during half-an-hour, with the deepest darkness, caused such a general feeling of extreme terror, that it was remembered for years afterwards as *the black hour*. Foreign intrigues began at the same time to disturb the king's councils. The disasters of the English in France had made the ministers of Henry VI. more anxious to secure a permanent peace with Scotland, and lord Scrope was sent on an embassy to that country to negotiate a final treaty. He was bearer of an offer from king Henry, to purchase this treaty by the delivery to the Scots of Roxburgh and Berwick, a proposal so advantageous and flattering, that James immediately summoned a parliament to take it into serious consideration. When they met, the laity were all in favour of the treaty, but a powerful party of the clergy, apparently under foreign influence, violently opposed it, as contrary to the previous engagements with France. The leaders of this opposition were the abbots of Scone, Inchcolm, and Melross. The great inquisitor of Scotland, Lawrence of Lindores, attacked the opposition with great violence, and in his refined views of heresy and orthodoxy, he declared that the propositions and arguments of his brethren were inconsistent with the latter. The matter degenerated into a theological debate, which was characterized by all the bitterness of religious acrimony, by which the real question was retarded until the peace was finally rejected. Thus was Berwick saved to England.

Lawrence of Lindores soon found a subject for the exercise of his persecuting zeal. A Bohemian physician, named Paul Crawar, had come with the professed object of practising in his profession, but with secret commission from the religious reformers of Prague, to communicate with their Wickliffite brethren in Scotland. He found many disciples, and was labouring hard in the work of reformation, when he was detected by the indefatigable inquisitor. His chief "errors," as declared by the contemporary historian, were, that the bible ought to be laid open to the people; that in a temporal kingdom, the spiritual ought to be subservient to the civil power; that ecclesiastics guilty of crimes against the law, ought to be answerable before the civil magistrates; that there was no purgatory; that pilgrimages were of no utility; and that the authority of the pope, the doctrine of substantiation, and the power of absolution, were falsehoods. Crawar was arrested and brought before the inquisitorial court of Lawrence of Lindores, but he defended his opinions with such courage and skill, as embarrassed his judges. As, however, he refused to recant, he was condemned and delivered to the secular arm, and he was burnt at St. Andrews on the 23rd of July, 1433.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KING'S FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIS NOBLES; SIEGE OF ROXBURGH; SIR PATRICK GRAHAM PLOT AGAINST THE KING; ASSASSINATION OF JAMES I.

King James had not undertaken an easy task, when he began his resistance to the encroachments of a numerous and unscrupulous aristocracy, who had so long trampled with impunity on the power of the throne and on the rights of the commons, and he now found that, although repressed for a time, they began again to raise up their heads, and were organizing opposition to his measures of national improvement. As he found his nobles thus assuming a hostile position towards him, he became more severe, and some of his proceedings against them, as far as we can judge at present, were cruel, and morally, if not legally, unjust. He saw that the immense estates united in the possession of a few great lords was the chief obstacle to his plans, and he now seemed to have determined to break up these great lordships. None of the great landholders were more dangerous to Scotland than the earl of March, whose immense possessions, lying on the English borders, had given rise to a popular saying that this nobleman held the key to Scotland. The earls of March had therefore been counted among the most powerful and dangerous of the Scottish aristocracy. The father of the earl who now held the estates had, as we have before seen, thrown off his allegiance to the crown of Scotland, and fled into England in 1401, and his estates had been in consequence forfeited to the crown. He had subsequently returned to his allegiance, and his estates had been restored to him by the regent Albany. The restoration of forfeited estates appears to have been considered as coming within the alienation of the possessions of the crown by the late regent, of which an act of resumption had been passed at the beginning of the present reign. With this claim in reserve, the king waited quietly either the opportunity of putting it into force with most safety, or the case wherein the opposition of the earl of March might render it necessary to deprive him of his power.

Perhaps both these contingencies may now have arrived, for there was certainly an increasing agitation among the aristocracy of Scotland, and it is hardly probable that the king would proceed so deliberately against the most powerful of them, unless he had been sure of his own power. At a parliament which met at Perth on the 10th of January, 1434, the question of the right of the present earl of March to his estates was brought forward with all due solemnity, and was pleaded by the advocates or prolocutors of the two parties, the king and the earl in possession. When the reasons on each side had been fully stated, the earl and his council were ordered to retire, and the judges debated the question among themselves, and decided in favour of the crown. The earl and his prolocutors were then readmitted, and it was declared to him to be the decision of parliament, that in consequence of the forfeiture of the lord George of Dunbar, formerly earl of March, all title of property to the lands of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, with whatever other lands the same baron held of the crown, belonged of right to the king, and might immediately be resumed. In accordance with this judgment, the king immediately took possession of the estates in question, and delivered the castle of Dunbar to the charge of one of his faithful barons, sir Walter Haliburton of Dirleton. The king professed to be only doing an act of ordinary justice, in obedience to the decision of parliament, and he pretended to show his regard for the victim by conferring upon him the title of the earldom of Buchan, and assigning him a pension of four hundred marks out of that northern principality, which had reverted to the crown on the death of the late earl. Thus was the great house of March suddenly reduced from enormous power to a mere precarious dependence on the generosity of the crown.

The earl of March and his friends appear to have allowed this exertion of the power of the crown to pass without resistance, or even remonstrance; but he disdained to assume the new title which was offered to him, and taking with him his eldest son, retired into England. The aristocracy in general, aware that many of their titles might be questioned quite as easily as that

of the earl of March, were naturally seized with alarm; and from this moment they seem to have become impressed with the feeling that the death of the king was their only protection against the entire destruction of their order. We now trace here and there indications of plots against his person, and, although the power of the crown was becoming daily in his hands more consolidated and formidable, he seems himself to have been conscious that his person was exposed to danger, and before the parliament separated, he required from them all bonds of adherence and fidelity to his queen.

In the midst of the feeling of mutual distrust thus generated, the Scots were gradually drawn into hostilities with England, by provocations on the part of the latter power. The first of these was a sudden invasion of the Scottish border by the English borderer, Sir Robert Ogle, at the head of a strong body of knights and men-at-arms. The cause of this attack is unknown; but the earl of Angus, Hepburn of Hailes, and sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, instantly collected their followers, and met the invaders near Piperden, where the English were utterly routed. Forty were slain, and Ogle himself, with nearly all the rest of his party, were taken prisoners. This was an outrage which, from the fact of its being made apparently without the knowledge of the English government, might easily have been arranged; but James demanded satisfaction in vain from the English regency, which soon after gave a provocation of a still more direct kind. The princess Margaret had reached her thirteenth year, and two envoys arrived from France to require, that according to the treaty of marriage, she should be sent to that country. She was accordingly sent to the French court, accompanied by a splendid train of nobility, in a fleet consisting of three large ships and six barges. Although a truce existed between Scotland and England, the government of the latter country, who were still at war with France, and irritated by their losses, sent out a fleet to intercept the princess on her way, and carry her a prisoner to England. The Scottish fleet reached France in safety, whilst the English were first engaged in capturing a fleet of Flemish merchantmen, and were subsequently defeated by the Spaniards and deprived of their booty. The Scottish princess was received in great state by the archbishop of Rheims and the bishops of Poictiers and Xaintonge, and the marriage was celebrated with much magnificence at Tours.

King James was incensed in the highest degree at the the conduct of the English government, and he was, perhaps, rendered less averse to war, by the belief that it would give employment to his turbulent nobles, and take them off from the plots in which they seem now to have been engaged against the crown. He assembled the whole force of his dominions, and with a formidable army marched to the siege of the castle of Roxburgh, which had so long remained in the hands of the English. The siege was carried on during fifteen days, apparently with success, and, although the Scottish warlike machines had been mostly broken and rendered useless, the fortress is said to have been on the point of surrender. At this moment the queen suddenly came to the camp, and the king instantly raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to his capital. The real cause of this inglorious termination of a war commenced with so much vigour, is involved in the greatest obscurity; but it is generally believed that the queen brought secret information of some formidable design against the king's person which had been plotted in the army, and which he only disconcerted by separating the feudal chiefs whose forces composed it. Yet, two months afterwards, on the 22nd of October, 1436, the king held a parliament at Edinburgh, without any intimations of his having escaped from an imminent danger. Perhaps he thought it advisable not to let it be known publicly, that he was aware of the secret practices of his barons.

The parliament just mentioned was again occupied with a variety of commercial regulations. Some of these seem to have been dictated by a spirit of hostility to England. Scottish merchants were not permitted to purchase English cloth, nor were English traders allowed to carry out of Scotland any articles of Scottish trade or manufacture, except such as were expressly specified in their letters of safe conduct.

But if the king gave no outward symptoms of suspicion or alarm, this parliament was not allowed to pass over without an alarming explosion of discontent among the nobles. We have before mentioned that among the barons thrown into prison soon after the king's accession to the throne was sir Robert Graham. This man, though

he had been liberated and received subsequently conciliatory treatment, had never ceased to harbour bitter resentment in his heart. He was a man of dark and ferocious character, well fitted for the leader of a sanguinary conspiracy. The Grahams had lately received a new cause of hostile feeling towards the king. The son of Graham's brother, sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, had married the only daughter of David earl of Strathern, and had been allowed by the regent Albany to assume that extensive fief on the death of his father-in-law. King James, in his resolution to break down the power of the nobles, had resolved to seize upon the earldom of Strathern, which he did on the pretext that this fief was inheritable only by male heirs, and that, as it reverted to the crown on the death of earl David, Albany had no power to give it away. As in the case of the earl of March, the king attempted to cover the injustice of this resumption by giving sir Patrick's son the life-rent of Strathern upon Athol, and creating him earl of Menteith; but the Grahams set their hearts upon vengeance, and sir Robert Graham took the lead in a plot, in which he was immediately joined by the old earl of Athol, and sir Robert Stuart the king's chamberlain. There was much ingratitude in the conduct of the baron last mentioned, for the king had loaded him with favours. Other nobles entered secretly into the conspiracy, but they were in general unwilling to go to the lengths which Graham recommended, and it was finally agreed that Graham, as an eloquent speaker, should rise in his place in parliament and detail their grievances, and that the others should support him with their voices.

When the moment for action arrived, Graham, carried away by the impetuosity of his character, exceeded the bounds of his commission. He spoke boldly against the tyranny which had destroyed or reduced so many noble families, and ended by appealing to the barons around to interfere and put a restaint on the king's person, as the only means of protecting the rights of the nobility. The king, who was present in his parliament, instantly ordered him to be seized, and he was carried away to prison, crying out indignantly against the pusillanimity of his companions, who were in the utmost alarm at his imprudent violence. The matter was carefully examined, and Graham's estates were confiscated to the crown, but, though he was banished from court, the king imprudently allowed him to go at large.

Graham fled to the highlands, where he found a secure retreat, and soon collected together a small body of turbulent followers. His first proceeding was one of extraordinary insolence. He sent the king a letter of defiance, in which he renounced his allegiance, and, after reproaching him with his tyranny over the nobles and his own personal injuries, threatened that whenever the opportunity presented itself he would slay him as his mortal enemy. The king, in return for this insult, issued a proclamation setting a price on his head. But he paid no further attention to his threats, while Graham entered into communication with some of the more discontented of the nobles, and gained over to his designs the king's own uncle, the aged earl of Athol. The ambition of this man was easily worked upon, and he was made to believe that he was the rightful heir to the crown of Scotland, for Graham persuaded him that Robert III. was a bastard, and that he, as the legitimate son of Robert II., by his second marriage, was his only descendant. The vanity of Athol's grandson, sir Robert Stuart, was still more easily worked upon, and he eagerly entered into a conspiracy to murder the king. This man added base ingratitude to foul treason, for he held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and he had always been treated by James with especial kindness and favour. His position near the king's person made sir Robert Stuart a very important agent in the plot, which, in fact, owed its success almost entirely to his treachery. The other conspirators were a few obscure individuals, chiefly connected with the ruined house of Albany.

The designs of the assassins were favoured by an unforeseen accident. For some reason or other the king suddenly resolved to celebrate the festivities of Christmas in the town of Perth, where the convent of the Dominicans offered full accommodation for the court. Perth was conveniently situated, near to the highlands, so that the conspirators might come down from their stronghold unobserved, and, when the deed was done, return instantly to their lurking-places. The king's intentions were no sooner publicly known, than Graham determined to murder the king in the midst of his Christmas revelry, and he called together

the conspirators, and made his preparations accordingly. The plot, however, was not kept so secret, but it reached the ears of a highland woman, who was superstitiously regarded as a prophetess, but who immediately resolved to save their victim. She accordingly hastened to seek the king, and meeting him as he was on his way to the shore of the firth of Forth, which he had to cross on his way from Edinburgh to Perth, she threw herself before him, and in a wild manner warned James that if he crossed that water he would never return alive. The king was struck by her earnestness, and ordered one of his knights to question her. She was proceeding to state that she had received some alarming information from a person named Hubert, when the knight, who, perhaps from treachery, examined her hurriedly and imperfectly, turned away with the observation, that she was either drunk or mad. The king immediately ordered his party to proceed, and they all took ship, crossed the Firth, and rode forward to Perth.

The monastery of the dominicans now presented an uninterrupted scene of joy and festivity, for the court seemed more gay than usual, and the prophecy of the highland woman was soon forgotten. The time appointed for its fulfilment was the night between the 20th and the 21st of February. The hour was fixed when all the conspirators were to join, and be ready to act their parts, as had been agreed upon. In the dark of the evening, Sir Robert Stuart caused wooden planks to be thrown across the moat surrounding the monastery, in order that Graham and his companions might pass over without the risk of arousing the warder, and he took advantage of the power given him by his office of chamberlain to take off the locks and bolts of the doors of the king's bed-room and the adjoining apartment. The revels of the court were kept up late that evening, and the king was unusually cheerful, joking with his courtiers on the subject of a pretended prophecy that a king should be killed in Scotland that year. While playing at chess with a young knight, whom he called playfully the king of love, he told him to be careful of his safety, for they were the only two kings to whom the prophecy could apply. We are informed that in the midst of this conversation, one of the conspirators named Christopher Chambers, an old retainer of the house of Albany, struck with sudden remorse, made several attempts to approach the king, with the resolution of making a confession of the murderous design, but either his heart failed him, or he was hindered by the crowd of knights and ladies which surrounded him. At length, long after midnight, the king gave the signal for the revels to break up, and almost at the same moment the usher came to inform him that the highland woman whom he had met on the road to the firth of Forth had made her way to the door, and earnestly begged to be brought into his presence to communicate information of importance. The king hesitated a moment, and then ordered her to be told to come on the morrow and tell her errand. The woman departed unwillingly, with the remark that she should never see the king again. After this incident, James called for the parting cup, and the company separated, the old earl of Athol and his grandson the chamberlain being the last to leave.

These had not long been gone, when the king, who was standing before the fire in his night-gown, jesting with the queen and the ladies of the court, was alarmed by the sound of arms, and the glare of torches in the court below. He immediately bethought him of the traitor Graham, and probably of the warnings that had been given him, and his worst suspicions were confirmed when the queen and the ladies, attempting to fasten the doors, found that the locks had been destroyed, and the bolts removed. The king was now convinced that his life was in danger, and, while the ladies prepared to offer all the obstruction in their power to the opening of the doors, he attempted to escape through the windows, but he found that they were secured outwardly with strong bars. Men in arms were now distinctly heard advancing along the passage with which the apartment communicated, and the king, in an agony of despair, seized upon the fire-tongs, and forcibly wrenching up one of the boards of the floor, let himself down into a small vault beneath, and then replaced the board. A sort of fatality seemed to have attended on all the king's actions during the last few days; for there was a sewer or small passage leading from this vault by which he might easily have escaped, but, as it communicated with the tennis-court, and the balls of the tennis-players had on several occasions been lost in it, it had been built up by the king's directions only three days before. Nevertheless,

the vault afforded the king for the time a secure place of concealment, for the floor above gave no indications of his place of retreat.

While all this was taking place, sir Robert Graham and his accomplices made their way towards the king's apartment, slew Walter Stratton, a page whom they encountered on their way, and began to force open the door. The ladies had made an ineffectual attempt to barricade it, and we are assured that one of the ladies of the bedchamber, named Catherine Douglas, courageously thrust her arm into the staples from which the bolt had been so treacherously withdrawn. But this feeble obstacle was instantly broken, and the conspirators burst in the door with brutal violence, and attacked and wounded several of the queen's women, as they ran screaming about the room. Nor did their cowardly outrage stop here, for one of them attacked the queen herself with his sword and wounded her, as she stood riveted to the spot with horror, with no other clothing than her kirtle and mantle, and her hair hanging in disorder about her shoulders. She would no doubt have been slain, had not the brutal assailant been called off by Graham's son, who ordered him to leave the women and join in the search for the king. The assassins now searched every corner and cupboard of this apartment and the adjoining bed-chamber, but they found no traces of the king, and imagining that he might have escaped in some mysterious manner, they searched the surrounding chambers, and gradually dispersed through the outer rooms. The king was now impatient to leave his hiding-place, and hearing no more noise, he imprudently called to the ladies to lift up the board of the floor, and bring the sheets of the bed in order to draw him up. In doing this, one of the queen's women, Elizabeth Douglas, slipped, and fell into the vault, making so much noise in her fall, as to attract the notice of one of the conspirators named Thomas Chambers, who happened to be within hearing, and who, suddenly entering the king's apartment, saw the hole in the floor, and looking down, beheld by the light of his torch the king and the lady whose fall had led to the discovery. He instantly rushed to the door and recalled the other conspirators, shouting out that "the spouse was found for whom they were come, and had carrolled all that night." The two who arrived first were sir John Hall and his brother, the first of whom instantly leapt down into the vault to attack the king. But James was a powerful athletic man, and, although naked and without arms, he grasped his assailant as he descended, and dashed him to the ground; and his brother who followed experienced the same treatment, though, being armed with sharp knives, they inflicted many severe wounds on the king's hands and arms. It is said that a month after, when the two Halls were stripped for execution, the marks of the king's convulsive grasp were still distinctly visible on their bodies. While the king was thus for a moment victorious over his first assailants, sir Robert Graham came into the room, and leaping down with his drawn sword, threw himself upon him. James now implored that his life might be spared, and offered half his kingdom for his ransom, but the ruffian only replied insultingly, "No, thou cruel tyrant, thou hadst never compassion on thine own noble kin dred, and thou shalt now find none thyself!" The king then begged that he might have a confessor for the good of his soul, but Graham replied brutally, "No, none shalt thou have but this sword," and at the same instant plunged the weapon into his body. James fell to the ground mortally wounded, yet still faintly begging for his life, and Graham himself is said to have been at this moment so horror-struck with the deed he had committed, that he was leaving the spot without striking another blow. But his companions, who were leaning over the opening in the floor, threatened him with instant death if he left his victim alive. Upon this Graham returned, and, with the assistance of the two Halls, effectually completed their work.

Much time had now been expended, and the noise of the tumult had reached the town before the king's hiding-place was discovered. The nobles of the court and the citizens assembled, and, although the gates and courts of the monastery were in the possession of the highlanders, they would, probably, have rescued their king, if he had not been betrayed by his own impatience. As the tumult in the town was increasing every moment, the assassins, after searching in vain for the queen, who had escaped, now left the monastery, and hurried off to the highlands. They were seen passing the outer moat just as the king's friends forced the gates, and sir David Dunbar pursued them, and slew one of the hindmost,

though not till after being himself severely wounded. When the courtiers entered the king's chamber, they beheld a truly piteous sight. The body of their monarch, naked and covered with blood, lay lifeless on the floor. It was pierced with no less than sixteen wounds. Every one was seized with an earnest desire for vengeance, and the queen, assuming a calmness and resolution that astonished every body, employed so much perseverance in pursuing the assassins, that they were all captured in less than a month. Sir Robert Graham, with some of the chief conspirators, had taken refuge in the wilds of Mar, where they were discovered and captured by two highland chiefs, John Stuart Gorm and Robert Duncanson.

Thus died James I., the most accomplished, and one of the ablest, of the monarchs who had occupied the Scottish throne. His political views were, perhaps, too much in advance of his time, at least with regard to Scotland; and, though it is difficult to say how far he would have carried his reforms had he not been assassinated, it is probable that at last they would only have partially outlived him. Of stature he was not tall, but he was athletic in his make, and he excelled most of his nobles in martial accomplishments. Amid the extraordinary toils of his government, he found leisure to devote himself to literature and poetry, and he first improved and gave elegance to the language of his countrymen. At the time of his death he was in the forty-fourth year of his age. By his queen Joane he left one only son, named James, then only six years of age, and five daughters; Margaret, who had married the dauphin of France; Eleanor, who married Sigismund duke of Austria; Isabella, who was married to the duke of Britany; Mary, who also contracted a foreign but less elevated marriage; and Joane, who became the wife, first of the earl of Angus, and subsequently of the earl of Morton. King James was buried in the church of the Carthusians in Perth.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.; EXECUTION OF HIS FATHER'S MURDERERS; THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE KING'S MINORITY; RIVALRY OF CRICHTON AND LIVINGSTON; MISGOVERNMENT OF THE REGENCY; EXECUTION OF THE DOUGLASES.

Scotland had now again a child for its king, at a moment when its old factions seemed ready to burst forth with the more fury, because they had been of late held in unusual restraint. The first feeling of horror which possessed every body when the news of the murder of their king went abroad, made people almost forget the accession of a new prince, and the only thought was that of vengeance against the assassins, who, before they expired, were subjected to tortures of the most revolting kind. The first sufferers were sir Robert Stuart and Thomas Chambers, who both confessed their guilt, apparently with feelings of contrition. They were beheaded in the public market-place of the town of Perth, on a high scaffold, and their heads fixed upon the town gates. The earl of Athol, the next victim of justice, denied that he was an accomplice in the conspiracy, though he acknowledged that he was acquainted with it, and said that he had attempted to dissuade his grandson from joining in it. His plea, however, was either disproved, or it was not believed, and, in derision of his claim to the crown, the aged nobleman was first exhibited publicly, tied to a pillar, with a paper crown on his head, on which was written thrice the word traitor. He was then decapitated, and his head, surmounted with a crown of iron, was fixed on a spear. These three were regarded, not without reason, as the victims of Graham's seductions. The next who suffered was the arch-traitor himself. When brought to trial, he boldly avowed the deed, and justified it by the plea that, as he had renounced his allegiance and sent the king a written defiance, he was no longer his subject, but had the right to revenge his own

feud as he could. He then appealed to the nobles who sat in judgment, telling them that he had delivered them from a merciless tyrant, and that, though he knew that they were now determined to have his blood, they would soon see reason to bless him for the act which they now condemned. Graham's courage and resolution never forsook him, and he bore unmoved the taunts of the populace and the dreadful sufferings to which he was himself exposed. He was nailed alive and naked to a tree, and in this condition dragged through the city, while the executioners, who followed him, tore his flesh with pincers, and his son was tortured and beheaded before his face. At length in an agony of anguish, he implored that his patience should be tried no longer, with the strange reason in the mouth of an assassin, that if he should be goaded into blasphemy, they would be answerable for the destruction of his soul. He was at length beheaded, and the general execration of his crime was handed down to posterity in a proverb, or popular rhyme—

Robert Grahame,
That killed our king, God give him shame!

The last of the conspirators executed was Thomas Hall, one of the king's first assailants.

When public vengeance had thus been satisfied, a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, in the castle of which, then held by William Crichton, baron of Crichton, the late king's master of the household, the widowed queen had taken refuge with her son. The young prince was conducted in great ceremony to the abbey of Holyrood, where his coronation was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy. It was thought that the abbey of Scone, the usual place for the coronation of the Scottish kings, was too near the scene of the murder, and perhaps, under the circumstances, not sufficiently safe. After this solemnity was completed, the parliament proceeded to adopt measures for the government of the kingdom. They gave the custody of the king, and of his sisters, with an allowance of four thousand marks a-year, to the queen-mother; and Archibald earl of Douglas was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Two subjects naturally pressed themselves upon the attention of the Scottish parliament, under the unexpected circumstances in which they were placed—the internal government of the kingdom, and the relations with England. For the first, a few hurried regulations were passed, such as generally marked the commencement of a new reign. Commissioners were sent to England, and, after some negotiation on the subject, a truce of nine years was agreed to, to commence on the 1st of May, 1438. The state of the church seems also to have been a subject of some embarrassment at this moment. A general council of the Scottish clergy had been assembled at Perth to receive a papal legate, the bishop of Urbino, but their proceedings were interrupted by the murder of the king. What those proceedings were is involved in obscurity, caused by the loss of records, but they had probably some relation to the progress of those wholesome doctrines of religious reform which the catholic church looked upon as pestilential heresies, and which were now making so much progress in Bohemia, and in England. Soon after the accession of the young king other messengers came from Rome to treat on the affairs of the church, among whom was a papal nuncio, Alfonso de Crucifabreis. The Scottish court had been hitherto always a staunch support of the papal regime, and had never failed to direct and encourage the persecution of heretics.

Scotland was now about to be divided by the antagonism of two rival factions. The policy of the late king, like that followed at a subsequent period by the English monarch Henry VIII., had led him to select his ministers and counsellors from among the lower barons and gentry, to the exclusion of those great nobles whose power was the object of his jealousy, and who had been long in the habit of claiming as their right the great offices of the state. Among those who, in pursuance of this policy, had been raised to power, were two who had obtained the king's confidence by their extraordinary abilities, but who, as the sequel showed, were ambitious, selfish, and unscrupulous, and they appear, from a long feeling of rivalry, to have hated each other. These were sir William Crichton, already mentioned, and sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar. It is difficult to understand the conduct of the nobles and greater barons at this period; but they seem to have held themselves aloof, intent perhaps on repairing their force, which had been considerably diminished by the wary and firm legislation of James I., that they might subsequently resume the position they had held in former reigns.

Crichton, intent only on engrossing the power of the state into his own hands, seized upon the revenues of the crown, which he disposed of at his own pleasure, and he used the advantage given him by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, to keep the king under his control, and surround him by his creatures, not only excluding his rival Livingston from all share in the government, but also setting aside the queen-mother, who had been appointed the king's guardian, and the lieutenant-general Douglas. The latter seems to have held back in sullen pride, and to have taken no part in their proceedings. The rivalry between Livingston and Crichton soon involved the kingdom in a scene of inextricable intrigue and turbulence. The first move was made by the queen-mother, who, provoked at being deprived of her authority over her son, threw herself into the party of Livingston, and entered into a plot for delivering the person of the king into his hands. Having obtained permission to visit the king for a few days, when the moment of her departure came, she contrived to conceal him in a large wardrobe chest, and he was thus carried out of the castle with her luggage. He was taken to Leith, and thence he was carried by water to Stirling castle, which was occupied by Livingston with a strong garrison.

Two parliaments were held in the November of 1438 and the March of 1439, of the proceedings of which we know little, but they seem to have been chiefly engaged with the intrigues of the rival factions. A provision against open plunder and robbery shows that the country was rapidly relapsing into its old state of lawlessness. The earl of Douglas, who, as lieutenant-general, was charged with the executive power, appears neither to have attended the parliament, over which he ought to have presided, nor to have given himself the trouble to see that its decrees were carried into effect. The queen now put her whole confidence in Livingston, and the parliament seems to have acted in a great measure under their influence. An ordinance, by which the lieutenant-general was directed to raise the lieges and proceed against any who, under strong suspicion of rebellion or treason, held their castles or fortalices against the authority of the law, is supposed to have had reference to Crichton, who had fortified the castle of Edinburgh, and set his opponents at defiance. As the earl of Douglas took no steps against Crichton, Livingston raised his vassals and proceeded deliberately to lay siege to Edinburgh castle.

When Crichton found himself thus beleaguered, conscious that he was not strong enough to contend singly against his rival, who was supported not only by the king and his mother, but in some degree by the parliament, he secretly despatched a messenger to the earl of Douglas, proposing a coalition with that potent baron. But Douglas, in the pride of family and immense power, treated the offers of one whom he regarded as nothing but an upstart courtier with scornful contempt. "Methinks," said the offended noble, "it were but small profit to hinder such mischievous traitors as Crichton and Livingston from making war on each other, and it would ill become any of the ancient nobles to interfere and prevent their destruction. To me nothing is more pleasing than to hear of their divisions, and I trust I shall live to see them both overwhelmed in their own evil-doings." The sentiment was, probably, a politic one, but it was not wise to avow it openly. Immediately on the return of his messenger, Crichton demanded an interview with Livingston, to whom he made known the earl's reply. He urged that it implied equal hostility to them both, and that, though neither would be able to hold singly against him, by laying aside their feud and joining in a firm coalition, they might, having possession of the king and his mother, be strong enough to set the scornful noble at defiance. Livingston was far too crafty not to see the force of these arguments, and he immediately agreed to the coalition, upon which Crichton surrendered the castle, delivering the keys into the hands of the young king, who supped in it the same evening. Next day the two barons confirmed their reconciliation, and proceeded to divide the powers of the state between them. The bishop of Glasgow, a partisan of the Douglasses, who had hitherto held the office of chancellor, was turned out, and the office was given to Crichton, while Livingston was to have the guardianship of the king's person and the chief share in the government. The dismissal of the bishop of Glasgow was, probably, not an unpopular act, for he is said to have acted with great rapacity. The earl of Douglas was entirely outwitted in this sudden revolution, but it is impossible to say how far he would have acquiesced in it or resisted, for he was suddenly attacked by a malignant fever, and

died at Restalrig on the 26th of June, 1439. His immense power descended to his son, then but seventeen years of age.

As no person was appointed to succeed the earl of Douglas as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, Livingston and Crichton were now left without any control to their power, which they used to strengthen themselves, by rewarding those who had served them, and buying the services of others, until the administration of government degenerated into universal corruption and venality. All the old turbulent barons, who had been kept in check by the government of the first king James, began to raise their heads again, and, in return for their support, they recovered their former impunity of wrong-doing, which they had resigned with so much regret. They began again to increase their troops of licentious retainers, as the force they could bring into the field was naturally the measure of their importance; and the old evils of feudalism, personal vengeance, private warfare, and their concomitants, were brought back upon the wretched land. While the country was thus overrun with licensed freebooters, who plundered, burnt, and murdered at will, Livingston and Crichton, keeping the king in confinement in the castle of Stirling, set no bounds to their rapacity, not only squandering away the revenues of the crown, but enriching themselves with the confiscated estates of those who opposed them.

One proceeding of extraordinary violence may be told as a sample of the turbulence which at this time prevailed throughout Scotland. A feud had long existed between the families of sir Alan Stuart of Darnley, a distinguished and powerful baron, and sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock. The latter was treacherously attacked and slain by his opponent at a spot called Polmac's Thorn, between Linlithgow and Falkirk. Sir Alexander Stuart, the next of kin to the murdered man, raised his vassals, and met sir Thomas Boyd in plain battle at Craignaucht hill, near Neilston, in the county of Renfrew. The two parties fought with such savage resolution, that we are assured they retired several times by mutual consent to rest and recover breath, after which, the signal being given with sound of trumpet, they returned to the combat. After many had been slain on both sides, victory declared for the Stuarts, whose vengeance was in some measure appeased by the slaughter of sir Thomas Boyd, who was killed in the fight.

The queen now found her position worse than before, and, wearied at the state of confinement in which she was held by Livingston, she determined to obtain her liberty by marriage. She chose for her husband a powerful baron, closely allied with the house of Douglas, sir James Stuart, popularly known as the black knight of Lorn. This marriage, concluded secretly and without the approval of Livingston, gave an excuse for depriving her of all further influence over her son, on the ground that she was herself now in a state of tutelage, but it gave her a legal protector in the person of a husband, and she was, perhaps, willing to relinquish her influence as queen-mother, rather than remain in continual inquietude and alarm. Far, however, from bringing to the queen the tranquillity she might have expected, this marriage was followed by a series of acts of violence and intrigue which could only have occurred in a country where law and justice were despised. Livingston pretended at first to approve of the marriage, in order to get the husband into his power, and then caused him and his brother, sir William Stuart, to be suddenly arrested and thrown into a loathsome dungeon in Stirling castle, where they were treated with circumstances of great cruelty and indignity. The queen's own chamber was next invaded by armed men, and, after a vain resistance by her household, she was dragged away to a chamber in the castle, where she was closely confined, with a strong guard, and cut off from all communication with her friends.

The object of these proceedings was soon apparent. The queen, alarmed for herself, and still more for the safety of her husband, consented to all that Livingston required of her. A parliament was called at Stirling, to which none appear to have come but the creatures and partisans of the governor. On the part of the clergy there were the bishops of Glasgow, Moray, Ross, and Dunblane; of the nobility, the earl of Douglas, Alexander Seton lord of Gordon, the chancellor sir William Crichton, and Walter lord of Dirleton; and James of Parcles from Linlithgow, William Cranston from Edinburgh, and Andrew Reid from Inverness, were called to represent the commons. This faction usurped the name of the three estates, and proceeded to act as though it had been a full parliament. The queen-mother was brought before it, and there on the 4th of September, 1439, she formally resigned

to Livingston the guardianship of the king until he had reached his majority, giving up at the same time the castle of Stirling, which had been settled on her as her jointure, for the residence of the young monarch, and also conveying to Livingston her annuity of four thousand marks. In the deed by which this resignation was made, the queen declared that she fully pardoned and forgave the violence which had been exercised against her person, as she believed that Livingston and his accomplices had been actuated only by motives of loyalty, and a zeal for the safety of their sovereign. It was further provided that the queen's retinue should be regulated by Livingston; and it was agreed that she should have access to her son at all times, with the proviso that it must be in the presence of unsuspected persons. If the king died, then the castle of Stirling was to be restored to the queen.

So far the plans of Livingston and Crichton had been uniformly successful, but this success soon led to the revival of their ancient rivalry. Livingston had been continually arrogating to himself the powers of the state to the exclusion of his colleague, whom he held in a subordinate position, and it was the personal friends of the governor, and not those of the chancellor, who were chiefly rewarded with offices and emoluments. But the crafty chancellor now determined to make it appear that he would not remain satisfied with this unequal division of power and influence. One night in the January of 1440, while Livingston, entirely unsuspicious of the designs of his rival, was absent at Perth, Crichton rode with a strong body of his followers to Stirling, and lay concealed in the woods where the young prince was accustomed to hunt. At sunrise the next morning the king, with his usual attendants and guard, rode out in pursuit of game, and coming exactly to the spot where Crichton lay in ambush, was immediately surrounded by an overpowering force. Crichton approached the royal person submissively, and on his knees besought him to leave a fortress where he was held in irksome imprisonment, and place himself under the protection of his faithful subjects. The king, it seems, was not unwilling, and he was led first to Linlithgow, and thence he was carried under a strong escort to the castle of Edinburgh.

Livingston was mortified and embarrassed by this event, for he was still prudent enough to see that a quarrel with Crichton would only fulfil the old earl of Douglas's wish, by exposing them both to the hatred of the ancient nobility. With profound dissimulation he proceeded to Edinburgh, with a small train, and sent a message to Crichton, deploring the misunderstanding between them, and offering to submit all matters in dispute between them to the arbitration of their mutual friends. Two prelates of the church, the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, stepped forward as mediators, and Crichton and Livingston met in the church of St. Giles, and were again reconciled. It was agreed that the custody of the king should be again given to Livingston, while Crichton's individual power in the government was to be increased, and offices of trust and emolument were to be given to his personal friends.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of Scotland at this moment. Pestilence and famine spread their baneful influence over every part of the kingdom. The southern parts were disturbed by the feuds of political chieftains, while the north was wasted by the depredations of the highlanders. Two Celtic chieftains, Lauchlain Maclean and Murdoch Gibson, with their fierce clans from the western isles, landed on the Scottish coast, and carried their ravages into the heart of Lennox. Colquhoun of Luss attempted to resist their progress, but he was defeated and slain. The ravages of war increased the famine, and with it the pestilence became more destructive, until it gained such a fatal hold on the land, that for years afterwards it was remembered as the "pestilence without mercy." The general disorder was increased by the pride and turbulence of the young earl of Douglas. This nobleman received from the duchy of Touraine and the lordship of Longueville in France, the reward of his grandfather's services, the consequence of a foreign prince, while in Scotland his wealth was, perhaps, greater than that of the crown, and he could summon under his banner a greater military force than that which responded immediately to the summons of the king. The vanity of the youthful earl was easily acted upon by the consciousness of his immense power, and by the flattery of his companions. He became arrogant and overbearing; lived in a style of magnificence and display greater than that of the king himself, and proudly refused to obey the governor, when summoned in the king's name to attend

to his duties in parliament. In fact, he carried himself on every occasion with the demeanour of an absolute prince, and, soon after his accession to the earldom, he sent two ambassadors, Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, and Alan Lauder of the Bass, to carry his oath of allegiance to the king of France, and receive the investiture of the dukedom of Touraine. He now daily increased the number of his armed followers, as though he meditated some great movement in the state, and bands of dissolute mercenaries roved about with the protection of his name, under which all kinds of outrages were committed with impunity. When parliament met it was besieged with petitions for redress on the part of those who had been injured and abused by the lawless bands who now followed the banner of every baron who could afford to support them. "Many and innumerable complaints," says the old historian of these events, Lindsay of Pitscottie, "were now given in, whereof the like were never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants, seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked, bloody murderers, sicklike many for herschip *(plundering)*, theft, and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly, murder, theft, and slaughter were come in such dalliance among the people, and the king's acts had fallen into such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary to the invasion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to save his life, and afford him peace and rest."

Livingston and Crichton saw that their government was threatened by the great power of the earl of Douglas, and they determined to make use of all these acts of oppression for his ruin. Every outrage that was committed by or under the name of a Douglas was carefully noted and blazoned abroad. A parliament was called at Stirling, at the beginning of August, 1440, for the express purpose of considering the disordered state of the country, and the contumacy of the earl in refusing his attendance was, no doubt, turned to his disadvantage. A variety of statutes were passed, which were useless, because government wanted the power, if it had the inclination, to enforce them. However, it required higher crimes than such outrages would afford, to support any accusation against so powerful a subject as the young earl of Douglas, and all knew it would be dangerous to attack him, except by surprise. Although it is said that Douglas announced publicly his hostility to the government, he was no match for such crafty opponents as those with whom he had now to deal. It was reported that they kept paid spies and flatterers about his person, who urged him into dangerous courses, of which immediate information was carried to Livingston and Crichton. Our information relating to these intrigues is of a very imperfect kind, and they are enveloped in much mystery; but it appears that the vanity of the young earl had led him to listen to insidious advisers, who persuaded him that his title to the throne was better than that of the still more youthful prince who now occupied it, and that he had talked among his friends and acquaintance of designs of a treasonable nature.

Of these the governor and the chancellor, no doubt, received full information, but they kept it secret till the moment of acting upon it. It was necessary to lure their victim into their power, and to effect this object they proceeded with the most profound dissimulation. A letter was written to him by Crichton, which, mixed with much that was flattering to the young earl's vanity, contained strong professions of regret for the suspicions and misunderstandings which seemed to have deprived the state of his services, and ended with an invitation to repair to court, and visit his royal kinsman. Douglas was at once caught in the snare. His vanity was flattered by the implied acknowledgment by the governor of the kingdom that his counsel was necessary for the good of the state, and he seems to have regarded his visit to Edinburgh as the first step in the advancement which was so gratifying to his eager ambition. He set out on his journey with a small train of attendants, and accompanied only by his brother David, and by his bosom friend sir Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld. At the castle of Crichton he was entertained with great pomp by the chancellor, and everything seemed calculated to dispel any suspicions that might have existed in his mind. Between this place and Edinburgh, however, it was observed that an unusual number of messengers were passing backwards and forwards between Crichton and the capital, and some of the earl's attendants, more suspicious than their young lord, urged him to be on

his guard, and advised him to turn back, or at all events to go no further until he had sent his brother forwards to obtain better intelligence of the fate which awaited them. He was reminded of the advice which had been left to him by his father, that in cases where danger was to be apprehended, he and his brother should never expose themselves at the same time. But the earl only laughed at their suspicions, and boldly rode through the city to the castle gates. Livingston received him there in great ceremony, and led him to the young king. The two rulers seem to have considered it still necessary to gain time to strengthen themselves and mature their plans, and for a short time the two Douglases were treated with the utmost favour. King James, who had now completed his tenth year, became himself affectionately attached to them. At last, however, one day, as they sat at table after a sumptuous dinner with Livingston and Crichton, just as the courses were removed, they were accused in harsh terms of treason to the crown. It is stated, though only by writers subsequent to the time, that a bull's head, the warning of death among the old Celtic race, was suddenly placed before them. Astonished and terrified, they rose from the table and rushed towards the door, but they were there met by armed men, who seized and bound them. As they were dragging them away, it is said that the king pleaded for them with tears, but that the chancellor rebuked him for interceding for traitors who had conspired against his throne, and perhaps against his life. They were then hurried through a trial, condemned, and taken into the back court of the castle, where they were beheaded. Three days afterwards, sir Malcolm Fleming was also put upon his trial on the charge of high treason, and suffered the same fate.

The secrecy with which these proceedings were carried on has caused them to be involved in much mystery, but various circumstances lead to the suspicion that the charge of treason was a true one. Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alarmed at the blow which they were going to strike; but they were now entirely victorious, for they were for a while relieved from all danger from the house of Douglas. No attempt was made at revenge. The title, with the greater part of the immense estates attached to it, went to the great uncle of the young earl, James Douglas, earl of Avondale, who within a short time entered into bonds of intimacy with the men who had dragged his nephews to their fate, whence it has been supposed that he connived at the deed. The unentailed estates in Galloway and Wigtown, with the domain of Balverne and Ormond, went to the young earl's only sister, who, for her beauty, was popularly known as the fair maid of Galloway.

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM EARL OF DOUGLAS, MARRIES THE HEIRESS OF GALLOWAY; HIS COALITION WITH LIVINGSTONE, AND ITS RESULTS; TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM; MAJORITY OF JAMES II.

Though fierce and proud, the new earl of Douglas appears to have had no ambition, or, as it has been pretended, his extraordinary obesity had made him indolent and inactive, but he had a son William who possessed the talents and ambition, as well as the ferocity of the Douglases. Within two years after the events we have just related, this young man succeeded to the titles as the eighth earl, on the death of his father James the Gross, as he was usually called. The first object at which the new earl aimed was the reunion of the great estates of the earldom, by a marriage with the fair maid of Galloway. There were, however, many difficulties in the way of this union. In the first place, earl William was already married, without any ostensible grounds for separating from his wife. To rid himself of one wife, or to obtain the other, it was equally necessary to gain the concurrence of the Scottish rulers, whose true interest it was evidently to refuse. But at this moment the hatred and jealousy between Livingstone and Crichton appear to have broken out afresh, and the former was willing to

make any terms with this powerful noble. A secret coalition between them gratified the ambition of the latter in more ways than one.

The troubles which at this moment disturbed the kingdom offered a ready excuse for the earl's proceedings. The neglect of all justice by the chancellor and the governor, and the weakness of their government, encouraged many who felt injured to take the law into their own hands. Among these was sir Robert Erskine, whose apparently just claim to the earldom of Mar was set aside by the chancellor. Erskine, indignant at this treatment, proceeded to take possession of the honours to which he laid claim, and besieged and took by storm the castle of Kildrummie. In return for this violent proceeding, the ministers of the crown siezed upon the castle of Alloa and the estates of Erskine; and about the same time a creature of the earl of Douglas, Galbraith of Culcreuch, succeeded in taking Dumbarton castle, of which Erskine, as sheriff of Lennox, was governor, by surprise, and slaying the deputy-governor, Robert Sempill. An outrage still less justifiable was about the same time perpetrated by the highlanders of Athol. One of them had been condemned to the gallows, and was conducted to the place of execution by sir William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth. John Gorm Stuart, the same chief who had arrested Graham, the murderer of James I., descended from the mountains with a party of highlanders, attacked Ruthven and his convoy, and rescued their countryman. But Ruthven was a baron of great spirit, and as fierce as his opponent, and collecting his vassals he attacked the intruder. The result was a sanguinary battle on the North Inch of Perth, in which Stuart and Ruthven were both slain. Such acts of turbulence were becoming so frequent that all honourable men looked on with alarm, apprehensive of the ruin of their country.

Immediately after the conflict at Perth, the earl of Douglas suddenly presented himself with a small attendance at the castle of Stirling, and requested admission to the king. He was received respectfully by Livingston, who at once introduced him to the monarch, still only in his thirteenth year. What took place at this interview remained a secret. The earl pretended that his only object was to excuse himself of any share or connivance in the outrages in the north, and to offer his aid in restoring peace to the kingdom. But suddenly afterwards the royal boy, acting no doubt under the guidance of his governor, conferred on the earl the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This event was soon followed by a divorce between the earl and his wife, and a dispensation for the second marriage (which was within the limits of consanguinity forbidden by the church) having been obtained, he espoused the fair maid of Galloway, who had not yet completed her twelfth year, and the power of the house of Douglas was thus rendered more formidable than ever.

It is not to be supposed that the chancellor Crichton remained quiet during this strange revolution, for he saw in it the triumph of his rival, and doubted not that his own ruin and destruction was contemplated. He took refuge in the castle of Edinburgh, where he made formidable preparations of resistance. Livingston, meanwhile, in consideration of his own advanced age, delivered the custody of the king's person and of Stirling castle to his eldest son, sir James, though he still continued to direct the government. Douglas, in close alliance with him, proceeded to raise an army in the king's name, but instead of marching at once to Edinburgh, he went to Crichton's castle of Barnton, in Mid-Lothian, which was summoned to surrender. Sir Andrew Crichton, as governor of this fortress, at first set him at defiance, but, intimidated by the use of the royal name, he capitulated, and the castle was levelled with the ground. Douglas then summoned the chancellor, Crichton, and his adherents, to attend a parliament at Stirling, to answer upon a charge of high treason. Instead of obeying, the chancellor collected his friends and vassals, and carried fire and sword through the lands of the earl of Douglas, and his adherent, sir John Forester of Corstorphine. On the other hand, when the parliament met at Stirling, the estates of the chancellor were confiscated, and he and his adherents were outlawed for not attending to plead to the charges brought against them, and were proclaimed rebels.

Crichton, meanwhile, collected all his powers of resistance in the castle of Edinburgh, where he now shut himself up, so that when Douglas, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, assembled the vassals of the crown and laid siege to him, he was fully prepared for a protracted struggle. During its continuation, other circumstances had occurred to embarrass in some degree the

plans of his enemies. Crichton had been disgraced from his office of chancellor, which was given to the primate of Scotland, Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, who, in addition to the reverence which was given to his talents, his learning, and his integrity, commanded respect as the nephew of the murdered king James I. This man soon saw that the revolution which had brought him into office was not calculated to advance the true interests of his country, and he seems to have been disgusted with the fruitlessness of his efforts to support the dignity of the laws. He saw at once the ambitious designs of the house of Douglas, and that the alliances which the earl was forming with the most powerful of the feudal nobles boded no good to the king. He saw, too, that he was associating himself more especially with all those families who hated the ruling dynasty. Kennedy became alarmed for the safety of his royal kinsman, and, as the only means of defeating the purposes of his enemies, he immediately joined cordially with Crichton, and threw all his influence into the scale against them.

The mode in which this interference was resented, affords a striking picture of the character of the men who had now seized upon the government. Douglas had just entered into a close alliance with Alexander earl of Crawford, a nobleman who, as the brother-in-law of the earl of March, who had been stripped of his lands by James I., was understood to harbour feelings of resentment against that king and his family. No sooner was it known that the bishop had joined the party of Crichton, than this earl, with Alexander Ogilvy, the younger Livingston, the lord Hamilton, and Robert Reoch (the Swarthy Robert), one of the highland chiefs who had arrested the assassins of the late king, raised a formidable army, and overrun the bishop's lands in Fife and Angus, which were ravaged with unusual cruelty. The bishop indignantly summoned the earl of Crawford to make amends for the unprovoked injuries he had committed, and, on his contemptuous refusal, proceeded to place that nobleman and all his adherents under the solemn ban of the church.

Livingston and Douglas now found that Crichton was stronger than they expected, and they were alarmed at the energetic conduct of his new and powerful ally. After the siege had continued nine weeks, a treaty between the two parties was suddenly agreed upon, and Crichton was restored to a great portion of his former power and influence, on condition of his surrendering the castle of Edinburgh to the king. A hollow reconciliation, and a nominal forgiveness of injuries on both sides, followed, which was sealed by a sort of act of oblivion. Among various outrages perpetrated by the adherents of Douglas must be reckoned, as far as we can gather from the confused and imperfect account of these events, the forcible occupation of the castle of Dunbar by a noted freebooter and outlaw, Patrick Hepburn of Hails, who also appears to have seized upon the queen-mother. At least we know that in the midst of the scene of commotion just described, this lady, after having been first neglected and then deserted by her second husband, the black knight of Lorn, died in obscurity in the castle of Dunbar, which was at that time in Hepburn's hands. She was already almost forgotten by the public, and her death appears to have excited little attention. The queen had still two daughters under her care, Jane and Eleanor, who, after her death, were sent for safety to the French court, where they found their sister the dauphiness recently dead, broken-hearted by the ill-treatment of her husband.

The earl of Douglas continued to use his power as lieutenant-general to strengthen himself and his adherents, and he went on forming leagues and associations which can hardly have had other than a treasonable aim. But one of those violent feuds which disgraced the government of the Livingstons at this moment, accidentally carried off one of his least scrupulous allies, the earl of Crawford. So deplorable was the state of the country, that even the religious houses were under the necessity of seeking protection by bribing one of these feudal chieftains to defend them against another, and they were thus obliged to lease away lands and employments to their own great disadvantage. In this manner the monks of the abbey of Arbroath, in Angus, had elected for their chief "justiciar," the earl of Crawford's eldest son, Alexander Lindsay, or as he was called in the Scottish style, the master of Crawford. The master was an ambitious man, dreaded for his ferocious habits, from which and from his great beard he was popularly known as "the tiger." The monks soon found that they had made an imprudent choice, and they afterwards revoked the appointment and gave the office to Ogilvy of Innerquharity. The master of Crawford, in resentment, collected his vas-

sals, and prepared with an overwhelming force to attack the new justiciar of the abbey. It happened that on the evening when the latter was gathering his forces to withstand this attack, sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, on his way from the court, came to the castle of Ogilvy to lodge for the night, and, according to an old feudal custom in the north, felt himself bound to give assistance to his host. He accordingly, with the few attendants he had brought with him, proceeded with the Ogilvies to the town of Arbroath, or Aberbrothwick, where they found their enemies drawn up in great force outside the gates. At the moment, however, when the two little armies were on the point of joining combat, the earl of Crawford, who wished to prevent it, rode up and threw himself between them. But instead of hindering the fight, he was himself struck down with a mortal wound by one of the combatants who was ignorant of his rank, and the Lindsays, furious at the death of their chief, and strengthened with a large number of the vassals of the earl of Douglas, rushed upon the Ogilvies and defeated them with great slaughter. Five hundred men, including many barons and knights, lay dead on the field, and Seton himself narrowly escaped with his life. Not content with this success, the Lindsays immediately invaded the lands of the Ogilvies, and burnt, slaughtered, and plundered, with reckless atrocity.

The earl of Douglas, confident in his own power, and in the unscrupulous attachment of his associates, seems now to have pushed forward his plans of ambition with less caution. He immediately entered into an association with the new earl of Crawford, and with Alexander, earl of Ross, and lord of the isles, both of whom harboured the deepest hatred to the family of James I., the first for the injury done to his kinsman the earl of March, and the other for his own humiliation and imprisonment. This league was in itself treasonable, for it consisted in a bond offensive and defensive between these three powerful chiefs, in which they promised to aid each other against all men whatever, the king not excepted. This took place in 1446, and in the year following, the league was strengthened by the accession of the Livingstons. Many of the other great barons were gradually drawn into it, and Crichton and bishop Kennedy seemed to be left almost alone to struggle for the liberation and safeguard of the young king.

But the latter, who had now reached the age of seventeen, had already begun to think and act for himself, and he shewed traits of greatness worthy of the son of James I. With the caution and even somewhat of the dissimulation of his father, while he appeared to put his confidence in the Livingstons, he secretly allied himself with Kennedy and Crichton. The latter was restored to the chancellorship, and the prelate received various marks of royal favour. Hitherto the country, perhaps too much occupied with its own dissensions, had managed to keep at peace with its neighbours; the king's relations with England, France, and other powers, were of a friendly nature. In 1448, James sent Crichton, who had been made a lord of parliament, with the secretary Railston bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas de Otterburn official of Lothian, to the court of France to negotiate a marriage; but as the royal family of France at that moment afforded no suitable match, the ambassadors, at the suggestion of the French king, proceeded to the court of the duke of Guelders, and there negotiated an alliance, which turned out to James's great satisfaction, with the princess Mary, only daughter and heiress of that prince. The king of Scots, about the same time, in furtherance of his policy of secretly undermining the power of the Livingstons, Douglases, and Crawfords, recalled to Scotland sir James Stuart, the black knight of Lorn, and Robert Fleming, the son of the knight who had been seized with the Douglases and executed in Edinburgh castle. This could only be looked upon as a sign of the approaching disgrace of Livingston.

The Livingstons themselves seem to have been lulled into a false security, but the earl of Douglas is supposed to have suspected the king's designs, and to have attempted to embarrass him by dragging the country into a war with England, a thing not difficult to accomplish in the present factious divisions of that kingdom. The truce was on the point of expiring, and disorders had already broken out on the borders, in the course of which some provocation was perhaps given to the English authorities. Be this as it may, the two English wardens, the earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, invaded Scotland at the head of their forces in the east and west, and before they returned burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. In revenge, the earl of Douglas's brother, sir James Douglas of Balveny,

raised his followers, and making a raid through Cumberland, burnt and plundered the town of Alnwick. The younger Percy, with sir John Harrington and sir John Pennington, now assembled a force of six thousand men, and crossed the Solway into Dumfriesshire, where they were attacked by the earl of Ormond, another brother of Douglas, with sir John Wallace of Craigie, the sheriff of Ayr, the laird of Johnston, and the master of Somerville. The Scots numbered but five thousand men, yet they defeated the English with great slaughter. Fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, and five hundred were drowned in their flight across the Solway. The three English leaders were taken prisoners. The victory was ascribed in a great measure to the conduct and bravery of sir John Wallace, who died soon afterwards of his wounds. It is said, that only twenty-six of the Scots were killed in the battle. The hostilities between the two countries went no farther, but we are not told how they were appeased.

The attention of king James was soon afterwards engrossed by the solemnization of his marriage. His bride was escorted with great pomp, in a fleet of thirteen large vessels, which entered the Forth on the 18th of June, 1449. She was accompanied by the archduke of Austria, the duke of Brittany, the lord of Campvere, and the dukes of Burgundy and Savoy, and a splendid suite of knights and barons. James was pleased with the beauty of his queen, and she subsequently showed proofs of an extraordinary talent and understanding. Her portion, which was to be paid by her uncle Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, was fixed at sixty thousand crowns, to be paid in two years; and James settled on her, in case of his death, a dowry of ten thousand crowns, secured on lands in Strathern, Athol, Methven, and Linlithgow. The marriage was solemnized with extraordinary festivities, in the course of which three Burgundian nobles challenged as many Scottish knights to combat with the lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, and the challenge was accepted by two Douglases, one of them the brother of the earl, and sir John Ross, of Halket. We are told, as an example of the power and ostentation of the house of Douglas, that he brought with him on this occasion a military suite of five thousand men.

Crichton's success in selecting the bride, and negotiating the marriage, raised him higher in the king's favour and confidence, and he used his influence to instil into him those principles of policy which had been so resolutely pursued by his father. His anger was excited against the nobility by continual outrages committed on his subjects in defiance of his authority. The Douglases, who took the lead in committing such acts, were for the moment protected by their enormous power, but James proceeded steadily in his object of crushing the other unprincipled barons, who had preyed upon the kingdom during his minority, and he began with the faction of the Livingstons. Having received secret information of a grand meeting of this family and their friends, which was to be held on the bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, in Dumbartonshire, he collected a strong force, and suddenly surrounding them, seized their chiefs before they could make any preparations for defence or escape. Among those captured on this occasion were sir Alexander's eldest son, James Livingston, with Robert Livingston, or, as he was popularly called, Robin of Callendar, the captain of Dumbarton, David Livingston of Greenyards, John Livingston captain of Donne castle, and Robert Livingston of Linlithgow. Sir Alexander Livingston himself, a man of advanced age, was next arrested; and within a very short time all the estates of the family were seized, every castle or fort held by them or their friends was taken into the king's hands, and all officers acting under their authority were expelled.

This bold display of authority, which astonished the kingdom, was made in the autumn of 1449, and immediately afterwards the king summoned a parliament to meet on the 19th of January following. In this parliament, the Livingstons were brought to trial for their treasonable proceedings during the time they had usurped the government, and especially for the attack on the queen-mother. We have no details of the trials, and we know little more than that the now aged sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar, the head of the family, as well as the chief offender, his cousin James Dundas, of Dundas, and Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, were forfeited and imprisoned in Dumbarton castle, and that Alexander and Robert Livingston were hanged, and afterwards beheaded, on the castle-hill at Edinburgh, Archibald Dundas, the brother of James, threw himself into the castle of Dundas, which was well garrisoned and provisioned, and threatened to extort a pardon from the

king, but after a defence of three months, he was obliged to surrender, and the destruction of the Livingstons was thus completed.

The young king now surrounded himself with able ministers, and showed a resolute determination to proceed in the path on which he had entered. The deliberations of parliament reassumed the character which they had presented under his father. They were at this time chiefly occupied in finding remedies for the numerous abuses which had arisen during the minority. The king's peace was proclaimed throughout the realm, and it was declared that all persons should be permitted to travel in safety in every part of the country, whether for commerce or for other purposes without need of having assurance one of the other, which it seems had been previously a matter of necessity. The king's peace was to be a sufficient protection for every man, and it was ordered that such persons only should be employed as the king's officers, who were willing and able to punish all breaches of it. If any one were in mortal fear of another, he was directed to go to the sheriff or nearest magistrate, and make oath to that effect, upon which the magistrate was to call upon the person dreaded, and make him give bonds for keeping the peace towards the other. New and stringent regulations were made for the appointment of judges, and the order was renewed which compelled the justice to make his progress through the country twice in the year. These regulations for the administration of justice, were followed by new statutes against rebellion, which were made more severe and comprehensive. In another statute, this parliament advanced more boldly than the parliaments of James I., in interfering between the great landholders and their tenants. It was ordained "for the safety and favour of the poor people who labour the ground, that they and all others who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come from lords, according to a lease which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiring of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and this notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale, or by alienation, into different hands from those by whom they were first given in lease to the tenants." The barons were again forbidden to ride over the country with their great bands of feudal followers, to the oppression of the king's subjects. Punishments of a severe description were ordered for all those troops of idle people, who under one excuse or another overran the country, and lived chiefly by plunder and evil doing. These included the different denominations of sornars (people who took their lodgings without asking), outliers (who slept in the fields), masterfull beggar, fools (*i. e.* buffoons), bards, and runners about. It is evident from the severity of their punishment that this class of persons must have been very numerous and injurious. On the first conviction, their ears were to be nailed to a tree, and there cut off, after which they were to be banished from the country, and if they returned again they were to be hanged. The last important act of the session was one against persons guilty of treason, which shows that the king was contemplating further exertions of the royal authority against his turbulent nobles. Fortunately for these plans of domestic reform, his relations with England continued to be of the most pacific character. Aware of the importance of preserving the good understanding between the two countries, James had, in 1449, immediately after the arrest of the Livingstons, sent his treasurer and confessor, the bishop of Brechin and the abbot of Melrose, with the lords Montgomery and Gray, to Durham, where they were met by commissioners on the part of England, and an indefinite truce was agreed upon, in which provisions were made for the encouragement of mutual intercourse and commercial relations between the two countries. Another amicable meeting of the commissioners of the two countries was held early in 1450, to regulate the affairs of the borders, and take measures for the hindrance of all mutual provocations.

The earl of Douglas must have felt that the arm which had struck the Livingstons would eventually reach himself, yet he took no steps in their favour, but on the contrary, he willingly accepted a part of the spoils. Indeed the king, after that event, bestowed upon the Douglases many marks of favour, so that he seemed desirous either of attaching them to his person, or of quieting their suspicions. They ceased not, nevertheless, to follow their own proud and turbulent course, and the king continually received provocations either from themselves, or their friends and dependents. One of these had given great offence. There had been a feud between Richard Colville of Ochiltree, and John Auchinleck of Auch-

inleck, the latter a follower of the earl of Douglas. One day as Auchinleck was journeying to wait upon the earl, he was attacked and slain by his enemy. Douglas immediately raised his vassals, besieged Colville in his castle, and having taken it, massacred him and his men.

Provoked by acts like this, the king began gradually to withdraw his show of favour from the earl. Although he did not yet venture to deprive him of his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, yet he ceased to consult or employ him, and gave daily proofs of his confidence in Crichton and in the energetic ministers with whom he had surrounded himself. Conscious that his influence was on the wane, and probably convinced that the moment was not favourable for attempting to regain it by force, the earl of Douglas determined to go for a while to the continent, on the excuse of a desire to pay a visit to the pope. He is suspected of having had other views besides the mere love of travel, and, as he made some stay in England, he may have wished to ally himself with one of the great factions in that country as a support in any plans of ambition in his own. Be this as it may, after having entrusted the administration of his immense estates to his brother James Douglas, lord of Balveny, and it is believed renewing his treasonable league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, he proceeded on his journey.

The lord of Balveny used his delegated power with so much tyranny, that the king was soon compelled to interfere. The powerful barons who followed his banner, under Douglas's authority and encouragement, began to set the laws at defiance, and commit every kind of oppression. After warning them in vain, the king determined to adopt measures of coercion, and marching with an army into the most turbulent district, he captured the castle of Lochmaben and razed it to the ground. Satisfied with this act of vengeance, the king soon withdrew his forces; and immediately afterwards, to show that he could exercise clemency as well as revenge, he set at liberty his two state prisoners, sir Alexander Livingston and Dundas.

CHAPTER XI.

TURBULENT BEHAVIOUR OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; HE IS SLAIN; BATTLE ON THE MUIR OF BRECHIN; REBELLION, AND SUBSEQUENT SUBMISSION, OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; SUBMISSION OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD.

No sooner had James Dundas been released from prison, than he hurried off to Rome, no doubt to give information of the state of things to the earl of Douglas, whose adherent he had been, and who now hurried home. His influence, however, was felt long before his arrival, for it is believed that it was at his instigation that the new earl of Ross openly rebelled, and having seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven, in Badenoch, dismantled that of Ruthven, and placed his own garrisons in the others. But the confederacy of the three earls still remained secret, and when Douglas returned, still conscious that the moment was inopportune, he proclaimed loudly his displeasure at the turbulence of his dependents, and promised in future to keep better order. The king at once took him into favour, and soon afterwards appointed him a commissioner with the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, and the earls of Angus and Crawford, to treat with the English for a prolongation of the truce. But Douglas only executed his commission by entrusting his seal to the other commissioners to give his sanction to the truce, while he remained on his estates plotting with his vassals. It is supposed that he at this time renewed his league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, which was to be supported by the factions of the Livingstons and the Hamiltons, and that he also entered into an alliance for mutual assistance with the Yorkists in England. This last alliance, which bore treason on the face of it, was soon afterwards drawn closer by a visit which Douglas made to the English court, accom-

panied with a considerable number of his chief partisans. James, who had reached his twenty-first year, appears now to have suspected the designs of his too powerful noble, and to have resolved gradually to undermine his influence. In a parliament called in 1451, the earl was deprived of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, but, in order to break or conceal the blow, the king soon afterwards appointed him his warden of the west and middle marches.

But when the earl returned to Scotland, he began to exhibit traits of ferocity and turbulence, which were calculated to give alarm to the court, and he exercised his new office of warden with oppressive injustice. His followers were not only allowed to plunder and slay with impunity, but those who did not submit quietly were punished by the lord warden for their resistance. Thus, on one occasion, Herries, of Terregles, a gentleman of family, who had been plundered by some of the earl's followers or partisans, made an attempt to defend himself by force of arms, but being unfortunately taken prisoner, he was carried before the earl. The king, informed of this occurrence, immediately sent his herald to the earl with his royal mandate for the delivery of his prisoner, yet Douglas ordered Herries to be hanged, in open defiance of his sovereign. Not long after this, sir Patrick Thornton, a dependent of the house of Douglas, deliberately murdered the king's kinsman, sir John Sandilands, of Calder, along with two knights who enjoyed the king's favour and intimacy, sir James and sir Allan Stuart, and he was supported in this outrage by the earl's protection. Nor was Douglas satisfied till he had carried his audacious insults still nearer to the throne. Hiring a band of ruffians of the most desperate description, he made them attack the king's chief minister, the chancellor Crichton, as he was passing with his retinue through the southern suburb of Edinburgh, on his way to embark on board a ship in the river. Crichton escaped wounded, though not seriously, to his house, where he collected his vassals, and suddenly setting upon the Douglases, compelled the earl and his partisans to fly precipitately from the capital.

The king seems to have been now aware of the formidable league between Douglas and the earls of Ross and Crawford, and this rendered him more cautious of coming to an open rupture with the proud noble till he had better assured himself of his own strength. He continued in outward appearance to treat him with distinction, and even employed him with some of his more faithful counsellors in a mission to England. There, with his king's commission in his hand, he appears to have plotted treason against his person. The Yorkists had now possession of the government in England, and their policy had all along been unfriendly to Scotland, although the truce between the two countries had been renewed. The English government at this moment refused to deliver two French ambassadors who had been captured on their way to Scotland, a proceeding that amounted to a declaration of hostilities, and it was understood that this refusal was to be the signal for a general insurrection in Scotland. The earl of Douglas hastened back to his own estates, and in conjunction with the earls of Ross and Crawford, summoned all his vassals to assemble in arms with their forces.

Among those who owed feudal allegiance to the house of Douglas was a gentleman named Maclellan, tutor or guardian of the young laird of Bombie, whose mother was sister of sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's guard. Maclellan was a man of spirit, and, when summoned to appear in arms with his retainers, he refused to join in rebellion against his sovereign. The earl instantly ordered him to be seized and thrown into the dungeon of Douglas castle. Maclellan was a favourite at court, where the known ferocity of Douglas's vengeance created great alarm for the safety of his victim, and the king dispatched sir Patrick Gray himself, with an order under the royal seal, commanding his immediate release. When Gray reached Douglas castle, the earl, who suspected at once the object of his admission, received him with the greatest courtesy, but gave private orders that Maclellan should be instantly taken into the castle green and beheaded. Then, taking the king's letter from the hands of sir Patrick Gray, he led him into the hall, inviting him to partake of his hospitality. "You have found me," he said, "just sitting down to dinner; we will, if you please, first conclude our meal, and then I will peruse the letter with which our sovereign has honoured me." As soon as dinner was over, the earl took the letter, and broke the seal. As Gray watched anxiously for his reply, he suddenly assumed an air of concern. "I am sorry," he said, "that it is

not in my power to give full obedience to the commands of my sovereign, albeit I feel beholden to him for so gracious a letter written to one whom he has been pleased of late to regard with somewhat less favour than formerly; nevertheless what he requires shall be granted as fully as circumstances permit." Then leading him to the castle green, where the trunk of his murdered friend lay stretched on the sod, he said in a tone of cold irony, "There, sir Patrick, lies your sister's son; it is true he wants the head, but you are welcome to do with his body what you please." Gray was overcome with horror and indignation, yet he knew that he was within the tyrant's den, and that the least expression of anger might cost him dear. Bridling in his feelings, therefore, he merely replied, "Since you have taken the head, my lord, you are welcome to dispose of the body as you please;" and then, calling for his horse, he rode away, accompanied to the drawbridge by the earl. But he had no sooner cleared every obstacle to his flight, than reining his horse round, he shook his mailed fist fiercely at the Douglas, defied him as a coward and a traitor, and threatened that if he lived and had the opportunity, he would one day lay him as low as the poor gentleman he had just murdered. With this he spurred his horse, and rode at full speed towards Edinburgh. The earl, furious at being thus defied in his own castle, ordered some of his retainers to mount, and give chase; and it was only by the extraordinary fleetness of his horse that sir Patrick escaped, after being pursued to the outskirts of the capital.

It will not be wondered at, if the king felt surpassing indignation at this outrageous insult; but still, now well acquainted of the league with Ross and Crawford, on which Douglas reckoned for support, and of the overpowering force which they could bring into the field, he hesitated in proceeding to hostilities. On the contrary, having consulted with Crichton and his wisest ministers, he determined to try again the effects of conciliation, and he sent an old friend of the earl's, sir William Lauder of Hatton, with a friendly message, expressing his desire to confer personally with him, with a conciliatory object, and promising him absolute security for his person. Some of the old historians say, that a letter of safe-conduct, under the royal signature and the privy seal, with the names and seals of all the nobles and great officers of the court attached, was sent to him; and that in addition to this, many of the nobles had sent a writing to the earl, in which they bound themselves to compel the king to observe his promise, if he should show any inclination to do otherwise. All this shows the earl's consciousness of the greatness of his crimes. The whole affair, however, is involved in much mystery, and we only know for certain that the earl accepted the invitation.

In the Lent of 1452, while the court was held at the castle of Stirling, the earl of Douglas went thither with sir William Lauder of Hatton, and a small retinue. He was received by the king with apparent cordiality, and invited to dinner next day. He accordingly went, and dined and supped in the castle. The hour of supper, according to the fashion of those days, was seven o'clock in the evening. When this last meal was ended, the king, wishing to converse privately with his guest, drew him away from the crowd of courtiers into an inner chamber, where there were none present but sir Patrick Gray, sir William Crichton, the lord Gray, sir Simon Glendonane, and a few more of his most confidential friends. They stood a little apart, while James walking with the earl of Douglas, began to remonstrate with him on his evil courses. He spoke of the murders of Herries, Sandilands, and Maclellan, and above all of his treasonable league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, and he urged him to break a band which must lead to deplorable results, and return to his allegiance as a good and dutiful subject. The conversation gradually warmed, and Douglas, unused to such remonstrances, replied with an insolence which was itself scarcely less than treason, and proceeded to violent recriminations. He reproached the king with having taken from him his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and spoke in the most intemperate abuse of the counsellors who he said had insinuated themselves into the king's confidence. Then, losing all restraint over his temper, he declared that he cared nothing for the name of treason with which his proceedings had been branded; that as to the band with the earls of Ross and Crawford, he had no longer the power to break it, and if he had he would not quarrel with his friends to gratify the idle caprices of his sovereign. The king's temper was naturally violent, and he had borne with difficulty the language of his guest; but at this insolent de-

fiance he lost all command over himself, and snatching the dagger from his side, he exclaimed passionately, "False traitor, if thou wilt not break the band, this shall!" and struck him first in the throat and almost at the same instant in the lower part of the body. Sir Patrick Gray, who happened to be standing nearest the king, raised his pole-axe with right good-will, and with one blow felled the earl to the ground, and the other nobles of the court rushed forwards and buried their daggers in his body. He expired instantly, without uttering a word, and his body, which was covered with twenty-six wounds, was cast through a window into the open court.

Such is the simple story of the slaughter of the earl of Douglas, as we gather it from the contemporary or nearly contemporary annalists. It appears to have been the work of a moment of ungovernable anger, the result of great and unjustifiable provocation, and we see no reason for suspecting that the king ever intended to break his promise of safe conduct. The deed was probably looked upon by all good subjects as a public benefit, and people were too much habituated to scenes of blood and treachery to think much of the way in which it was effected. But the whole Douglas faction, with their numerous vassals and retainers, set up one general cry of indignation and vengeance, which was probably the louder, as they knew their treasonable designs were discovered, and they were convinced that they had no hope but in civil war. During the absence of the king, who had marched with a strong force to Perth in pursuit of the earl of Crawford, who had risen with the earl of Ross in rebellion, sir James Douglas, who as brother of their late chief, succeeded to the earldom, with the earl of Ormond, the lord Hamilton, and six hundred barons, gentlemen, and other supporters of the family, suddenly took possession of the town of Stirling. After having, according to the ancient custom of defiance, blown upon the king twenty-four horns at once, they proceeded to the cross, and there exhibiting the king's letter of safe-conduct, they nailed it ignominiously to a board which was tied to the tail of a mean horse, and thus it was dragged through the streets with shouts of contempt and hatred against the sovereign. The town was then plundered and burnt, and the perpetrators of this outrage departed to join their friends in rebellion. The assembly at Stirling took place on the 25th of March.

The death of the earl of Douglas had only precipitated the appeal to arms, and each side now prepared for the struggle. His five brothers had met, and, with their friends, recognised the eldest, sir James, as his successor in the title, and they proclaimed a general gathering of his kin and confederates. The king, on the other hand, showed an energy and activity which encouraged those who were already faithful to the crown, and brought not a few accessions to the cause of order. Among these were some leading members of the great house of Douglas itself, such as the earl of Angus, and the lord Douglas of Dalkeith. Among the most determined supporters of the crown, at this moment, was Alexander Seton, earl of Huntley, who was at this trying moment named by James lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and who instantly raised the forces of the north, and directed his march towards Stirling. The earl of Crawford had been no less active in the field, and assembling a strong army among his adherents in Fife and Angus, he took post on a level muir by the town of Brechin, to intercept Huntley in his march to the south. On the evening before the engagement between the two earls, Huntley encouraged his men, not merely by promises of reward, but by a liberal distribution of lands among their chiefs. His opponent, the fierce "tiger," as he was called, disdained to conciliate any one; but, on the contrary, gave mortal offence to one of his best leaders, Colessie of Balnamoon, who commanded the left wing of the Angus bill-men, by sternly refusing his earnest request to enter his son as vassal in his fief. The battle was contested with desperate resolution, and the royal army, though superior in number to its opponents, was on the point of giving way; but at this critical moment, Colessie of Balnamoon, on whom all depended, withdrew his bill-men, and deserted to Huntley. The rebels were almost immediately routed, and hotly pursued. The earl of Crawford's brother, John Lindsay of Brechin, with Dundas of Dundas, and sixty other lords and gentlemen, were slain on the field. Huntley's loss was not great, but it included two of his own brothers, sir William and sir Henry Seton. Crawford fled with as much of his army as he could keep together, to his castle of Fin-

haven. We are told that a yeoman of Huntley's army, following too close in the pursuit, and becoming involved among the earl of Crawford's personal attendants, sought his own personal safety by passing on as one of them, to Finhaven. On his escape he related, that when they reached Finhaven castle, the ferocious earl, amid a volley of blasphemous oaths, called for a bowl of wine, and drinking it off, with horrible curses on the wretch who had deserted his banner, swore that he would willingly undergo seven years' roasting in hell, to have purchased that day's victory; and as a proof of the truth of his story, he produced a silver cup engraved with the arms of Crawford, which he had abstracted from the sideboard at Finhaven castle.

Huntley, although victorious, was not allowed to pursue his march to the south, for he received intelligence that the earl of Moray, a brother of the late earl of Douglas, had raised his vassals and invaded his estates in Strathbogie. In revenge, Huntley swept through the rich lands of the Douglases in Moray, and not only reduced them to a desert, but burnt to the ground that half of the city of Elgin which belonged to his opponent. The other half of the city had been burnt by the earl of Moray because its inhabitants were favourers of the Setons. For a moment the earl of Huntley struggled with difficulty against his powerful opponents, and he was defeated by Murray at a place called the Bog of Dunkintie; but at length Moray and Ormond, unable any longer to make head against the king's forces, retired into the Hebrides. While Huntley was engaged with these two earls, Crawford, who held possession of his own territory undisturbed, proceeded to ravage and destroy the lands of all those who had refused to join his standard. The fury of the Douglases in the south was turned against their kinsman, the earl of Angus, and they laid siege to his castle of Dalkeith, after burning the town, and binding themselves by an oath not to leave the siege till they had levelled the castle with the ground. But they were disappointed in their purpose by the bravery of its governor, sir Patrick Cockburn, and were obliged to satisfy themselves with ravaging the country around. The new earl of Douglas entered into a correspondence with the Yorkists in England, and by a new treason against his country, as well as against his king, offered for himself and his friends to do homage to the king of England as lord paramount of Scotland.

In the miserable condition to which the kingdom was now reduced, James saw the necessity of vigorous and active measures, and he called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 12th of June, 1452. The earl of Douglas and some of his chief adherents were summoned to appear before it and answer to the charge of treason. But on the night before the meeting, a placard, signed by James earl of Douglas, three of his brothers, and the lord Hamilton, was fixed to the door of the parliament house. In this document, the Douglases publicly renounced their allegiance to king James, whom they branded as a perjured prince and a murderer, and they declared that thenceforth they held no lands of him, and that they would obey none of his mandates. The king and his friends were doubly exasperated by this insulting defiance, and the parliament proceeded against the offenders with great severity. They first agreed unanimously to a solemn declaration setting forth that, inasmuch as the late earl of Douglas had when he was killed avowed himself an enemy to the king, and acknowledged a treasonable league against the crown with the earl of Ross and Crawford, he was at that time in a state of open rebellion, and that the king was justified by the law in putting him to death without further process. A parliament having thus justified the king, the latter proceeded to reward those who had on this great occasion given proof of their attachment to the crown. Archibald Douglas earl of Moray, having been attainted, that earldom was conferred on sir James Crichton, the eldest son of the chancellor. Lord Hay, who held the high office of constable of Scotland, was at the same time created earl of Errol; sir George Crichton of Caithness was created earl of Caithness; and the baron of Darnley, Hepburn of Hailes, Boyd, Fleming, Borthwick, Lyle, and Cathcart, were made lords of parliament. Lands, consisting partly of the forfeited estates of the Douglases, were given freely to lord Campbell, his son sir Colin Campbell, sir David Hume, sir Alexander Home, sir James Keir, and other loyal chieftains.

Everything now seemed to turn in favour of the king, and the general joy of the royal party was increased by the birth, on the 1st of June, 1452, of a prince, who was named James. No sooner had the parlia-

ment closed its deliberations, than the king summoned his barons to assemble in arms on the muir of Pentland, near Edinburgh. His cause had already gained so much in popularity, that he then found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, well armed and equipped, and he immediately marched against the earl of Douglas, shaping his course through the districts of Peebles, Selkirk, Dumfries, and Galloway, where the chief estates of the Douglases lay. It was the approach of harvest, and the crops were everywhere destroyed on the ground by the soldiers, who, in their rage against the Douglases, who were in rebellion, too often involved in the same destruction the property of those who had joined the banner of the king. The earl soon saw the hopelessness of resistance, and when the royal army appeared before Douglas castle, he announced his willingness to submit, and, with professions of the deepest contrition, begged that he might be readmitted into the royal favour. James listened to his appeal, and, anxious to restore tranquillity to his kingdom, he agreed to grant him his pardon, on conditions which were committed to writing, and not only assured by the earl's seal and signature, but by his solemn oath on the holy gospels. By this bond, which is still in existence, Douglas promised never to attempt to possess himself of the lands of the earldom of Wigtown or of the lordship of Stewarton, forfeited by the last earl, and since given to the queen. He engaged, for his brother and the lord Hamilton, as well as for himself, to forgive fully and for ever all manner of rancour, feud, malice, and envy, which they had entertained in time past, or might conceive in time to come, against any of the king's subjects, and more especially against all those who were art and part in the slaughter of the late earl; and it was even stipulated that, in obedience to the king's wishes, he should cordially receive those persons into his friendship. By another article of this bond, the earl promised that the whole body of his tenants and rentallers should enjoy the protection of their leases, and remain unmolested in their farms till twelve months after the following Whit-Sunday, except those tenants who occupied the granges and farmsteadings which the late earl had retained for his own use, and these should be permitted to remain till the Whit-Sunday following, to give them full time to gather in their crops. By other provisions he bound himself to break all treasonable bands and confederations already made, and to make none such in future, to make amends for past injuries, and to perform in future all the duties of a faithful subject towards his king.

By this submission, the earl of Douglas, who seems to have acted without sincerity, not only recovered the immense power he had previously held, but he soon took steps to increase it; and the king, who seems to have believed in his repentance, imprudently assisted him in the attainment of his object. By the death of the late earl, all that part of the possessions of his house which had been brought to him by the maid of Galloway, reverted to his widow, who was still very young, and the new earl was now supported by the king in obtaining from the pope a dispensation to marry her. The dispensation, by means of such intercession, was obtained without difficulty, and the unhappy widow was forced into this union sorely against her inclination. The king also gave or promised to give back the earldom of Wigtown and the lands of Stewarton, and the whole of the immense possessions of the earls of Douglas were again united in the hands of a person who soon showed himself unworthy of the confidence and favour which his sovereign was so unsuspiciously conferring upon him. There seems every reason to believe that at this very moment the earl was secretly engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the English Yorkists, the object of which was to drive king James from his throne.

But the king now felt at ease with regard to the southern part of his dominions, and he proceeded with a small body of troops as a guard to his person, to make a progress in the north, which had also been reduced to better order by the exertions of his lieutenant-general, the earl of Huntley. The earl of Crawford had already made his peace with Huntley, and had requested his intercession in his favour, and by his advice, as well as that of Crichton and of bishop Kennedy, he presented himself before the king in his progress through Angus, with a few of his followers, all as well as himself barefoot and bare-headed, and clad in miserable apparel. The king was touched with their appearance, and generously offering his hand to the earl of Crawford, he told him that he was more anxious to gain the hearts than the lands of his nobles, and that he freely forgave him and his all that was past, in the

hope that they would atone for it by their future loyalty. James appears to have had no reason to repent of his generosity on this occasion, for Crawford proved himself a faithful supporter of the throne during the rest of his life, which, however, was short, for he died of a fever six months after. On receiving the royal pardon, with the restoration of his estates and honours, Crawford assembled a strong body of the barons and gentry of Angus, and placing himself at their head, accompanied the king in his progress, until on his return they reached his castle of Finhaven, where the king was entertained with great magnificence. A story was afterwards told how the king had, in his anger against the earl, made a vow that he would level the highest stone of Crawford's fortress with the lowest, and how, on this occasion, he mounted upon the battlements, and threw one of the highest stones of the building down into the ditch, in order that he might fulfil his vow with the least possible injury to his host.

It may be well to note, ere we pass on, that in the very midst of these scenes of turbulence, another school of learning was founded in Scotland. In the course of the year 1451, William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, having obtained a bull from pope Nicholas for that purpose, laid the foundation of the university of Glasgow.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW CONSPIRACY OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; ENERGETIC MEASURES OF THE KING; THE EARL RETIRES TO ENGLAND; INSURRECTION OF THE EARL OF ROSS; DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND.

Scotland now was in appearance quiet, but this appearance was a false one, and it was soon to be shown that the power of the house of Douglas was incompatible with the peace of the kingdom. The absence of historical records has left the events which immediately followed the submission of the earl of Crawford, in great obscurity. We can only gather that the earl of Douglas, in spite of all the favours he had received from the crown, was still meditating treason, and that his correspondence with the Yorkists in England had not been discontinued. In 1454, when the duke of York had again lifted himself into power, Douglas's ambition led him into a plot with that prince, the aim of which was to overthrow the present government of Scotland, and lodge the supreme power in the hands of Douglas himself. Douglas began to raise his troops, and to collect his friends, and he sent the lord Hamilton into England to obtain a supply of money and men, which it was agreed should be given immediately; but it appears that one article assented to by Douglas was, that he and his friends should prove their sincerity by immediately taking the oath of homage to the king of England. This was a condition which Hamilton was unwilling to perform, and as far as we can gather, he returned to Scotland to consult with his chief.

But the treasonable designs of Douglas were now known at court, and, before further negotiation could be entered into, the royal vengeance fell in all its fury upon his devoted house. The king first invaded his lands in the north, and stormed and destroyed his castle of Inveraven. Proceeding thence without meeting with any resistance to Glasgow, he raised another army from the north and west, with which he laid waste the earl's possessions in Douglas-Dale and Avondale, and carrying the same destruction through the lands of the lord Hamilton, he continued his progress to Edinburgh. Here he raised a third army, consisting chiefly of lowlanders, and taking the field again, he invaded the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick, and finally laid seige to the strong castle of Abercorn.

The earl of Douglas, who had been occupied in concentrating his forces at Lanark, advanced hastily with his kinsman lord Hamilton, to raise the siege. The king is said to have felt some alarm at the formidable army which had assembled under the earl's banner, and even to have shown signs of despondency at the difficulties with which he was surrounded, but he derived encouragement from the exhortations of his faith-

ful councillor bishop Kennedy. Sir Alexander Crichton had died in the castle of Dunbar, at the close of the preceding year (1454). Bishop Kennedy told the king that Douglas's army was composed of discordant materials, held together by bonds which were various in their nature, and easily broken. Many followed the standard of Douglas merely from fear, and others from the hope of gain. These would all go over to the side which appeared safest and most profitable. The bishop, therefore, recommended that an attempt should be made to negotiate with the separate chiefs, and he offered to begin with trying the lord Hamilton, Douglas's particular friend. Hamilton appears to have been shaken in his attachment to the rebel cause by the conditions which were made with the Yorkists, and he had begun to feel doubts of the probable result of this mad contest, so that he was not averse to listen to Kennedy's proposals, though he did not immediately agree to them. But the events which immediately followed are said to have decided him. The king advanced against the rebels, and when the two armies were drawn up in view of each other, the royal heralds advanced, and in the king's name ordered the army of Douglas to disperse. The earl returned a scornful answer, yet he perceived such strong symptoms of hesitation among his men, that he drew them off and returned to his camp, announcing his intention of fighting on the morrow. He was visited in his tent by the lord Hamilton, who requested to be informed positively if it was his intention to fight or not, as it was high time they should know what he intended to do, for the royal army was increasing daily, while theirs was rapidly falling away. We are told that the proud spirit of the Douglas took fire, and that he replied scornfully, that if Hamilton was tired of his service he might leave it when he liked. The offended baron took him at his word; he marched with the troop under his command to the royal camp. Hamilton was known throughout the rebel camp as a wise and prudent man, and no sooner was his desertion reported abroad, than the chiefs rivalled each other in following his example, so that next morning, when the earl of Douglas intended to give battle to the royal forces, he found that he had no army to fight with. In his fury and despair, he fled with the few followers who remained attached to him, and sought a temporary asylum in the wildest parts of Scotland. In the meantime his brothers, the earls of Moray and Ormond, had succeeded in collecting together an army of undisciplined outlaws in Annandale, and the earl hastened to place himself at their head. But the time was past when the magic cry of Douglas could stir up the country from one end to the other; and the Maxwells, Scotts, Johnsons, and other warlike clans of the border, had all joined the royal standard. The tumultuous army which the earl of Douglas now commanded, was met at Arkinholme, on the Esk, by the king's troops under the earl of Angus, and utterly defeated. The earl of Moray was slain in the fight; Ormond was captured, and immediately executed; and the earl of Douglas himself escaped with difficulty, and fled with his only remaining brother, sir John Douglas, lord of Balveny, to the wilds of Argyleshire, where he was received by his only remaining friend the earl of Ross.

The king was still occupied with the siege of Abercorn, and the first intelligence he received of the defeat of the rebels at Arkinholme was brought by a soldier, who laid at his feet the ghastly head of the earl of Moray. It gave courage to the besiegers, who had been foiled by the extraordinary strength of the castle, which defied all their efforts, though assisted by powerful warlike engines, and by a very large cannon, which was charged and directed by a French engineer. At length, after a month's siege, it was taken by escalade, and the chief persons of the garrison were immediately hanged. The rest were dismissed with their lives, after the castle itself had been undermined and reduced to a ruin.

Immediately after the capture of Abercorn castle, James called a parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on the 9th of June, 1455. The earl of Douglas was duly summoned to appear and answer charges brought against him, and as he did not appear, he was declared a traitor. His mother, Beatrix countess of Douglas, and his brother the lord of Balveny, were involved in the same act of condemnation. These three personages were declared to have forfeited their lives; and their estates, as well as those of the members of the family and their adherents, who had already fallen in battle or been executed, were declared to be forfeited to the crown.

After the defeat of Arkinholme, the earl of Douglas, as it has been stated, found

a refuge with the earl of Ross, and he soon afterwards made good his retreat to England, where he was received with great favour by the duke of York. But before his departure, he raised up a new insurrection against the Scottish throne. The earl of Ross, whose power, as lord of the isles, lay chiefly in the Hebrides, collected a fleet of a hundred light galleys, in which were embarked five thousand combatants, under the command of Ross's near kinsman, Donald Balloch, lord of Isla and of the Glens in the north of Ireland. With this formidable array of forces he plundered the Scottish coast from Innerkip, along the forth of the Clyde to Bute, the Cumbrays, and the isle of Arran, but without making any serious impression. They concluded with attacking Lauder bishop of Lismore, a prelate obnoxious to the Douglases, who himself narrowly escaped with his life, while a great part of his attendants were slain.

Nor did the earl of Douglas's power of doing mischief end here. It happened that in England the duke of York was in power, and the fugitive noble not only found a hospitable reception, but he immediately received an annual pension of five hundred pounds, in consideration of his devotion to the English interests; and this pension, by the terms of the gift, was "to be continued to him until he should be restored to his possessions, or to the greater part of them, by *the person who then called himself king of Scots*. In this expression we no doubt trace the rival claim to the crown, which had been secretly set up by the Douglases. The hostility of the dominant party in England did not stop here. When James wrote a letter to king Henry, complaining of the reception and encouragement given to his traitor, warning him of the evil consequences that might result to himself in England by fostering the example of rebellion elsewhere, and of the hostile feeling which it must engender between the two countries, he received an extraordinary reply, full of the bitterest hostility, of which the following is a literal translation. "The king, to an illustrious prince, James, *calling himself king of Scotland*, sends greeting: We presume that it is notorious to all men, and universally acknowledged as a fact, that the supreme and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland appertains by law to the kingdom of England, as monarch of Britain. We presume it to be equally acknowledged and notorious, that fealty and homage are due by the king of Scots to the king of England, upon the principle that it becomes a vassal to pay such homage to his superior and ever lord; and that from times of so remote antiquity that they exceed the memory of man, even to the present day, we and our progenitors, kings of England, have possessed such rights, and you and your ancestors have acknowledged such a dependence. Wherefore, such being the case, whence comes it that the subject hath not scrupled insolently to erect his neck against his master? And what, think ye, ought to be his punishment, when he spurns the condition, and endeavours to compass the destruction of his person? With what sentence is treason generally visited? or have you lived so ignorant of all things, as not to be aware of the penalties which await the rebel, and him who is so hardy as to deny his homage to his liege superior? If so, we would exhort you speedily to inform yourself upon the matter, lest the lesson should be communicated by the experience of your own person, rather than by the information of others. To the letters which have been presented to us by a certain person calling himself your lion-herald and king-at-arms, and which are replete with all manner of folly, insolence, and boasting, we make this brief reply: it hath ever been the custom of those who fight rather by deceit than with open arms, to commit an outrageous attack in the first instance, and then to declare war; to affect innocence, and shift their own guilt upon their neighbours; to cover themselves with the shadow of peace and the protection of truces, whilst beneath this veil they are fraudulently plotting the ruin of those they call their friends. To such persons, whose machinations we cordially despise, it seems to us best to reply by actions. The repeated breaches of faith, therefore, which we have suffered at your hands; the injury, rapine, robbery, and insolence, which have been afflicted upon us, contrary to the rights of nations, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, shall be passed over in silence, rather than committed to writing; for we esteem it unworthy of our dignity to attempt to reply to you in your own fashion, by slanders and reproaches. We would desire, however, that in the mean season you should not be ignorant that, instead of its having the intended effect of inspiring us with terror, we do most heartily despise this vain confidence and insolent boasting, in which we have observed the weakest and

most pusillanimous persons are generally the greatest adepts; and that you should be aware that it is our firm purpose, with the assistance of the Almighty, to put down and severely chastise all such insolent, rebellious, and arrogant attempts, which it hath been your practice contumaciously to direct against us. Wishing, nevertheless, with that charity which becomes Christian princes, that it may please our Lord Jesus Christ to reclaim you from error into the paths of justice and truth, and to inspire you for the future with a spirit of more enlightened judgment and counsel, we bid you farewell."

So insulting a proceeding as this must have greatly shaken the good understanding between the two countries, and we are not surprised to find that it was followed by serious hostilities on the borders. A war, however, was prevented by the partial recovery of Henry VI., and the consequent removal of the duke of York from the government. The return to power of the duke of Somerset, whose policy had always been favourable to Scotland, counteracted the evil influence of the intrigues of the earl of Douglas, and the irritation between the two countries soon began to subside. Nevertheless, a serious alarm had been given, and the Scottish parliament assembled twice at Edinburgh during the autumn, to make preparations for defence against an invasion from England, as well as to provide for the re-establishment of order throughout Scotland. The statute relating to the regulation of border warfare is curious, as consecrating by law the code of regulations which custom had long established among the freebooters of the marches. It was ordered that when an invasion of the English border took place under the immediate command of the lord warden of the border, or under that of any other chieftain, no man was to be permitted, under pain of death and forfeiture of his whole goods, to abstract any part of the general booty until, according to the ancient custom of the marches, it had been divided into three parts, in presence of the chief leader of the raid. Any one thus abstracting part of the plunder, or furnishing supplies to the English garrisons of Roxburgh or Berwick, or giving warning to the English of preparations for an invasion of their territory, or of journeying privately into England without the safe-conduct of the king or warden, would be punished as a traitor with the loss of life and estate. The last of these provisions was no doubt directed against the treasonable correspondence carried on by the earl of Douglas and his friends.

A still more interesting regulation, which appears in the acts of this parliament, is that which explains to us the system of transmitting information by beacons, or, as they were called in Scotland, bale-fires. These beacons were to be regulated as follows: one fire was to be understood as signifying that an enemy was reported to be approaching; two fires, that the enemy was known to be at hand; and if four fires were lighted at the same time, "like four candles, and all at once," that was to be understood as announcing that the enemy was advancing with a great army. The first beacon was placed at the passages of the Tweed between Roxburgh and Berwick, where the English forces usually crossed the river, and watchmen were placed there, whose duty it was to light the "bale-fire" the moment they received intelligence of the approach of an enemy. This beacon was to be so placed that it might be distinctly seen at Hume Castle, whither the watchmen were to retire when they had performed their duty at the first station. Another beacon was immediately to be fired at Hume Castle, and the alarm was to be carried from beacon to beacon, from Hume Castle to the castle of Eggerhope (or Edgerton), and thence progressively to Soutra Edge, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh, rousing all Lothian in its way. Four beacons were instantly to be lighted at Edinburgh, to give warning to the people at Fife, Stirling, and the eastern part of Lothian. Other beacons were at the same time to be set on fire on North Berwick Law and Dunpender Law, to communicate the alarm to the coast side of the sea. The fighting men from the west side of Edinburgh were to assemble in the capital; while those to the east of it were to muster at Haddington; and all merchants and burghers were directed to join the host as it passed through their respective communities.

The late rebellions had been a warning to the parliament of the necessity of strengthening the throne, and diminishing the power of the nobles, and various statutes passed in the parliaments of 1455 were directed to this object. A statute for this purpose fixed certain revenues, estates, and castles, as the permanent property of the crown, inalienable except by the solemn resolution of the whole parliament, and if

otherways alienated, the power was given to the king by this statute to resume it at once without any previous process or form. The king, on his accession, was to be required to take a solemn oath to observe strictly this statute. The property of the crown was declared to be, the whole customs of Scotland as they were in the hands of James I. on the day of his death; the lordships of Ettrick forest and Galloway, with the castle of Thrieve, which had been part of the possessions of the house of Douglas; the castle of Edinburgh, with the lands of Ballincreif and Gosford, and all other estates belonging to the king within the sheriffdom of Lothian; the castle of Stirling, with all the crown lands round it; the castle of Dumbarton, with the lands of Cardross, Roseneath, and the pension from Cadyow, with the pension of the farm-mill of Kilpatrick; the whole earldom of Fife, with the palace of Falkland; the earldom of Strathern; the house and lordship of Brechin, with the services and superiority of Cortachy; the castles and lordships of Inverness and Urquhart, with the water-mails or rents due for the fishing of Inverness; the lordship of Abernethy, and the several baronies of Urquhart, Glenorchane, Bonnechen, Bonochar, Aurache, Edderdale, Pecty, Brachly, and Strathern; and the Redcastle, with the lordships attached to it in the county of Ross.

Another grand reform effected by this parliament, was the abolition of hereditary offices, which had given undue influence and power to the families who held them. The important office of warden of the borders, had been held for some generations by the Douglases, and as the appointment had reverted to the crown by the attainder of the present earl, it was ordained by act of parliament, that not only that, but all other offices should cease to be hereditary, with the exception of certain offices the king had bestowed on his son Alexander, earl of March and lord of Annandale.

Some other statutes were passed for facilitating the regular administration of justice, and punishing false-coiners and "sorners," a class of stout armed vagrants, apparently peculiar to Scotland, who wandered about insisting on taking up their quarters for an indefinite period at the various houses they visited. Among other acts was a sumptuary law, interesting as showing the condition of society at the time, and curious for its minute description of the apparel of the different orders who met in parliament. It was ordered by this law, that earls should use mantles of "brown granyt," open in the front, furred with ermine, and lined before with the same, surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, which covered the shoulders. The other lords of parliament were to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with "cristy gray, grece, or purray," with a hood furred in the same manner, and composed of the same cloth. All commissaries of burghs were directed to have "a pair of cloaks" of blue cloth, made to open on the right shoulder, to be trimmed with fur, and having hoods of the same colour. Any one who appeared in parliament without the appropriate costume of his order, was condemned to a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men of law employed as pleaders, were to wear a dress of green cloth, made after the fashion of a tunickle, or little tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard, under a penalty of five pounds each to the king, if they appear otherwise dressed, either in parliament or at general councils.

In this moment of calm, circumstances of a more domestic character attract our attention which would have passed almost unnoticed in the turbulence which had preceded it. The heiress of Galloway, who had received the title of countess of Douglas from two successive husbands, both of whom had treated her with great cruelty, instead of following her lord into England, went to court and threw herself on the protection of the king. James received her with kindness, and, after she had been divorced from her husband, or on a plea that her marriage was illegal, we are not told, she was married to sir John Stuart, a son of the black knight of Lorn by the queen mother, and therefore half-brother to the king, who soon afterwards created him earl of Athol, and gave him the forfeited barony of Balveny. She had been hitherto childless, but she bore two daughters by her third husband. Another fugitive lady was the countess of Ross, a daughter of the house of Livingstone, who had deserted her rebel lord, and also sought an asylum at court. The king received her also with favour, and assigned her a maintenance suitable to her rank. James's own sister, Annabella, who had been betrothed to a son of the duke of Savoy, but whose intended marriage was afterwards broken off, returned about this

time to Scotland, and was married to the earl of Huntly, whose fidelity to the crown had been so well tried during the late troubles.

A dispute arose at this moment with the court of Norway, on the subject of the annual payment which had been secured to that crown by the king of Scotland when he purchased the Western Isles and the kingdom of Man from Norway. The king of Norway had been at this time offended by the disrespect shown by the officers of the king of Scotland to his lieutenant Biorn, who, having been driven into the Orkneys by a storm, was seized as a pirate and thrown into prison. The difference between the two kings was however, after some explanations and somewhat difficult negotiations, easily arranged by the intervention of their mutual ally the king of France.

CHAPTER XIII.

UNCERTAIN STATE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND; PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS; SIEGE OF ROXBURGH AND DEATH OF JAMES II.

In consequence of the course pursued by the earl of Douglas, the relations between Scotland and England became more and more perplexed and embarrassing. Factions were becoming so powerful in the latter country, that even when the party friendly to Scotland was uppermost, it was incapable of restraining its opponents from making an open manifestation of hostility. It was thus that, although a new truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, it was still considered necessary to be prepared for immediate defence. A parliament held at Edinburgh in 1456, passed an act, ordering that all Scottish subjects possessed of lands or goods should be ready, mounted and armed according to their capability, to ride for the defence of their country the moment they received warning by sound of trumpet, or by lighting of the beacon; and that all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty should hasten to join the number on the first intelligence of the approach of an English army, except they were too poor to furnish themselves with weapons. Every yeoman worth twenty marks was to furnish himself with a jack and sleeves down to the wrist, or at least with a pair of splents, a sellat or headpiece, or a pricked hat, a sword and buckler, and a bow and sheaf of arrows. In case he was not skilled in archery, he was to have an axe, and a targe made either of leather or fir, with two straps in the inside. A still more curious proviso was that by which the king was recommended to request some of his greater barons "that they make carts of war;" in each cart they were to place two guns, each of which was to have two chambers, to be supplied with the proper warlike tackling, and to be furnished with a man who knew how to shoot them. "And if they have no skill in the art of shooting with them, at the time of passing the act, it is hoped that they will make themselves master of it before they are required to take the field against the enemy." This is a curious notice of the early history of cannon in Scotland. From some provisions with regard to the borders, it is evident that they were now the scene of frequent warfare. At this time, Scotland was again visited by a dreadful pestilence, which was also the subject of anxious legislation. Other enactments related to the reform of the current coinage, and to the reformation of some abuses in the levying of duties and other matters of less consequence. About the same time the earldom of Mar, by a proceeding not much more just than that by which the earldom of March was seized by James I., was taken from the family of Erskine and annexed to the domains of the crown.

Meanwhile, the earl of Douglas was not idle in England, where he had obtained considerable influence with the Yorkists. With the assistance of the earl of Northumberland, he raised a formidable army, and crossing the borders, for a short time carried devastation over the rich district of the Merse. But he was at length encountered and entirely defeated by the

earl of Angus, and with a loss of nearly a thousand slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners, he fled to England, deprived for the present of the power of making any impression on his native land. Angus was rewarded for his attachment to the royal cause, by a large share of Douglas's forfeited estates, and, in consequence of the king's repeated favours, the wealth and power of this new house bid fair to be as great as that of the house of Douglas in its prosperous days. This last defeat of Douglas, which is said to have occurred on the 23rd of October, 1458, appears at length to have struck terror into the ferocious earl of Ross, who saw himself at length utterly cut off from the support of those allies on whom he had formerly reckoned, while there could be little doubt that the king would, before long, turn all his power against him. He sent a submissive message to the king, praying to be admitted to the royal pardon, and promising to make every reparation in his power for his former misdeeds. At first James refused to listen to the appeal, but at length he was persuaded to give him a period of probation, promising his full pardon only when the earl should have shown that he merited it, by some notable exploit. Ross seems eventually to have obtained the king's favour, and he does not appear to have subsequently faltered in his loyalty.

The truce with England expired again on the 6th of July, 1459, but affairs had taken a turn in that country which facilitated the renewal of it for four years. A struggle had taken place, in which the duke of York was defeated, and he fled to Ireland, leaving the power entirely in the hands of the Lancastrians. Douglas, without fidelity, as he was without principle, no sooner saw the power of the duke of York declining, than he joined his enemies against him, and was rewarded with a confirmation by the Lancastrian party of the pension which had been given him by the Yorkists. An attempt appears now to have been made to draw closer the alliance between the two monarchs, and perhaps Henry wished to secure the active assistance of the king of Scotland against his own rebellious subjects. But the negotiation was carried on in the strictest secrecy, and we can only guess at its character by some vague reports that appear to have been whispered abroad. It is said—and we can only take it as a report—that, in return for certain substantial assistance to be afforded him, king Henry offered to give up to Scotland the whole county of Northumberland, with Durham, and some adjacent districts. If such an agreement was ever entered into, it would certainly have been as unwise on the part of king James to accept it, as it was impolitic of the king of England to offer it.

One part of the aid which was to be given by the king of Scotland, is understood to have consisted in an attack on the Yorkists in their stronghold in the north. It is certain that in the month of August, 1459, James assembled a formidable army, amounting, it is said, altogether to sixty thousand men, with which, although a truce existed between the two kingdoms, he marched into England, and in the space of a week captured and destroyed seventeen towers and castles, and ravaged Northumberland and part of Durham with indiscriminate fury, sparing neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian. Alarmed at a proceeding which was calculated to alienate his subjects of all parties, Henry, in haste, dispatched a messenger to the Scottish camp, who was admitted to a private interview with king James, and who is said to have represented to him that his resentment had been excited only by the insolence of the Yorkists, who alone merited punishment, but that he hoped in a short time to destroy his enemies by himself, without being under the necessity of calling in his ally. He therefore requested him to discontinue an invasion, in which it was impossible to prevent his friends from suffering as severely as his foes. After the messenger had left the camp, James suspended all hostile operations, and very soon afterwards quietly withdrew his army. He had hardly left the borders, when a temporary reconciliation having been made between the two parties in England, the duke of York, with the earl of Salisbury and other leaders, raised an army of forty thousand men, and hastened towards the border to invade Scotland in revenge for the raid of the Scottish king. But owing to dissension among the leaders, this formidable army dispersed without performing anything of consequence.

Civil war now recommenced in England, and after several sudden turns of fortune, the decisive battle of Northampton at length placed the king's person in the power of the Yorkists, and obliged his

queen and the young prince to seek a refuge in Scotland. The Lancastrians now appealed to James for assistance in their distress, which he prepared without hesitation to grant. He immediately issued his writs, calling together the whole forces of Scotland, which he placed under the command of his favourite commander, the earl of Huntley, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But before we follow him in this expedition, it will be necessary to turn our attention to the deliberations of another parliament which was held at Edinburgh in the previous year, and which lasted longer than usual. Its acts are particularly interesting for the light they throw on contemporary manners, and on the condition of the kingdom.

One of the first measures of this assembly was the appointment of committees of the parliament to sit for the administration of justice. The lords of the session, as they were called, were to sit three times in the year, for forty days each time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen respectively. The court was to be composed of nine judges, who were all to have votes in the decision of causes, three from each estate, along with the clerk of the register. At each session, the sheriff was to be ready to receive them in ceremony when they entered the town, and he was to undergo such trouble and charges as the occasion might require. In a subsequent statute, it was observed that, considering the shortness of the period for which the lords of session were to hold their court, and the probability that they would not be called upon to undertake such a duty more than once every seven years, they ought, out of their benevolence, to pay their own costs. In the first instance, the names of the nine lords of session, three from the clergy, three from the barons, and three from the burghers, were specified in the act; and the king and his council promised, on the conclusion of the three sessions of the first year, to select other lords from the three estates, who should sit in the same manner as the first, at such places as should be judged most convenient.

Having thus provided for the careful distribution of justice, the parliament proceeded to measures for the defence of the kingdom. The whole disposable force of each district was ordered to be assembled four times in the year, in order that they should be exercised in arms, and that their weapons should be inspected. The popular games of the football and the "golf," which were supposed to have drawn the Scottish youths from their martial exercises, were to be utterly abolished. It was ordered that a pair of butts should be made adjoining to each parish church, at which shooting was to be practised every Sunday. Every man between the age of twelve and fifty was to practise regularly with his bow, and each was to shoot at least six shots. Any person refusing to attend was to be fined each time twopence, which was to be given to those who attended for drink-money. In every head town of the shire there was to be a good bow-maker, as well as a fletcher, or maker of arrows, who were to be furnished with the materials for their trade, as they required them, by the town. Where the parish was large, a greater number of butts were to be set up, so that every man in the parish within the ages just mentioned might be able freely to practise with his weapons. It was calculated that in this manner by the next midsummer all persons would be sufficiently instructed and practised in the use of their bows to be called out to oppose the enemy. All men above fifty years of age, who were excused from military service, were to amuse themselves with such honest games as were adapted to their condition, but even they were forbidden to play at football or golf.

One of the most curious statutes of this parliament was the act against sumptuous clothing. It appears that the taste for extravagant apparel had been gaining ground rapidly, a proof of the increasing wealth of the middle classes, and it was thought necessary to legislate against it. Such laws originated in the jealousy of the aristocracy, who considered that the commons, in imitating their costliness of apparel, trespassed on their rights, and they were afraid that the distinction of rank should be broken down entirely. This, however, was not the motive stated in the act, which declared that, "seeing that each estate has been greatly impoverished through the sumptuous clothing of men and women, especially within the burghs, and amongst the commonalty 'to land-ward,' the lords thought it speedful that restriction of such vanity should be made." No man within burgh that lived by merchandise, except he were a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen or bailies, or other good worthy men of the council of the town, should either himself

wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk, or costly scarlet gowns, or "furring of mertricks." People were ordered in general to cause their wives and daughters "to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks or leevis, or tails of unbefitting length, nor trimmed with furs, except on holidays." "Poor gentlemen living in the country," whose property was within forty pounds, were to regulate their dress according to the same standard. No labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work-days any other stuff than grey or white cloth, and on holidays light blue, green, or red; their wives dressing correspondingly, and wearing curches, or kerchiefs, of their own making. They were not to wear stuff exceeding the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk or market with her face concealed, or, as the law expresses it, "muzzled," that she might not be known, on pain of forfeiting the "curch." Among the clergy, no one was to wear a gown of scarlet, or furring of "mertricks," unless he were a dignified officer in a cathedral or collegiate church, or a nobleman or doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks. Laws like these seem to have been ineffective against the evil, for we find them continually repeated and amended; and from this time forward, the cry against extravagant apparel becomes more energetic almost every year.

By other enactments it was attempted to relieve tenants of lands from many of the grievances under which they had formerly suffered, and to do away with other oppressive customs. The bonds or leagues among individuals, which had produced so many evils to the country, were strictly forbidden, as well as all "rising or commotion among the commons," for the purpose of hindering the execution of the common law of the realm. It was further enacted that no person who dwelt within burghs should enter into "man rent," or ride or rout in warlike apparel, with any leader except the king, or his officers, or the lord of the burgh within which he dwelt, under penalty of forfeiting life and goods. Other regulations were made intended to restrain and check the turbulence of all classes. Among them was one by which all persons, of whatever degree, barons, lords-spiritual, or simple freeholders, were directed, when they attended the justice ayres, or sheriff courts, to go thither in a sober and quiet manner, with no more attendants than formed their ordinary household, and, on entering their inn or lodging, they were to lay their harness and warlike weapons aside, and to use for the time only their knives. In case any persons at deadly feud should meet at such assemblies, the sheriff was to take pledges from both parties to keep the peace. It was further ordered that, where such courts were held, the king's justice was to search for and apprehend all masterful beggars, sornars, itinerant bards, and feigned fools, and banish them the country, or commit them to the common prison. Several new laws were passed for the encouragement of agriculture, for the preservation of game and fish, and for the destruction of wolves, which appear to have been very troublesome. The man who killed a wolf was to receive a penny from every household in the parish where it was killed, on bringing the head to the sheriff; and he was to receive from the sheriff sixpence for the head of a fox.

It is evident, from some of the acts of this parliament, that the king was looking forward to war, and we accordingly soon find him assembling an army. He was at this time watching anxiously the course of events in England, as the close ally of the house of Lancaster, and the bitter enemy of the Yorkists. We have already seen him marching into England for the professed purpose of supporting king Henry on the throne, but acting in a way calculated to ruin the cause he pretended to be advocating. As long as the English Lancastrians had any hope of reducing their opponents without foreign assistance, it was evidently their best policy to do so; but now, since the victory of the Yorkists at Northampton, king Henry was a mere captive in the hands of his enemies, and his queen and son were fugitives at the Scottish court, soliciting James's interference. The Scottish king appears to have seized the occasion with eagerness, and not to have hesitated a moment in declaring war against England under the Yorkist government. Formidable preparations had been long making, and he had no difficulty in bringing at once into the field a numerous and well-equipped army.

James determined to open the war with an attack upon the castle of Roxburgh, a strong and important fortress, situated at the confluence of the Tees and the Tweed,

in one of the finest border districts. It had been now in the hands of the English upwards of a hundred years, ever since the disastrous battle of Neville's-cross, and its commander at this time was a stanch adherent of the house of York, Neville lord Fauconberg. As James determined to open the siege of Roxburgh castle in person, he summoned all his principal nobility to meet him in the camp before that fortress. Among the rest came the earl of Ross, with a strong force of highlanders and men of the isles, armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, and with these he offered to take the van-guard of the army, if they entered England, and to march a mile before the main body, so as to encounter the first brunt of battle; but all ideas of invasion were destined to be dispelled by a fatal accident, which cut short the war at its very commencement. With one of the most formidable armies that had long been assembled in Scotland, James sat down before Roxburgh, and beleaguered it on every side. He was particularly proud of his train of cannon, and had in his employ a French engineer, whose boast it was that he could level a gun so truly, that it was certain to hit within a fathom of the spot he aimed at. One day, soon after the siege had begun (it was Sunday, the 3rd of August), the king proceeded in company with the earl of Angus, and some others of his nobility, to visit the batteries, especially one which had newly opened its fire upon the town, and on which there was an unusually great cannon, which had been brought from Flanders in the time of his father. We are told that it was made, according to the rude system of that time, of iron bars, placed longitudinally, and held together with iron hoops, which were tightened with strong oaken wedges. The king and his attendants approached to see this gun fired off. But it happened that the gunner, either through ignorance or by accident, had overcharged it, and the consequence was that it burst, and one of the wooden wedges struck the king on the groin with such terrible force that he was instantly killed. The earl of Angus, who stood near, was also severely wounded.

The distress of the king's ministers and friends on this lamentable accident was great, but they acted with loyalty and with wisdom. A messenger was sent in haste to court, to communicate the death of her husband to the queen, and to require her immediate attendance, bringing the young heir to the throne along with her. Her conduct was worthy of the high spirit and talents which had endeared her to her husband; for, without allowing herself to be overcome by the sudden and profound grief which she must have felt, she called together some of the bishops in whose counsels the late king had placed most confidence, and, with a few other attendants, hastened to Roxburgh. She there at once presented herself in the midst of the army, in mourning attire, holding the young prince, then only eight years of age, by the hand, and showing him to them as their king. The soldiers and their leaders received her with the utmost enthusiasm, and when she urged them to show their attachment to their late sovereign, by fulfilling the wish of his heart, in the capture of Roxburgh castle, they rushed on to the assault, and took that strong fortress by storm the same day.

Thus again was a king of Scotland cut off prematurely in the middle of his exertions for the amelioration of his country, and that country once more exposed to all the evils of a protracted minority. James left five children; three sons—James, who succeeded him on the throne, and was, as we have said, at the time of his father's death, eight years of age; Alexander duke of Albany, and John earl of Mar: and two daughters, —Mary, married first to the lord Boyd, and afterwards to the lord Hamilton; and Margaret, married to sir William Crichton, a son of the chancellor.

At his death, James II. was only thirty years of age, and it is impossible to say how far his reforms might have been carried if his reign had been prolonged. He had effectually reduced the power of his nobles, although he had contrived to attach them generally to his person. Among the other classes of his subjects he seems to have been generally popular. He obtained from his contemporaries the popular title of James with the Fery Face, because, though his countenance was remarkably mild and intelligent, it was disfigured by a large red mark on the cheek.

CHAPTER XIV.

MINORITY OF JAMES III.; HOSTILE RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND; REBELLION OF THE EARL OF ROSS; DEATH OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER; INTRIGUES OF THE FACTION OF THE BOYDS; THEY MAKE THEMSELVES MASTERS OF THE KING'S PERSON.

It was fortunate for Scotland, at this moment, that the queen-mother possessed the wisdom and energy of character which the sudden occasion required. The castle of Wark had been stormed by a division of the Scottish army, and, following the policy recommended by Robert Bruce, the queen caused both it and Roxburgh to be dismantled. The youthful king was then carried by the nobility to the monastery of Kelso, where they crowned him with all the solemnity which the hurried nature of the proceedings would allow. More than a hundred knights are said to have been made on this occasion. The court then removed to Edinburgh, carrying with it the remains of the late king, which were interred in the abbey of Holyrood. This ceremony was hardly concluded, when intelligence came that the fugitive queen of England, with her son, had arrived at Dumfries, where she was lodged in the college of Lincluden, and thither immediately the queen-mother removed the court. It was certainly not a favourable moment to ask for assistance from Scotland, yet queen Mary acted cordially on the sympathies of her husband, and the English princess was encouraged by her promises to return into England, and soon afterwards the battle of Wakefield gave a temporary restoration of the crumbling power of the house of Lancaster.

This revolution was favourable to the preservation of domestic peace in Scotland; yet a violent outbreak in the turbulent north occurred almost immediately on the king's accession. It arose in the barbarous ambition of a chief of Lorn, Allan of the Wood, who seized upon his elder brother, Ker of Lorn, and threw him into a dungeon in the isle of Kerera, with the intention of starving him, that he might succeed to the lordship. The earl of Argyle, who was related to these chiefs, interfered, and attacking Allan of Lorn by sea, burnt his fleet, and slew the greater part of his men. He then liberated Ker of Lorn from his prison, and restored him to his rightful inheritance. The feud, however, was not so easily appeased; the island chiefs, joining the different parties, carried on for some time a destructive warfare in the islands and coasts.

Meanwhile, a parliament had been summoned immediately after the death of James II., and it assembled at Edinburgh on the twenty-third of February, 1461. It was largely attended by the nobles, and even by the highland barons, who expected to find an open field for their individual ambition and aggrandisement, but they were disappointed by the vigorous measures of the queen-mother; and although their factious behaviour disturbed and almost nullified the deliberations of the great national assembly, they separated without success, mortified to think that their designs had been thwarted by the prudence of a woman. To her hands the parliament committed, for the present, the custody of the king's person and the government of the kingdom; and she at once established her authority by placing the principal fortresses of the kingdom, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbar, in the hands of some of her most faithful friends. She entrusted the chief management of her affairs to her husband's confidential adviser, Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's. Another of the late king's particular friends, lord Evandale, a baron celebrated as much for his learning as for his abilities as a statesman, was appointed chancellor. The office of justiciar of Scotland was given to Robert lord Boyd; the privy seal was entrusted to James Lindsay, provost of Lincluden; James lord Livingston was appointed chamberlain; and Liddele, rector of Forres, was made secretary to the king; David Guthrie, of Kilcaldrum, treasurer; and sir John Colquhoun, of Luss, comptroller of the household. All these appointments, however distasteful they may have been to the old nobles, shewed that the queen-mother was resolved to govern with energy and justice.

The prospects of the kingdom now began to be affected in different ways by the state of the neighbouring countries. The dispute with Norway relating to the annual payment for the possession of the western islands and the Isle of Man, had been sub-

mitted to the judgment of the king of France, who had suggested that the question should be brought to an amicable conclusion by the marriage of the princess Margaret of Norway, the daughter of king Christian, with the eldest son of James II. The Scots were not averse to this mode of settling the dispute, and it was proposed on their part that, in consideration of this marriage, Norway should renounce all claim for arrears, that the Shetland and Orkney islands should be ceded to Scotland, and that a hundred thousand crowns should be paid with the princess as pin-money, while the king of Scotland was to settle on the princess a dowry suitable to her rank. The Norwegian commissioners had not yet received their king's answer to this proposal, and the French king was with them at Bourges, presiding over the convention, when intelligence arrived of the sudden death of the king of Scotland before Roxburgh castle. The negotiation was, as might be expected, abruptly broken off, with a recommendation from Charles VII. that the two countries should continue their peaceful relations, and wait till the two parties most interested in the projected alliance should have reached an age when their union could be completed. The ministers of both countries seem to have quietly acquiesced in this recommendation, and to have looked forwards to the marriage as a matter of course.

On the side of England the posture of affairs was less satisfactory; within a few weeks after the triumph of queen Margaret, at Wakefield, the cause of the house of of Lancaster was ruined in the great battle of Towton. Henry, and his queen, with a suite of only six persons, reached the court of Scotland as miserable fugitives, and were received with the utmost sympathy. The queen-mother seems always to have had at heart to have carried out the intentions and plans of the late king; she was anxious for the restoration of Henry VI. to his throne, and she consulted with the ministers on the most effectual mode of contributing towards this object. Under the present circumstances it was a dangerous subject even to deliberate on; for Edward IV., aware of the favour with which his enemies had been received at the court of Scotland, had already begun to intrigue with such of the Scottish chiefs as he knew were dissatisfied with the government of their country. Among those to whom he immediately addressed himself, were the two powerful chiefs, John earl of Ross, and the lord of Isla, Donald Balloch, popularly called Mac Ian Vor. The banished earl of Douglas and his brother John Douglas of Balveny, were sent to negotiate with these chiefs. The Scottish government foresaw the evils which threatened to result from its interference in the affairs of England; yet a strong prejudice in favour of the Lancastrian party, and above all the temptation held out by king Henry's offer to give up to Scotland the important towns of Berwick and Carlisle in consideration of the assistance now to be given him, overcame its scruples. The town of Berwick was actually delivered up by Henry's officers, and a Scottish garrison was placed in it. This could only be regarded by king Edward as a declaration of war, and he pursued more earnestly his negotiations with the island chieftains. On the 15th of October, 1461, the earl of Ross held a council with Donald Balloch and his son John of Isla, and they sent their commissioners to England with authority to enter into a treaty, which was concluded and signed at London, on the 13th of February, 1462. By this treaty, Edward undertook to assist the earl of Ross with a powerful body of English auxiliaries, apparently to be commanded by the earl of Douglas, to effect the conquest of the kingdom of Scotland. The earl of Ross, on his part, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid by the king of England, agreed to become for ever his sworn vassal, with the whole body of his subjects, and he promised to assist him in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere. If the earls of Ross and Douglas effected the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole kingdom to the north of the firth of Forth was to be divided equally between the earl of Douglas, the earl of Ross, and Donald Balloch; and Douglas was further to be restored to the southern estates of which he had been stripped by the act of attainder. When this partition had been effected, the salaries which the king of England agreed now to give the earl of Ross and his associates were to cease. The earl of Ross lost no time in proceeding to the fulfilment of his part of the treaty. He began by proclaiming himself king of the Hebrides, and, having assembled an army, placed it under the command of a natural son named Angus. This chief, in conjunction with Donald Balloch, immediately took possession of the

castle of Inverness, and invaded the country of Athol, proclaiming that none should in future obey the officers of king James, and that all taxes were to be paid to the earl of Ross. After ravaging the country in a merciless manner, they stormed the castle of Blair, and forced the earl and countess of Athol to take shelter in the sanctuary chapel of St. Bridget, from whence they were sacrilegiously dragged, and were thrown into a dungeon in Isla. Donald is said in his haste to have attempted thrice in vain to set fire to the holy building, and when at length he departed, a heavy storm of thunder and lightning destroyed a great part of his fleet, and buried his richest booty in the waves. This accident was believed by the superstitious islanders to be a miraculous manifestation of the anger of the saint, and Donald Balloch himself became so firmly impressed with this idea, that he was struck with a sort of moody penitence, and with his principal leaders, all as well as himself stripped to their shirts and drawers, he went humbly to the altar of St. Bridget, to restore as much of the plunder as remained. The earl and countess of Athol were set at liberty. Angus, the other commander in this sacrilegious expedition, does not appear to have repented, but it was said that he also was followed by the vengeance of the indignant saint, which was believed to have been manifested in his ignominious death. He was murdered eventually by an Irish harper, whose resentment he had wantonly provoked. With this outburst ended, as far as we can learn, the insurrection of the islanders. The earl of Douglas seems never to have taken the field.

King Henry, on his side, had succeeded no better in the attempt to raise a Scottish army. He had tempted the earl of Angus with the promise of an English dukedom, to undertake his cause, but we have no information on their plan of operations. Queen Margaret sailed with a convoy of four Scottish ships from Kircudbright to Bretagne, and obtained from the duke a loan of twelve thousand crowns. She next procured from the king of France a further advance of twenty thousand livres, and a force of two thousand men, commanded by the sieur de Brézé, seneschal of Normandy, on a promise of the surrender of Calais as soon as Henry should be restored to his throne. With these troops Margaret sailed to England, and landed near Bamborough, in the belief that the population would rise to assist her, and that she would immediately be joined by the Scottish auxiliaries. Alnwick was garrisoned by the French under the command of Brézé's son, and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Pembroke, who were with the queen, took possession of the castle of Bamborough. But intelligence soon arrived that king Edward, with the earl of Warwick, were marching at the head of a numerous army, and the queen and her French troops were obliged to make a hasty retreat to their ships. They were overtaken at sea by a violent storm, which dispersed and destroyed their fleet. The French were nearly all captured, and Brézé himself only made his escape in a fishing-boat, while the queen with difficulty reached Berwick, which was in the power of the Scots, and thence she fled again to France. Bamborough, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, surrendered to the Yorkists, but the French garrisons were carried off by the earl of Angus, who had advanced at the head of a considerable force to relieve them. The earl of Angus, in whom chiefly the Lancastrians rested their hopes, died soon after, which was a heavy blow to king Henry, and king Edward soon afterwards attempted to enter into friendly relations with the Scottish court, and is said even to have made proposals of marriage with the queen-mother. The death of the queen-mother of Scotland on the 16th of November, 1463, and the entire suppression of the Lancastrian faction in England, was followed by more active negotiations, in which the earls of Warwick and Northumberland acted as commissioners for England, and the bishop of Glasgow and the earl of Argyle, with the lords Livingston, Boyd, and Hamilton, for Scotland. The result was the conclusion of a truce for fifteen years, one of the conditions being that Scotland should give no further countenance or assistance to Henry VI. or his family.

The history of Scotland during the next two or three years is very obscure. It was the evil of the system of government, that no sooner had the king succeeded in reducing the aristocracy to its just limits, than a minority came to open again the field to intrigues amongst the nobles, which ended in raising some family to a degree of power which was incompatible with the interests of the nation, and which was always abused for selfish ends. The queen-mother, as long as she lived, held the reins of government with a tolerably firm hand, but they had

been loosened by her death. The great family of Douglas was utterly destroyed. That of Angus, which was now the most powerful in the kingdom, was paralysed by the circumstance that its chief at this moment was only a boy. It was now not one of the older, but one of the lesser families which pushed itself into power. Robert lord Boyd had but recently been created a peer, it is supposed, through the favour of bishop Kennedy, who had induced the queen-mother to appoint his brother, sir Alexander Boyd, a knight celebrated at that time for his chivalrous accomplishments, as the tutor of the young king in his martial exercises. The two Boyds gradually gained an influence over the affections of the young prince. We find the Boyds largely engaged in the bonds or confederacies so common among the nobles at this time, and one of these written engagements, which has been accidentally preserved, gives us a curious insight into the character of these complicated intrigues. The document to which we refer is an indenture by which Robert lord Fleming engages himself to support the party of Gilbert lord Kennedy, the elder brother of the bishop, and sir Alexander Boyd; and we gather from it that Fleming was already engaged by similar bonds to lord Livingston and lord Hamilton, and that Kennedy and Boyd had already engaged in their party the earl of Crawford, lord Montgomery, lord Maxwell, lord Livingston, lord Hamilton, lord Cathcart, and a prelate of the church, Patrick Graham, who, after the death of bishop Kennedy, was raised to the see of St. Andrews by their influence. In this deed it was accorded and declared, "that the said lords are bound and obliged, themselves, their kin, friends, and men, to stand in 'afald' (single) kindness, supply, and defence, each to the other, in all their causes and quarrel, lawful and honest, moved and to be moved, for all the days of their lives, in contrary and against all manner of persons." They except from this their allegiance to their sovereign, and "to the lord Fleming his bonds made before to the lord Livingston and to the lord Hamilton, and in like manner excepting to the said lord Kennedy, and sir Alexander their bonds made before." It was then covenanted that the lord Fleming should be of the king's privy council as long as lord Kennedy and sir Alexander were "special servants and of council to the king;" and he was under an obligation that he should in no way be privy to or consent or assent to the taking away of the king's person from the lord Kennedy and sir Alexander Boyd, nor from any in whose temporary keeping they might entrust him; and if any design so to take him away came to his knowledge, he was to give information of it, and do all he could to hinder it, "and take such part as they do, or one of them for the time, in withstanding of that matter, without fraud and guile; and the said lord Fleming shall advise the king "at all his partly power" with his good counsel, to be heartily and kindly to the foresaid lord Kennedy, and sir Alexander, and to their children and friends, and to those that belong to them for the time." Next came the stipulated reward for the lord Fleming's support. "Item, if there happens any vacancy to fall in the king's hands, that is a reasonable and meet thing for the said lord Fleming's service, that he shall be furthered thereto for his reward; and if there happens a large thing to fall, such as ward, relief, marriage, or office, that is meet for him, the said lord Fleming shall have it for a reasonable composition, before another."

This bond, solemnly sealed and ratified by their oaths upon the holy gospels, is dated at Stirling, on the 10th of February, 1466, when bishop Kennedy lay upon his death-bed, and no doubt in contemplation of his death. This event, doubly mournful for Scotland at that moment, took place on the 10th of May following, and immediately afterwards the nobles who had been banding together, proceeded to carry their designs into execution. The king had now reached his fourteenth year. As he sat in the exchequer court in the palace of Linlithgow, in the July of 1466, the lord Boyd, with lord Somerville, Adam Hepburn, master of Hailes, and Andrew Ker, of Cessford, entered the court, and dragging the king away, placed him on horseback behind one of the exchequer deputies, and led him to Edinburgh. It is said that lord Kennedy, who is known to have been a principal conspirator, endeavoured to remove the odium of the deed from himself, by pretending to stop the party on their way, and to wish to take the king from them, and that his interference ceased with a slight blow from sir Alexander Boyd's hunting-staff. We have seen, from the bond above-mentioned, that the chamberlain, lord Livingston, who had the charge of the court, and must have connived at this transaction, was an ally of the Boyds.

A parliament was soon afterwards held at Edinburgh, at which, according to a preconcerted plan, lord Boyd appeared before the king, and, throwing himself at his feet, besought him to make a full declaration before the parliament, if he were displeased at the part which he had acted in taking him away from Linlithgow, in order to relieve him from the imputation which many cast upon him, of having carried his monarch to Edinburgh by force. The king immediately rose, and declared that he had accompanied the lord Boyd on that occasion of his own free will and pleasure, and that those who said the contrary had not spoken truth; and an instrument was drawn up, under the great seal, justifying and pardoning that nobleman and all his accomplices. The parliament shewed its satisfaction by appointing lord Boyd to the office of governor of the king's person and of those of his brothers. Thus was the object of the bond, of which we have given the substance above, effectually completed.

The parliament proceeded to various acts of legislation, of no great importance, and chiefly modifying or confirming former laws. They consisted mainly of restrictions on foreign trade, and on the exportation of money, and of attempts to enforce the administration of justice. A coinage of copper farthings was directed to be made, for the purpose, as it was pretended, of encouraging charity to the poor. Some resolutions were passed relating to the marriage of the king and his two brothers, from which it would appear that a matrimonial alliance with England was contemplated at this time; and it was determined that the dowry of the future queen should be one-third of the king's rents. The states seem to have been guided in all their acts by the ruling faction of the Boyds. They formed a committee of peers, to whom they entrusted full parliamentary powers during the interval between the dissolution of this parliament and the meeting of another; and these peers proceeded at once to sit and judge all who, refusing to attend the summons to parliament, shut themselves up in their castles, in contradiction to the royal authority. From this we learn that there was a party opposed to the Boyds, but we know nothing of their number or of their proceedings. The faction now in power seemed to be increasing in strength, and the Boyds, who had gained a great influence over the mind of the youthful monarch, used it unsparingly for their own aggrandisement, and for the advancement of their partisans. Sir Thomas Boyd, the eldest son of lord Boyd, was raised to the earldom of Arran, and enriched with estates in the counties of Ayr, Bute, Forfar, Perth, and Lanark. He had previously received in marriage the king's eldest sister, the princess Mary, who had once been affianced to the eldest son of Henry VI. of England.

The negotiations with the court of Norway seemed almost to have been forgotten, when the turbulence of one of the northern barons led to its renewal. The Orkney and Shetland islands still belonged to the crown of Norway, although their feudal lords were mostly Scottish subjects. Tullock, bishop of Orkney, a Scot and an ecclesiastic of great distinction, who stood high in the favour of Christiern, king of Denmark and Norway, appears to have been intrusted with a considerable share in the government of these islands, and it is not likely that he could exercise it without frequent disputes with the turbulent islanders. The Scottish earl of Orkney, was himself a man of violent character, and his son appears to have resembled him, for, in consequence of some quarrel with the prelate, he caused him to be seized and thrown into a dungeon. The offenders easily placed themselves beyond the limits in which the king of Norway had the power to punish them; upon which the indignant monarch dispatched an ambassador with letters to the youug king of Scotland, expostulating on the outrage offered to the bishop, requesting that he would cause him to be set at liberty, and declaring that he would not permit the earl of Orkney to oppress his subjects of Norway. This messenger was followed by another, bearing a still more pressing letter, containing the same request, coupled with another for the restoration to favour of sir John Ross of Halket, and joined with a demand for the payment of the arrears due from Scotland to Norway, which had been the subject of negotiation at the time of the sudden death of James II.

The arrival of these messengers had the immediate effect of reviving the old proposal for a marriage between king James, who had now completed his sixteenth year, and the daughter of king Christiern. The bishop of Orkney seems to have been soon set at liberty; sir John Ross was recalled from his banishment; and king James announced his intention of sending an em-

bassy to the northern court to renew the negotiations for an amicable arrangement of the dispute relating to the debt, on the same basis as when it had been so unexpectedly broken off. Accordingly, a commission was given to the bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, lord Evandale, the chancellor, the young earl of Arran, and the king's almoner and confessor, Mr. Martin Vans, to proceed to the court of king Christiern, for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between his daughter, the princess Margaret, and the king of Scotland. They were further empowered, in case this negotiation failed, to visit successively the courts of England, France, Spain, Burgundy, Britany and Savoy, in search of a consort for their youthful king. The Scottish ambassadors proceeded direct to Copenhagen, and there they conducted their negotiations with so much prudence and discretion, that all difficulties were soon smoothed down. It was the grand object of the Scottish court to obtain by this marriage a cession of the Orkney and Shetland islands, which, so near the Scottish coast, while a possession of a foreign power, could not be other than a thorn in the side of the country. After some consideration, the king of Denmark and Norway agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, with a portion of sixty thousand florins, and a full discharge of the arrears of the Scottish debt, which had been a subject of dispute. He agreed to pay down ten thousand florins before his daughter's departure for Scotland, and to give a mortgage of the sovereignty of the Orkney islands, which were to remain the property of Scotland until the remainder of the marriage portion was paid. It was agreed on the part of the king of Scotland, that his young queen should, in the event of his death, be put in possession of the palace of Linlithgow, and the castle of Doune, with their territories, with a revenue amounting to one-third of the rents of the royal lands. The exchequer of the northern monarch was at this time so low, that it was necessary the ambassadors should wait some months at his court before he could raise the ten thousand florins, and in the meantime the earl of Arran returned to Scotland to obtain king James's signature to the treaty, and further instructions relating to the bringing home of the bride. It was now late in the autumn of the year 1468, and as the navigation of the northern seas in the winter season was considered dangerous, it was determined that the princess should not leave Denmark till the following spring. Before that time Arran returned to Denmark to take charge of the bride. But a new difficulty arose, from the circumstance that the king's finances had been so entirely exhausted by his civil wars in Denmark, that he had no prospect of raising even the first ten thousand florins. It was finally agreed that he should pay down only two thousand florins, and that the Shetland islands should be mortgaged to the crown of Scotland for the other eight thousand. On these conditions, the princess, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, embarked with a splendid train of Danish nobles, and she landed at Leith in the month of July, 1469. The marriage ceremonies were celebrated in the abbey of Holyrood with great pomp, and were followed with extraordinary festivities. The king of Scotland immediately took possession of the Orkney and Shetland islands, and, as the remainder of the queen's portion was never paid, they remained ever afterwards attached to the crown of Scotland.

CHAPTER XV.

FALL OF THE BOYDS; THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS MADE AN ARCHBISHOPRIC; JAMES'S SON BETROTHED TO A DAUGHTER OF EDWARD IV.; TURBULENCE AND INTRIGUES OF THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

From all we can learn, the earl of Arran acquitted himself in this embassy with prudence and fidelity, yet it proved the immediate cause of the overthrow of his family. It has been supposed that his fellow ambassadors had informed king Christiern of the overgrown power of the Boyds, and of the thraldom in which they held the king, and

that he determined to employ his influence against them. Perhaps he knew of the formidable conspiracy of the Scottish nobles to undermine them, in which the young king, who, with a fickleness which is not easily understood, suddenly showed the bitterest animosity against his former friends, joined heartily. James's sister, the countess of Arran, became acquainted with his intentions, and with the danger which threatened her husband, and she secretly left the court and carried him intelligence of it on board the fleet before he landed. He immediately fled with his wife in a vessel which was proceeding to Denmark.

Meanwhile the young king was enraged at the escape even of one of his victims, and no sooner were his marriage festivities ended, than he called a parliament, and summoned to appear before it the lord Boyd, his brother sir Alexander Boyd, and the earl of Arran, to answer to charges there to be brought against them. Arran had fled; but his father, the lord Boyd, reckoning on his numerous friends, assembled his vassals, and marched with a formidable array towards Edinburgh, thinking to overawe the parliament. But his troops deserted him as soon as they saw the royal banner displayed against them, and he fled with difficulty and almost alone over the English border into Northumberland, where he died soon after. He was now an aged man, and his misfortunes seem to have broken his spirit. Sir Alexander Boyd, whose flight was impeded by sickness, was the only one captured.

The parliament now proceeded against the offenders. The crime imputed to them was the violent abduction of the king's person from Linlithgow, which was a notorious fact, and capable of easy proof. Sir Alexander Boyd, the only one in custody, was first brought to trial, and was found guilty of high treason, and condemned to death by a jury on which were more than one lord who had supported him in the treason of which he was accused. With merciless severity, he was executed on the castle hill of Edinburgh on the same day on which his judgment was pronounced, the 22nd of November, 1469. The lord Boyd and the earl of Arran were tried in their absence, and condemned of the same crime. Their extensive estates were forfeited to the crown. It is conjectured that the Boyds owed their disgrace in no little degree to the hostility of the chancellor Evandale and the lord Hamilton, two of their old partizans; and the Hamiltons specially seem to have risen to power and wealth on their ruin. The king obliged the princess Mary to quit her husband, the earl of Arran, and return to Scotland, and immediately after her arrival a divorce was obtained, and she was remarried to the lord Hamilton. Arran himself, who was a man of no ordinary talents, soon quitted Denmark, and entering into the service of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, he distinguished himself in the diplomatic transactions of the age.

After the destruction of the Boyds had been thus completed, the parliament proceeded to various acts of legislation, some of which were calculated to ameliorate the condition of the people. The mode in which the ordinary laws had been carried into effect under the feudal system, was extremely iniquitous. It had been the custom, when any one of the lords of the land fell into debt, for the creditor, after having obtained a judgment against him for a certain sum, to obtain his redress by seizing the whole property of some of the lord's tenants, to their utter ruin and destruction. A law was now passed to remedy this, which declared, that in future, no tenant should be distrained for the debts of his landlord, further than he might be himself indebted to him for rent. Before they separated, the parliament appointed a committee of prelates, barons, and commissaries of the burghs, to whom they gave a delegated power to enter upon the examination of certain subjects committed to them, and report upon them to the next parliament. One of these matters of deliberation was a revision of the laws of the realm, which were to be reduced into one code, and all such as had become obsolete were to be formally repealed.

The king, who had completed his eighteenth year, had now assumed the royal authority, and delivered himself from control, and he had already began to show that weakness of judgment and capricious temper which subsequently brought calamity on himself and his kingdom. He had, at this moment, to contend with foreign intrigues, as well as with those of his own subjects. Edward IV. of England knew well the leaning of the Scottish court to the party of the Lancastrians, and he did his best to stir up troubles and discontent among king James's subjects, as he hoped by that means to give him too much occupation

at home, to allow him to take part with the king of France, against whom he was at this moment entering into hostilities. The French king, on the other hand, was anxious to urge James into a war with England; whilst Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, who took part with king Edward, was no less anxious to interrupt the friendly feelings between Scotland and France. Scotland must have suffered injury at this moment by a quarrel with any of these three great powers, and it was fortunate for that country that domestic circumstances called for a policy of neutrality. The brief triumph of the Lancastrians in England, towards the end of the year 1470, could not fail to produce considerable agitation among James's nobles; but on the return of king Edward, and the utter overthrow of his adversaries, which immediately followed, it subsided, and friendly negotiations were entered into between the two countries, which appear to have had for their object a matrimonial alliance.

At the same time the Scottish court became involved in new and complicated relations with the foreign powers, which rendered it more necessary to preserve peace with England. The parliament which met in 1471, appointed an embassy to proceed to the principal courts of the west, ostensibly to seek a husband for the king's sister, but with secret instructions, with the nature of which we are not acquainted. It was manifestly the interest of Scotland, in regard of her commerce, to preserve friendly relations with the court of Burgundy, yet the duke regarded king James with hostile feelings, excited, it was said, by the intrigues of the earl of Arran. Louis XI., aware of these feelings, dispatched an ambassador to king James, to urge him into a war with the duke of Burgundy, and offered to confirm and assure the duchy of Britany to the Scottish crown for ever, if he would invade and take possession of it. James at first caught at the bait, and he gave orders for raising six thousand men-at-arms, with which he announced his intention of proceeding to Britany in person. The parliament had even resolved to contribute six thousand pounds for his expenses. But there were two strong parties in the country on this subject, and the wiser of the king's counsellors strongly opposed it. They represented the disastrous position in which the country would be placed if any misfortune should happen to the king's person in such a hazardous expedition, and they pointed out the little dependence which could be placed in the promises of the French king, and the duplicity and bad faith which he had shown in not putting James in possession of the comté of Xaintonge, which was his undoubted right. They recommended that instead of attacking Brittany, he should make an absolute demand for the delivery of Xaintonge, and that, if it were refused, he should ally himself with the duke of Burgundy for the purpose of obtaining possession of that territory, as well as of the duchy of Gueldres, to which it was pretended that the Scottish king had a claim, in consequence of the imprisonment of the duke. In the midst of these contending opinions, James's martial ardour seems to have cooled, and we cannot discover that any farther steps were taken on either side. The duke of Burgundy eventually took possession of the duchy of Gueldres for himself.

James now began to exhibit tastes which were by no means in accordance with those of his nobles. His disposition was shy and retiring, and he was attached to indoor studies, and pursuits which demanded quiet and retirement. With considerable talent and many accomplishments, he possessed a mind that was weak and superstitious, and astrology and such disreputable sciences were his favourite studies. Through these he was often made the dupe of designing persons, while he became gradually an object of contempt and dislike among his more boisterous and less accomplished barons. The facility with which he was drawn into the intrigues of his courtiers was strongly exhibited in the case of Patrick Graham, bishop of St. Andrews, who had succeeded Kennedy in that see. We have seen that this ecclesiastic, who was a virtuous and highminded man, was included in the bond with the Boyds, which was the commencement of their elevation to power; but probably, when he saw their designs, he withdrew from their faction, for it is said that his election to the bishopric was made contrary to their will, and that their hostility towards him was so great, that he was obliged secretly to leave the country, and fly to Rome. His election, however, was confirmed by the pope. Still, however, he thought it unsafe to return, and he remained at Rome waiting till the storm should have passed over, and labouring at the papal court for the interests of the Scottish

church. The archbishops of York and Canterbury formerly asserted a right of spiritual superiority over the church of Scotland, a claim which had only been left in abeyance to be now revived by archbishop Neville. The question had, indeed, never yet been settled by the pope, and it happened while Graham was at Rome to be brought forward for judgment. The Scottish prelate exerted himself so earnestly, and pleaded so successfully, that the pope finished by proclaiming the independence of the Scottish church, and thereupon he raised the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric, and all the bishops of Scotland were enjoined obedience to it as their head. While Graham was thus successful at Rome, he received intelligence of the disgrace of his enemies, and he immediately prepared to return to Scotland. He appears to have been a man of enlightened understanding, and he had observed many disorders and corruptions in the church of Scotland which called for reform. With the object of carrying this reform into effect, the archbishop of St. Andrews obtained from the pope the office of legate for the space of three years, within which time he hoped to effect a complete reformation in the church of Scotland.

But the treatment he experienced on his arrival there, shows us how little force law and justice still possessed, when they were contrary to the personal interests of the nobility. Among the greater abuses which it was archbishop Graham's wish to reform, was the misappropriation of church property, much of which had passed into the hands of the nobility; the sale of church livings, by which they also had profited; and the disorderly living of the clergy. The nobility were naturally opposed to any reform by which they were likely to be losers, and the Scottish clergy, in general, seem by no means to have participated in the liberal ideas of their prelate. A conspiracy was formed against him, in which the Scottish bishops joined, and the king was told that Graham had committed a grave offence against the royal dignity, in carrying on, for his own personal aggrandisement, private negotiations with the court of Rome, without his permission or cognizance. The king listened to their suggestions, and the new archbishop was no sooner landed in Scotland, than he was cited to answer the accusations which had been presented against him, and he was at the same time inhibited from assuming his title of archbishop, or exercising his functions of legate. New accusations were forged against him, and an unprincipled ecclesiastic named Schevez, who was in great favour with the king, in consequence of his profound learning in astrology, was employed to gather information in support of them. Agents were sent to Rome for this purpose, and they not only gathered up some pretended imputations of heresy, but they engaged the Roman bankers and others, who had lent the archbishop sums of money, which he had expended in supporting the interests of the Scottish church at the papal court, to insist on immediate payment, although the period for which they were lent was not expired. It is said that in Scotland, even the clergy contributed large sums of money to bribe his judges, so that it was in vain for him to protest the honesty of his motives, and to exhibit the bulls which he had brought with him. To crown the whole, the rector of his own university of St. Andrews, raising up a false accusation, and, summoning him into his court, pronounced against him sentence of excommunication. When the archbishop represented that he was not subject to the jurisdiction of his inferior, the king, instead of allowing of his appeal, confirmed the sentence of the rector's court, and at length, the victim, who was driven by this base persecution into a state of distraction, was committed to the charge of his worst enemy, Schevez, who was promised the succession to the archbishopric. By his orders he was removed from prison to prison, till he died broken-hearted in the castle of Lochleven, and his unworthy persecutor became primate of the Scottish church.

The history of Scotland for the next few years presents few events of stirring interests. A son, who was named James, was born to the king on the 17th of March, 1472. Not long after this, a violent feud arose between the two northern earls of Ross and Huntley, which gradually threw the whole highlands into an uproar. For months the northern districts of the kingdom witnessed continual scenes of plunder and slaughter. In 1473, a parliament again recommended for consideration the imperfections and incongruities in the laws. During the same year the friendly relations with England were drawn still closer, by a treaty of marriage between the infant

heir of Scotland and the princess Cecilia, daughter of Edward IV., then in her fourth year. This treaty, which was to be the basis of a lasting peace between the two nations, was solemnly ratified on the 26th of October, 1474, in the church of the low grey friars at Edinburgh, by the earl of Crawford, as procurator of the king of Scotland, and John lord Scrope, as procurator of the English king, and the commissioners of the two countries. During the life of king James the prince and princess were to possess all the lands and rents which anciently formed the inheritance of the prince apparent of Scotland during the lifetime of his father, namely, the duchy of Rothesay, the earldom of Carrick, and the lordship of the lands of the high steward of Scotland. King Edward was to give a dowry of twenty thousand marks. It was further agreed that, in case of the death of the prince or of the princess, the heir apparent of Scotland should marry a princess of England on the same terms. The English king showed the good faith with which he entered into this negotiation, by immediately paying two thousand five hundred marks on account of the dowry; and he showed his wish to cultivate peaceful relations with Scotland, by immediately affording redress, when the king of Scotland remonstrated on an attack which had been made by English privateers on two Scottish ships.

The Scottish government now found it necessary to proceed with vigour against the earl of Ross, who had continued in rebellion ever since his feud with the earl of Huntley. At a parliament which met at Edinburgh in 1475, Ross was declared a traitor, and his estates were confiscated to the crown, and at the same time a considerable military force was called together, under the command of the earls of Crawford and Athol, to proceed against him, in conjunction with a formidable fleet. The earl, terrified at these preparations, made his submission, and petitioned through the earl of Huntley, his late enemy, for a pardon. He was accordingly allowed to come in person to Edinburgh, where he placed himself in the king's mercy, and surrendered into his hands the earldom of Ross, with the lands of Knapdale and Kentire, and the office of hereditary sheriff of Inverness and Nairn. These were inalienably annexed to the crown. The suppliant baron was pardoned, the forfeiture was withdrawn, and he was created a lord of parliament, under the title of John of Isla, lord of the Isles.

It was not long after this when the good understanding with England began to be disturbed through the intrigues of France. After a proposal had been made by the Scottish king to enter into new ties of friendship with Edward IV. by a double marriage, one between the princess Margaret of Scotland and the duke of Clarence, and the other between Edward's sister, the dowager duchess of Burgundy and the duke of Albany, brother of king James, he seems to have begun to listen to counsels of a different tendency. In the mean time the king's pursuits and his attachment to what the Scottish barons looked upon as low favourites, rendered him very unpopular among his nobility. On the contrary, the king's two brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, were universal favourites; they possessed all those princely qualities which commanded respect, and gained admiration and sympathy, and they were consequently as popular as the king was unpopular. The duke of Albany was an ambitious man, and it is not much to be wondered at, if, feeling his influence with the aristocracy, and probably despising the king's tastes and employments as much as they did, he soon began to entertain hopes which aimed at the crown itself.

James's tastes, indeed, were of a class then ill-fitted for a prince, if they were not balanced with great qualities of a more masculine character. He was fond of literature and art, and loved to surround himself with musicians, architects, mathematicians (who were then generally astrologers), and men of letters in general, and, shocked at the rudeness of his nobles, he was driven from them more and more by this non-congeniality of tastes, and was induced weakly to bestow on men of comparatively low birth the favours and honours which those nobles claimed for themselves. They complained that while they could themselves with difficulty obtain audiences of the king, or when they approached him were received with coldness, he lavished his leisure and his treasures even upon masons, smiths, and tailors. Among his prime favourites were an architect named Cochrane, a musician of great talent named Rogers, and one Dr. Ireland, a man who had received his education in France, and was distinguished by his proficiency in science and literature. These men's heads appear to have been turned by

the consciousness of enjoying the favours of royalty, and they seem to have been ambitious of still greater honour and power; while the influence of the king's brothers, to whom the king still remained attached, alone kept the nobility to their allegiance. But a very unworthy intrigue, if we are rightly informed by the old historians, cut asunder this tie of domestic peace.

The duke of Albany held by appointment of his father the important offices of governor of Berwick and warden of the east marches, and he was possessed of the earldom of March and the castle of Dunbar. A violent quarrel arose between him and the fierce border families of the Humes and the Hepburns, who had resisted his authority in some case where he seems to have acted towards them with something approaching to tyranny and injustice. To save themselves, the border chiefs contrived to gain over to their party Cochrane and the rest of the king's favourites, and we can only understand the conduct of these latter by supposing that they were glad to seize an occasion of compassing the destruction of the king's brothers. They immediately entered into a dark plot, founded on their intimate acquaintance with James's weaknesses. They employed a Flemish astrologer named Andrews, who was residing at the Scottish court, to bring out a prophecy which said that a lion would soon be devoured by his whelps, and at the same time a woman, who used also to be seen about the court, and who pretended to have a familiar spirit, was made to say that the earl of Mar was attempting to shorten the king's life by magical arts, and that she had been informed by her spirit that the monarch would die by the hands of his nearest relatives. This was of course immediately interpreted to refer to the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, and the king soon became thoughtful and moody, shutting himself up from the world, and admitting none to his presence but the very men who were poisoning his mind against his kinsmen. They easily found subjects of complaint to aggravate him against the two princes, who in their turbulent pride had more than once insulted the English borders, and had committed acts of lawless violence. At length the king, by a sudden exercise of energy, caused his two brothers to be seized, and committed the duke of Albany to custody in the castle of Edinburgh, while the earl of Mar was confined in that of Craigmillar.

A parliament, held immediately after the arrest of the two princes, was called to deliberate on the distracted state of the two countries. From the brief report of its proceedings we learn that the district of Angus was thrown into commotion by a violent feud between the earls of Angus and Errol, the master of Crawford, and the lord Glammis; that Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland were in open rebellion; and that the lairds of Caerlaverock and Drumlanrig in Annandale, the Turnbulls and the Rutherfords in Teviotdale, and the sheriff of the latter district and the lord Cranstoun, were all engaged in deadly feuds. The other parliamentary measures of this session were of no great moment; but before the three estates separated, they expressed their wish that the friendship with England should be strengthened, and granted a subsidy of twenty thousand marks towards promoting a marriage between the princess Margaret and king Edward's brother-in-law, lord Rivers.

No accusations appear to have been brought forward against the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar in this parliament. The fate of the latter prince is involved in great obscurity, except that it is certain he fell a sacrifice to his brother's fierce vengeance, and that a number of miserable wretches, under the imputation of being witches and wizards, accused of having conspired with the prince to shorten the life of the king by means of their unlawful arts, were condemned to the flames and executed. According to the account most advantageous to James, and apparently the most authentic, the earl of Mar having been hurried to the castle of Craigmillar and there committed to close confinement, the agitation of mind caused by his arrest threw him into a fever, which soon produced delirium. He was immediately, by the king's order, carried back to Edinburgh, where he was committed to the charge of the royal physicians, who bled him in the arm and temple to reduce the fever. The prince, immediately afterwards, being in a warm bath and attacked suddenly by an access of frenzy, tore the bandages from his arm and temple, and bled to death before assistance could be procured. The popular report was, that, having been found guilty and condemned, the earl was offered his choice of the manner of his death, and that, in imitation of the classic example of Petronius, he had

chosen to have his veins opened in a warm bath. That the king considered him guilty, is evident from the fact that his earldom was declared to be forfeited to the crown.

The duke of Albany, more fortunate, contrived to make his escape from the castle of Edinburgh. He is said to have effected this with the complicity only of one faithful attendant, by whose means he intoxicated, or, according to other accounts, poisoned the captain of the guard. He had fixed a rope to the battlements of the castle, by which his attendant first descended, but finding it too short, he fell and broke his thigh bone. Albany then took the sheets of his bed, and tied them to the end of the rope to lengthen it, and so reached the ground in safety. It is added that he took his more unfortunate attendant on his back, and carried him to a place of safety. He then hurried to his castle of Dunbar, which he strengthened with stores and ammunition, and, having collected there some of the fiercest warriors of the borders, placed them under the command of his constable, Ellem of Butterden. Having thus made preparations for resistance, the duke of Albany embarked in a ship, which carried him to France, where he was received with distinction, but he failed in obtaining the assistance he expected.

Meanwhile king James sent his chancellor Evandale, at the head of a strong army, with what was then considered a formidable train of artillery, to lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, which was nevertheless bravely defended, and was not surrendered until after a siege of some months. The governor and most of the garrison, having the advantage of a free communication with the sea, escaped in boats to the English coast, before the besiegers entered the castle. Proceedings were thereupon taken against the duke for high treason, and he, with many of his principal adherents, including Ellem of Butterden, George Home of Polwarth, John Blackbeird, Pait Dickson the laird, and Tom Dickson of the Tower, were cited by name at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and before the gates of Dunbar, to answer to this charge. The king subsequently so far listened to the intercession of the king of France, that he put off the delivery of judgment against the duke and his friends, to give them the opportunity of returning to their allegiance.

CHAPTER XVI.

RUPTURE WITH ENGLAND; ALLIANCE OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY WITH EDWARD IV., AND INVASION OF ENGLAND; CONSPIRACY OF THE SCOTTISH NOBLES; SEIZURE OF THE KING, AND ELEVATION OF THE DUKE OF ABANY; HE LOSES HIS POWER.

THE lenity shown by the king to the duke of Albany was, as we have stated, the result of an appeal from the king of France, who had sent over as his ambassador one of James's own favourites, Dr. Ireland, to persuade him to assist France in its war with England, by breaking the truce and invading the border. In spite of the treaty of marriage, between his son and the princess of England, in consideration of which king Edward had paid three instalments of the dowry, and of other agreements of a pacific character, James acceded to the wishes of his French ally, and prepared to rush into a war which was at this moment unpopular among his subjects, and which was in the highest degree impolitic, in the condition of his kingdom. When king Edward, who had been amused by Louis IX. with deceitful promises and pretended pacific negotiations, saw that he was on the eve of a war with that monarch, and that even the king of Scotland was making preparations of a hostile character, he expressed the utmost indignation, and began to take his measures for meeting this double attack with the utmost vigour.

Although the Scottish parliament agreed to support the king in this war, there was a strong party who earnestly opposed it. They saw how the prosperity of Scotland had been increased by its long peace with Eng-

land, and they were well aware of the disastrous effects of former hostilities. The more patriotic of the king's councillors saw, with alarm, that the country was already filled with feuds and private war, and that the throne was surrounded with intrigues, while the church was becoming extensively corrupt under the disorderly government of the primate Schevez, and they deplored the prospect of perhaps a long war, which destroyed all their hopes of reformation in church or state. It is said that one of the prelates, Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, finding his exertions to persuade his king to adopt a more salutary policy of no avail, retired broken-spirited, and was seized with a melancholy despondency, from which he never recovered. The king, however, hurried forward in the course upon which he had now entered, and before any act of hostility had been committed by England, the earl of Angus, with a small army, crossed the borders, burnt Bamborough, ravaged Northumberland during three days, and after committing great damage, returned into Scotland, driving before him a numerous convoy of plunder and prisoners.

After this act of aggression, the Scottish king was more anxious to hasten his preparations, and he called together a parliament in 1481, to strengthen his hostile measures by its authority, and assist him with resources. The command of the eastern and western marches was given to the earl of Angus and lord Cathcart respectively; the castles of Dunbar and Lochmaben were put in a condition of defence; all the barons on the borders and on the coasts were ordered to have their castles well garrisoned and provisioned; and stringent laws were made relating to musters and the arming of the population. The parliament also granted a tax of seven thousand marks for the defence of the town of Berwick. As soon as the deliberations of the parliament had been completed, James sent an envoy to the king of England, with a letter threatening that he would join his forces with those of the king of France, unless Edward ceased to give aid to the duke of Burgundy. But the English monarch treated the message with contempt, and a herald sent to expostulate verbally, was detained some time, and then sent away without an answer. James now marched with a numerous and well-provisioned army towards the frontier, and had reached the border, when a nuncio from the cardinal legate, then resident in England, presented himself with a papal bull, commanding the king, under pain of excommunication, to abstain from violating the peace which had been enjoined by the pope throughout Christendom, that all Christian princes might unite their arms against the infidels. The king immediately obeyed the summons, and dismissed his host, expecting that the king of England would do the same.

But Edward, having once prepared for war, was not so easily turned from his purpose. He began by fomenting intrigues among James's own subjects, and he soon gained over the lord of the Isles, with Donald Gorm, and other northern chiefs. He dispatched a messenger secretly to France, to communicate with the duke of Albany, who, actuated by ambition and revenge, instantly threw himself into the arms of England. In the meanwhile the English king issued orders for equipping a fleet; and having appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester lieutenant-general of the north, he authorized him to levy an army for the purpose of making war on the Scots. The denunciation of the papal bull passed unheeded; after a vigorous attack on Berwick, which was not successful, the English army entered Scotland, and carried devastation through the finest districts of the south. The English fleet was less successful, having been repulsed at the mouth of the Forth by the Scots, under a skilful and gallant commander, Andrew Wood, of Leith.

The duke of Albany came to England, and entered into an alliance with king Edward, the object of which was to dethrone king James, and place Albany himself on the throne. This alliance was immediately joined by the lord of the Isles and Donald Gorm, and by the banished earl of Douglas, and a secret treaty was entered into at Fotheringay castle, by which Albany bound himself, as king of Scotland, and his heirs, to assist the king of England in his quarrels against all persons whatever; and he engaged to swear fealty and perform homage to the king of England as lord paramount, to break entirely the alliance between Scotland and France, and to deliver up to England the town and castle of Berwick, the castle of Lochmaben, and the lands of Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Annandale. Another article of the agreement was that, if he could obtain a divorce from his duchess, he would marry king Edward's

daughter, the lady Cecilia, and if not, he promised further that if he should himself have a son and heir, he would not marry him without Edward's consent. In return, the king of England undertook to assist the duke of Albany in obtaining the crown of Scotland. Albany was so confident of success, that he signed his name to these documents, as though the crown was already on his head, Alexander R.

The league was soon afterwards joined by others of the nobility, and it is evident that Albany had still a strong party in Scotland. Names are mentioned in the treaty, such as those of the earl of Angus and lord Gray, which show that men of highest rank and power in Scotland were not only in his interest, but that they were acquainted with his treaty with king Edward, although this was probably not the case with most of the nobles who soon afterwards deserted James's cause. The latter appears to have been totally ignorant of the extensive conspiracy against him. When he heard of the formidable preparations in England, and that Berwick was threatened with a siege by a powerful force, under the duke of Gloucester, accompanied by Albany and Douglas, he again called his forces together. The principal barons of Scotland, including the earls of Angus, Huntley, Lennox, Crawford, and Buchan, and the lords Gray, Hailes, Hume, and Drummond, obeyed the summons with alacrity, but they assembled their forces with the intention of betraying the king into the hands of his enemies. The army was mustered on the Borough Muir, to the west of Edinburgh, and amounted to fifty thousand men. Thither came the king, with his favourites, on the principal of whom, Cochrane, he had recently bestowed the earldom of Mar, and he had raised this man to an influence in the government which gave further provocation to the nobles. He appears to have been a vain proud man, which he showed by the splendour of his apparel and the haughty manner in which he bore himself towards the rest of the Scottish barons. He was however a man of great courage, and skilful in warlike affairs, and he now appeared in the camp as commander of the king's artillery, to which James prided himself of having given his especial attention. Here Cochrane exhibited his usual ostentation; his tent was of silk, the fastening chains being richly gilt; and he had a body guard of three hundred retainers, in sumptuous liveries, and armed with light battle-axes. We are told further that he had a helmet of polished steel, richly inlaid with gold, carried before him, and that his usual dress, when not armed for the field, was a riding suit of black velvet, with a massive gold chain round his neck, and a hunting horn, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, slung across his shoulder.

The army moved first to Soutra, and thence to Lauder, where it encamped between the church and the village. The next morning the leaders met in the church, in obedience to a secret summons, of which no information had been given to the king or Cochrane. They proceeded to deliberate on the best means of carrying their conspiracy into effect, and it was resolved to have recourse, immediately, to summary measures against Cochrane and the other favourites. A question now arose, as to the way in which they should commence their proceedings, and how they should seize Cochrane, who was surrounded and would be defended by the king's personal attendants, as well as by his own. As they hesitated on this important point, lord Grey addressed them, and told them the well-known fable of the mice, who, to escape the persecutions of the cat, resolved to tie a bell round its neck to give notice of its approach, and how the whole plan fell to the ground because no one was found bold enough to undertake the task of attaching the bell to its neck. "If that is all," said the earl of Angus, stepping boldly forwards, "I will bell the cat!" and from this circumstance he afterwards gained from his countrymen the homely title of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. It was finally concluded that all the king's favourites should be seized and put to death, and that the king himself should be placed under restraint, until he had given satisfactory assurance of his intention to change his measures.

Just at this moment a loud and rude knocking was heard at the door, and when Douglas of Lochleven, who acted as door-keeper, demanded the cause, he was proudly answered, "It is I, the earl of Mar." It appears that Cochrane had heard of the meeting of the nobles in the church, and, supposing it to be a council of war, he had come to take a part in it. It seemed a providential circumstance, and the conspirators, rejoicing, ordered Douglas to unbar the door. Cochrane entered with an air of haughtiness, in his usual splendid dress, with

a riding-whip in his hand. The first to lay hands upon him was the earl of Angus, who insolently snatching the gold collar from his neck, said, "This is not fit for thee to wear, a rope would suit thee better." At the same instant, Douglas of Lochleven tore the hunting-horn from his side, declaring in an insulting tone that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. Cochrane at first thought the Scottish nobles were in a merry humour, but becoming alarmed, he demanded indignantly, "Is it jest or earnest?" Upon which the conspirators, telling him there was little room for jest there, bound him ignominiously and placed him under a guard. A party of the nobles then proceeded to the royal tent, and suddenly entering it, seized upon Dr. Rogers, the king's master of music, and the other royal favourites, and hurried them away in spite of James's remonstrances. One only, a youth named Ramsay of Balmain, who clung to the king's person, was spared at his earnest intercession. James himself was given to understand that he was a prisoner in the hands of his nobles. As soon as the conspirators had so far executed their design with success, the royal favourites were dragged to the bridge of Lauder to be hanged. Cochrane, who seemed to have carried his love of ostentation to the last, begged hard that he might be hanged with a silken cord, observing that they would find one among the fittings of his tent; but they told him brutally that he should die as became so mean a slave, and passing a rope of horsehair, which was considered the most degrading implement of death, round his neck, they threw him from one of the battlements of the bridge. Dr. Rogers was the next who suffered the same fate, and he was followed by Hommil (the king's tailor), Torphichen (a dancing master), Leonard, Preston, and some others, all of whom appear to have been persons of talent, whose chief crime was the lowness of their birth. The execution of Cochrane was a subject of universal rejoicing. He was generally odious among the people, who looked on him as a proud upstart, and as the originator of several oppressive measures. In a recent season of dearth, he had advised the king to debase the coinage, by issuing money in which the silver was mixed with a large quantity of copper, the effect of which was immediately to raise the prices of provisions, and increase the public distress. This new money was called in derision the Cochrane-plack; and he is said to have prided himself so much on the invention, that when some one told him it would be called in, he replied scornfully, "Not till the day on which I shall be hanged," a prophecy which was too fatally fulfilled. He is reported to have been of a very rapacious disposition, and people said that this base money was invented only for the gratification of his avarice, and that by such means he amassed the treasures with which he bought from their unworthy sovereign the inheritance of the murdered earl of Mar.

It appears that the army took part entirely with the nobles—in fact it consisted chiefly of their own retainers. The conspirators having thus made themselves masters of the king's person, they disbanded their forces, and returned to Edinburgh, where they shut him up in the castle. The English army, under the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, were thus allowed to advance to the capital without any opposition, Berwick having been given up to them. Everything appeared propitious to the design in which Albany and Angus had entered for the dethroning of James, and substituting his brother on the throne. But it seems that very few of the nobility knew of the disgraceful treaty which had been concluded at Fotheringay, and when Angus began to sound their inclinations, he found that, however popular the name of Albany might be amongst them, it would be impossible to gain them over to his purpose of dethroning their lawful king. A powerful party was soon formed to support king James, and they collected an army near Haddington, to watch and oppose the proceedings of Albany and Angus.

It was now thought advisable by all parties, to make the best arrangement that the circumstances would permit. A negotiation was opened between the two factions, and by the intermediation of Schevez archbishop of St. Andrews, Livingston bishop of Dunkeld, the lord chancellor Evandale, and the earl of Argyle, a reconciliation was effected. These prelates and noblemen engaged to procure for the duke of Albany a free pardon, and that he should be restored to his estates and dignities, on condition of his returning to his allegiance, and assisting his sovereign in the government of the realm. The duke's friends were to be included in the pardon. The duke of Albany agreed to these conditions,

and the duke of Gloucester, finding that his further interference only tended to throw odium on the party he supported, withdrew his army, satisfied with the recovery of Berwick.

The intrigues which followed are somewhat obscure. The king remained a prisoner in Edinburgh castle, in the custody of the earls of Athol and Buchan. It seems doubtful whether these two nobles were acting really in opposition to the party who had now joined with Albany, or whether they were in secret understanding with them, and acted their parts by appointment, to give Albany the credit of having delivered the king. The duke was formally restored to his offices of warden of the marches and lord high admiral, and he immediately, by the authority thus placed in his hands, assembled an army and laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The two nobles made a show of resistance for some time, and then capitulated; and the duke, having rescued the king from prison to place him under the control of himself and a large body of the nobility, assumed the government.

The next thing to be done was to establish peace with England. The burgesses of Edinburgh were anxious to hasten the retreat of the English army, and as they were aware that their king had somewhat abruptly broken through the treaty of marriage, they offered to repay the sum which had been advanced on the dowry of the princess Cecilia, if king Edward wished to break off the marriage between her and the young heir of Scotland. Edward at once declared that it was his intention the marriage should be broken off, and thereupon the citizens of Edinburgh fulfilled their promise. The only permanent result of the movements of the hostile armies was, that Berwick remained in the hands of the English.

A parliament was next called at Edinburgh, which confirmed all the recent changes, and the king, under the absolute control of his keepers, placed his signature and seal to everything they laid before him for that purpose. He was made to thank Albany for his great love and loyalty in rescuing him from captivity, and the earldom of Mar and Garioch was conferred on him for his service on that occasion, while his friends and abettors also received commendation and reward for the part they had all acted on that occasion. At the strong recommendation of this parliament, Albany was appointed to the high office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and he took care to place his supporters and dependents in all offices of trust. He courted the favour of the citizens by his affability towards them, and by extending many of their privileges; and they were rejoiced at the apparent affection between him and his royal brother. It is said that they slept every night in the same bed, and that on one occasion they rode together on the same horse from the castle along the principal street to the abbey of Holyrood.

It appears, however, that this concord was not real, and it was not destined to last long. The king's friends, headed by the archbishop of St. Andrews, lord Evandale, who had been deprived of the chancellorship, and the earl of Argyle, began to raise their heads. Albany, on his side, renewed secretly his treasonable negotiations with the English king, although he concealed them under acts of profound duplicity. At the very moment when he was engaged in intrigues with Edward, he issued summonses to arm the population, under pretence that he was resolved to carry on the war with England vigorously, and performed other open acts which seemed calculated to excite the enthusiasm of the Scottish national feelings. Yet another secret treaty was at this time agreed to, between Albany and the English king, in which the earl of Angus, lord Gray, and sir James Liddel, acted as the duke's commissioners. By one article of this treaty, the king of England, with the three Scottish commissioners just named, engaged that they would not only preserve the truce between the two kingdoms unbroken, but that they would assist Albany in the conquest of the crown of Scotland for himself, in return for which he and the nobles of Scotland were to assist Edward against the king of France. As soon as Albany was king, he was to break the league with France, to resign formally all claim to the town and castle of Berwick, to restore the banished earl of Douglas to his lands and dignity, and to marry one of the daughters of king Edward. The three Scottish commissioners engaged for themselves, in case Albany should die without issue, that they and their friends and adherents would keep their castles, houses, and strengths, from James, the then king of Scots, and live under the sole allegiance of the king of England. Edward, on his

part undertook to support the duke of Albany, in case any attempt were made to deprive him of his power, with such aid of archers and men-at-arms as might be thought necessary, under the command of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Northumberland; for the present he was to place at his disposal a force of three thousand archers; and in case of a more formidable attack upon Albany by the party of king James, he promised to send an army sufficient for his protection.

It is evident that at this time the duke of Albany meditated an attempt to possess himself of the crown, but he appears to have acted without judgment and without firmness. Suspicions of his designs had gone abroad, and many, who had no love for their present sovereign, considered, nevertheless, that by rallying round him they woulds ecure the independence of their country. Albany seems to have made a futile attempt to seize the king on the pretext that he had joined in a conspiracy to poison him, which had only the effect of weakening his own faction, and strengthening that opposed to him. When he saw that the latter had become so powerful, that he must either give way to the stream, or at once declare himself and make a resolute stand, he chose the alternative which seemed to bring with it least risk, and sought a reconciliation, which he obtained on condition of immediately resigning his office of lieutenant-governor of the kingdom. An agreement to this effect, between the king and the duke, was drawn up and signed on the 16th of March, 1483. The duke of Albany received a full pardon, and was even allowed to retain his office of warden of the marches. But he, as well as his principal adherents, the bishop of Moray and the earls of Athol, Buchan, and Angus, whom he was accused of "holding in daily household," were inhibited from approaching within six miles of the king's person. The earl of Buchan was deprived of his office of chamberlain, which was given to the earl of Crawford, and he, as well as the lord Crichton,* and sir James Liddal, were banished from the kingdom for the space of three years. The earl of Angus, John of Douglas, and other adherents of Albany, were also deprived of whatever offices they held, and Albany was made to promise that he would hold no further communication with them, and that he would in future persevere faithfully in his allegiance to his brother.

It appears that now the conspirators did not deny that their object was to deprive James of the crown, and that they had entered into an alliance with king Edward for that purpose; and we can only explain the leniency of the other party, now they had obtained the government, by a consciousness of weakness, and fear to provoke the party of Albany to desperation. The duke seems to have looked upon it in this light, and retiring to his castle of Dunbar, garrisoned and provisioned that and his other fortresses, as though preparing for war. He then called his old confederates about him again, and the league with king Edward was renewed. So openly were the negotiations with England now carried on, that Edward despatched the Blue-Mantle herald, as his commissioner, to Albany, and the latter in consequence repaired in person to the English court, where he remained, concerting further measures with the king and with the earl of Douglas, while the lord Crichton was labouring to concentrate the strength of his party in Scotland. As a measure of precaution, an English force marched across the Scottish border, and was put in possession of the castle of Dunbar. Everything seemed to threaten Scotland with some new and terrible calamities, when suddenly, in the midst of their preparations, the plans of the conspirators were disconcerted by the death of Edward IV., on the 9th of April, 1483.

* The lord Crichton was one of the most powerful and warlike of the Scottish barons, and was remarkable for his bitter animosity against James III. Buchanan repeats a story of Crichton's wife having been seduced by the king, and attributes his hatred of James to this cause. But the bitterness of the different parties against one another at this period, and the unscrupulousness with which they circulated calumny and abuse against each other, renders it difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood in the accounts of the old chroniclers. An examination of official records has thrown much light on the history of this period, and led to the detection of many misstatements.

CHAPTER XVII.

PACIFIC POLICY OF RICHARD III. OF ENGLAND; NEW REVOLT OF THE DISCONTENTED NOBLES; CIVIL WAR; BATTLE OF SAUCHIE BURN; MURDER OF JAMES III.

The death of Edward IV. disconcerted entirely the duke of Albany's plans. The accession of Edward V., followed quickly by his murder and the usurpation of Richard III., rendered it necessary for the latter monarch, ill-established on the throne, to preserve peaceful relations with his neighbours, and, though he received Albany with courtesy and distinction, he showed no inclination to assist him in his designs. Meanwhile James determined at once to proceed against the duke and his accomplices, and he called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, at which Albany was summoned to attend and answer to a charge of treason. Failing to appear, he was tried in his absence, the charges against him being that he had sent frequent messengers to England, that he had gone thither himself without the king's permission, and that he had conspired with the English against the king's life. The parliament found him guilty, and condemned him to forfeiture of his life, offices, and property. A long list of his adherents, at the head of which were the lord Crichton and sir James Liddal, were struck with the same sentence. According to Buchanan, the latter were all pardoned, but Crichton was immediately proceeded against on a new charge of carrying on a correspondence with the duke of Albany through the medium of a priest named Dickson, and of having garrisoned Crichton castle against the king's officers, when ordered to surrender it in obedience to the sentence of forfeiture. He was summoned to answer these charges, but he made his escape, and he was outlawed and his estates confiscated.

A new monarch, Charles VIII., had now succeeded to the throne of France, and his ambassador, Bernard Stuart lord of Aubigny, came to renew the ancient league with Scotland, and gave James assurance of his readiness to assist him against his rebellious subjects. Richard III. of England was at the same time listening eagerly to his proposals for a renewal of the truce, and James was encouraged by these circumstances to lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, but it was too strongly garrisoned with English soldiers to be easily taken. Albany found that he had nothing to expect from the king of England, but he seems to have had friends among the English nobility, and he had still a stanch ally in the earl of Douglas, who, though now advanced in years, had lost none of his appetite for revenge. Albany and Douglas determined to make one desperate effort before they gave up their hopes, and supposing that they would be joined by some of their fellow-conspirators as well as by their own tenantry, they raised a body of five hundred horse in England, and advanced to Lochmaben on the day of the fair of St. Mary Magdalene. As soon as the approach of these adventurers was known, the gentry and yeomanry who happened to be collected in the town, joined with the burghers, and, not knowing who they were, but supposing them to be plunderers, marched out boldly to meet them. Both sides fought bravely, but the battle would have ended in the defeat of the Scots, had not a party of the king's troops arrived very opportunely, and falling furiously on the English, dispersed them with great slaughter. The duke of Albany escaped by the fleetness of his horse, but Douglas was taken prisoner by Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, one of the leaders of the Scottish troops, who carried him to the king. James is said to have felt compassion upon the misfortunes and age of his captive, and, instead of punishing him as a traitor against his country, he merely directed that he should be sent to pass the remainder of his days in the monastery of Lindores. It is said that when Douglas was brought into the royal presence, he turned his face from the king, perhaps with the pride which had marked his whole career, and that when he heard his sentence he muttered with a smile of scorn, "He who may be no better, must needs turn monk." The duke of Albany proceeded to England, and thence to France, where he was some time afterwards slain in a tournament.

The negotiations with king Richard of England were now soon brought to a conclusion, and a truce for three years was agreed to, one condition of which was that the son of the Scottish king, James duke of Rothesay, now in his fourteenth year, was to marry king Richard's niece, the lady Anne. With regard to the castle of Dunbar, it was stipulated that there should be a cessation of hostilities for six months, and that after that period James was to be allowed to recover it by force of arms if he could. James had made great preparations for the siege, but he was appeased by various excuses for retarding the surrender till Richard's death, when, seizing the opportunity of the unsettled state of England, immediately after the battle of Bosworth Field, he suddenly invested Dunbar castle, and compelled the English garrison to yield it up.

Meanwhile new troubles were preparing in Scotland. James had never forgiven the slaughter of his favourites and the violence offered to himself at Lauder, and the nobles who acted against him on that occasion, saw enough to convince them that they were not safe from his vengeance. They seem to have attempted to strengthen themselves by a new alliance with the king of England, but how far Richard listened to their proposals is unknown. A parliament was held in the beginning of the year 1485, at which the division between the two factions in the state became more clearly defined. The majority of the barons and clergy on this occasion combined in supporting the king's government. But a large proportion of the nobles began to show that they believed the continuance of James III. on the throne was incompatible with their own safety. In fact, before the parliament separated, it passed a resolution recommending the king to appoint a commission of the lords and head men of his kingdom, to bring to trial and execution all notorious offenders, which was believed to aim at the destruction of the barons who had conspired against the king at Lauder.

But a new revolution in England came suddenly to delay king James in the immediate execution of his purpose. The two factions in Scotland had continued to interfere secretly in the affairs of England, and there is reason for believing that James looked forwards with satisfaction to the prospect of the dethronement of Richard III. We know that the plot for bringing in the earl of Richmond was encouraged by the court of France, and that Bernard Stuart, lord of Aubigny, who was a near relation of the earl of Lennox, commanded a body of French soldiers which accompanied the earl to England. The accession of Henry VII. to the English throne seemed favourable to James's designs, yet there is room for believing that Henry intrigued with the confederate nobles, and was not ignorant of their ultimate designs. Nevertheless his conduct was distinguished by the same astute caution which was exhibited in all his foreign relations. To him, as to his predecessor, peace was necessary to give him the leisure to strengthen his hold on the crown; and, after some negotiation, a truce of three years was concluded, and it was stated to be preparatory to a final treaty of peace. Measures were taken at the same time for securing the tranquillity of the borders. James appointed the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell wardens of the middle and western marches, and the earl of Northumberland and lord Dacres were appointed wardens of the eastern and western marches in England. It was also proposed that a marriage should take place between the king's second son and the lady Catherine, daughter of Edward IV.

James's queen died in the year 1486, and the annalists say that he lost in her one whose counsels generally restrained him from violent measures. They also tell us, that now relieved from the apprehensions which had been caused by the intrigues of Albany and Douglas with Edward IV., the king relapsed into his old vice of favouritism, and that, avoiding the society of his nobility, he again surrounded himself with low companions, on whom he conferred the offices of the government, with its cares and duties. His chief favourite now is said to have been John Ramsay, the same who was saved by his intercession from the massacre of the bridge of Lauder. Ramsay was created steward of the household, and was enriched with grants of lands. He is represented as treating the nobles with scorn, and as proportionally hated by them; and it is said that, apprehensive of their designs, he obtained an order of the king that none should be allowed to carry arms in the places where the king lodged, except himself and his friends. The nobles, on the other hand, began to confederate together, and to parade in arms. This was intended less against the favourite personally, than

as a measure of precaution in their own defence, for they became more and more convinced that the king was meditating some great act of vengeance against them. Latterly, the king's measures had been always successful; he was in perfectly good intelligence with the nations around, and he had triumphed over his most formidable domestic enemies; while he was himself exhibiting a degree of prudence and firmness which he had not been supposed to possess. The nobles saw that, unless they stood firm together, and concerted their plans well, they must inevitably become his victims. They resolved, therefore, to muster their strength at the ensuing parliament, to observe warily the king's temper, and thus to form their resolution, either to accept a reconciliation, or at once to take up arms and forcibly depose their sovereign from his throne.

Buchanan has preserved a story of the manner in which the nobles became acquainted with the king's designs against them, which, at all events, is not unworthy of being repeated. Pretending, according to this account, to be reconciled with several of those whom he considered the leaders in the rebellion at Lauder, James behaved to them courteously, and treated them with an unusual degree of familiarity. Some of them he loaded with honours and rewards. Thus, wishing to attach to his interests David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, he created him duke of Montrose. He held frequent consultations with the earl of Angus, "communicating to him his most secret designs, as if he had received him wholly into his favour, yet he could neither by gifts or flattery, convince any one of his sincerity. For those who knew his disposition, did not doubt but he assumed this show of kindness, that he might separate the nobility, and arrest them apart, or that he might set them at variance among themselves, which appeared more plainly when he had collected them at Edinburgh. Having invited Douglas to come to him in the castle, he pointed out to him what an admirable opportunity presented itself for executing his revenge; for by apprehending the chiefs of the faction, and bringing them to punishment, the rest would be overawed, and if he neglected this opportunity, spontaneously afforded him, he might never after hope to find one similar. Douglas, who knew that the king was not better affected to himself than to the rest, discussed with him warily this cruel and hazardous design; he argued that every person would pronounce the action base and flagitious, if so many noblemen, who had been promised pardon for their former conduct, who were but lately reconciled, and who were now secure in the public faith which they had accepted, should, without a trial, be brought suddenly to punishment; that the fierce minds of his enemies would not be broken by the destruction of a few, but that, faith being once violated, all hope of agreement would be at an end, and, despairing of pardon, their anger would become madness, whence would follow greater stubbornness, and contempt for the king's authority and their own lives. 'But if you trust me,' he said, 'I will show you a method by which the royal dignity may be preserved, and your vengeance satisfied. I will gather together my friends and vassals, and in the face of day, and openly, seize whoever you wish, bring them to trial, and punish them according to law, a method not only more honourable, but safer than if they were put to death secretly, and in the night, as if murdered by robbers.' The king, believing that the earl was sincere, for he knew he could perform what he promised, returned him his thanks, and dismissed him with many professions. Douglas, having warned the nobles to withdraw from such imminent danger, himself also immediately left the court."

Having resolved to be ready for every alternative, the next care of the nobles was to appoint themselves a leader, and here again they were favoured by the treachery of officers employed under the crown. James Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling castle, where the young duke of Rothesay, the heir to the throne, then in his fifteenth year, was residing, had already joined the party of the nobles, and he and the others who had the care of the young prince's education, used the influence they had naturally gained over his mind to inflame his feelings against his father. The prince, who was of an aspiring and impetuous temper, with a mind beyond his years, gave in to the snare, and his natural affections were so entirely estranged that he lent the rebels the authority of his name.

On the 13th of October, 1487, the parliament met which was to decide the relative position of the different factions. Although the nobles attended in far greater numbers than usual, the king resolved to show his enemies that he had the power and the will

to avenge himself. The nobles judged it prudent first to attempt a reconciliation, and they proposed an amicable adjustment of all grievances and discontents, on condition of a full pardon being granted to all such barons as had hitherto made themselves obnoxious to the laws, more especially by their treasonable proceedings. James, over-confident in his own power, met this proposal with an absolute refusal. The king then, at the request of his parliament, declared his intention to refuse all applications for pardon by traitors, murderers, and such like offenders. This was followed by a resolution of the three estates, that in all time coming they would cease to maintain or stand at the bar with traitors, men-slayers, robbers, and the like, and they engaged to assist the king and his officers in bringing all such offenders to justice. These and other acts left no doubt in the minds of the barons, whose rebellion at Lauder and whose confederacies with Albany had laid them open to the charge of treason, that extreme measures were meditated against them; and, when parliament was prorogued to the 11th of January, 1488, they went to their homes to make every preparation for a general rising.

In the meantime James's relations with the king of England went on less smoothly. Soon after the death of the queen, the Scottish monarch had signified his wish to marry queen Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., and now, after having agreed to a prolongation of the truce between the two kingdoms till the first of September, 1489, he was urgent for the arrangement of this marriage treaty, and he proposed at the same time to cement the friendship between the two kingdoms by marrying his two sons to English princesses. But as a preliminary James insisted on the surrender of Berwick to the Scots, upon which king Henry, highly offended at his pertinacity in this demand, broke off the negotiation, and began to manifest a decided partiality for the disaffected nobles.

The barons, who had been actively engaged in preparing for the approaching struggle, and who had been joined by some of the prelates and dignitaries of the Scottish church, were encouraged by the altered policy of the king of England; and when the parliament reassembled in January, they attended in great force. They had now entirely gained the duke of Rothesay to their party, and estranged him from his father; and the king at this moment widened the breach by making an ostentatious display of partiality for his second son, whom he created duke of Ross, marquis of Ormond, earl of Edridale, and lord of Brechin and Novar, conferring upon him so many honours, that people generally imagined that he intended him for his successor on the throne, to the disinheritance of his elder brother. James showed at this moment an unusual degree of energy and activity. He distributed honours and offices among his own friends and adherents, to strengthen their attachment. Drummond, Crichton of Sanquhar, Hay, and Ruthven, were made lords of parliament. He had already gratified his favourite, Ramsay, by creating him lord Bothwell. He sent another embassy to England, to treat of the marriages. But he alienated many of his clergy by resisting the claim of the pope to dispose of benefices in Scotland, and he gave mortal offence to the great border families of the Humes and Hepburnes, by annexing the priory of Coldingham to his royal chapel of Stirling. Those two families had been accustomed to look upon this religious house as their own property, and had exercised a right of giving the office of prior alternately to a member of their own house, and now they protested against the king's proceedings and joined the party of the nobles. They would have purchased the interference of the pope, but the king and parliament had passed some stringent measures prohibiting all appeal to the pope on such matters. After these and a few other acts had been passed, the parliament again adjourned to the 5th of May.

The nobles were convinced that if the parliament assembled again, it would be for the purpose of their destruction, and soon after the prorogation, the earls of Angus and Argyle, with the lords Lyle, Drummond, and Hailes, the bishop of Glasgow, and many other powerful barons, assembled their forces. This was no sooner known, than the young prince left Stirling castle, and placed himself at the head of the insurgent army. The king was taken by surprise; he had allowed the barons of his own party to disperse to their several homes after the adjournment of the parliament, and finding himself almost alone in the midst of his enemies, he determined to abandon the south, and trust himself to the more approved loyalty of his subjects in the northern provinces. He first sent the earl of

Buchan, the lord Bothwell, and the bishop of Moray, to Henry VII., of England, to request that he would send a body of English troops to his assistance. He deprived the earl of Argyle of his office of chancellor, and gave it to the bishop of Aberdeen, and he sent proposals to his son, but without success, to detach him from the hostile faction. The nobles, on the other side, proceeded with the utmost confidence. They declared that James III., by his oppressions and misgovernment, had forfeited the crown of Scotland, and then proclaimed his son king, under the title of James IV. The earl of Argyle was formally reinstated in his office of chancellor; and this nobleman, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, the lords Lyle and Hailes, and the master of Hume, were sent as ambassadors to the king of England, who did not hesitate to give them passports as the representatives of the king of Scots.

The king now found it necessary to hasten his retreat to the north, and he had only time to escape from his enemies by hurrying on board a ship belonging to sir Andrew Wood, which carried him over to Fife, while the rebels captured his baggage and money at Leith. From Fife the king rode to Aberdeen, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, collected from the northern parts of his dominions. Among the northern barons who immediately joined his standard were the earls of Athol, Huntley, and Crawford, and the lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran commander who had served with distinction in the French wars. The latter baron brought to the king's assistance a body of three thousand foot and a thousand horse. When he approached James, he dismounted from his horse, and presenting it to the monarch, begged him to accept it as the best and fleetest war-horse in Scotland. Soon after lord Ruthven arrived, at the head of a thousand gentlemen, well mounted and clothed in complete body armour, with a thousand archers and a thousand infantry. The king was subsequently joined by the earls of Buchan and Errol, the lords Glammis, Forbes, and Kilmaurs, and a number of other barons.

The royal army now amounted to thirty thousand men, and the king, encouraged by the loyalty of his northern barons, determined to march against the rebels. They had taken possession of Edinburgh, and were masters of the whole of the south, and he found their army, with the prince at its head, posted at Blackness, on the coast between Queensferry and Borrowstounness. The prospect of a father and son thus arranged in mortal hostility against each other, seems to have shocked the feelings even of the fierce warriors who were now assembled under their banners, and an attempt at reconciliation was made by the earls of Huntley and Errol. The insurgents were probably intimidated by the great force which the king had brought with him, and the latter hesitated at proceeding to extremities. An agreement was accordingly drawn up, and had already received the royal signature, when, we are told, the king himself, yielding to the influence of the earl of Buchan, violated it. Buchan suddenly marched out with a part of the king's army, and, although the affair was but a skirmish, gained an advantage which augured well for the final success of the royal cause. The king's party was, however, at the same time weakened by the defection of the earl marshal, the earls of Huntley and Errol, and the lord Glammis, who, irritated at the undue influence which they believed the earl of Buchan exercised over the king, left the camp and retired to their estates.

A new negotiation was now opened, and the king sent the earl of Athol with proposals for a reconciliation, and he eventually agreed to conditions which, considering that he appears at this moment to have been stronger than his opponents, shows that James was anxious to avoid hostilities. It was stipulated on his side, that the royal estate and authority of the sovereign should be maintained, so that he might continue to enjoy and exercise all his prerogatives; that his person should at all times be in honour and security; and that such prelates, earls, lords, and barons as were most noted for wisdom and fidelity, should be kept about him. The prince's advisers and adherents were to have security for their lives, honours, and estates, on condition that in future they should adopt a more discreet line of conduct. The king engaged to maintain the household of the heir-apparent, and to support the lords and officers of his establishment in befitting dignity, provided they were honourable and faithful persons, whose councils were likely to lead him in an honourable course, and encourage the natural affection and obedience which a son ought to entertain towards his father. On these conditions the king declared his wil-

lingness to forgive and take into favour all his son's friends and servants against whom he had conceived any displeasure, and the prince was in like manner to dismiss from his mind all rancorous feelings against the lords and barons who had on this occasion adhered to the royal cause. All feuds and dissensions between the great barons were from this moment to cease, among which that between the earl of Buchan and the lord Lyle was particularized.

A pacification having been thus effected, the king, confiding in the good faith of his rebellious barons, dismissed his army, and proceeded to Edinburgh, while the northern lords returned to their several estates. One of his first cares was to reward such of his barons as had distinguished themselves by the promptitude and courage they had shown in supporting his cause in the late insurrection. He raised the earl of Crawford to the rank of duke of Montrose, and lord Kilmaurs received the title of earl of Glencairn, while his standard-bearer, sir Thomas Turnbull, the gallant sea commander sir Andrew Wood, with the lairds of Balnamoon, Lag, Balyard, and others, were rewarded with grants of lands. James seems to have imagined that his disaffected nobles would be entirely pacified by the intervention of the pope and the kings of France and England, and he sent embassies to solicit their good offices for this purpose.

It is impossible to understand fully the motives which influenced the different parties at this moment. The insurgents appear to have looked on the king's forbearance as a sign of weakness which they might turn to their advantage; and, instead of dispersing their army as he had done, he had hardly reorganized his court in the castle of Edinburgh, when he received intelligence that they were assembling in greater force than ever. We are told by Buchanan that the barons of what was now called the prince's party, having held consultation together, and having no faith in the king's professions and promises, came to the resolution that they should never be safe until they had compelled James to resign the crown to his son, and that they agreed to have again recourse to arms to carry this resolution into effect. James now perceived his error in dismissing his army too hastily. Encouraged, however, by the counsels of the few stanch supporters who happened to be with him, he sent urgent summonses to his friends in the north to reassemble their warriors, while he himself kept possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and in a very brief period, a considerable force had been brought to his rescue, under the new duke of Montrose, the earls of Menteith and Glencairn, and the lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Lindsay. It was at first determined to remain at Edinburgh, until further reinforcements from the north arrived, but the king subsequently listened to the plausible advice of some of his counsellors, who recommended him to remove to Stirling castle, as a place equally strong, and better situated for communicating with his fleets, and for receiving his northern friends. James accordingly marched out, and attacking his son, who lay encamped near with a part of the rebel forces, dispersed them, and compelled him to fly across the Forth. He then continued his march to Stirling, and demanded admittance to the castle, but this was resolutely denied him by the governor, Shaw, who had all along acted with the rebels. Disconcerted at this reception, the king seems for a moment to have been undecided what course to follow, but his deliberations were soon cut short by the intelligence that the whole rebel army had advanced against him from Falkirk, and already occupied the high level ground above the bridge of the Torwood.

James, perceiving that it was impossible to avoid a battle, marched forward, and took up a position on the east side of a small brook called the Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stirling. His army is said to have been considerably inferior to that of his opponents, but he had about him some of his most experienced commanders, such as lord Lindsay of the Byres, and by their advice he drew up his forces in three divisions. The first consisted of highlanders, armed with bows, long daggers, swords, and targets, and commanded by the earls of Athol and Huntley. The rear division, commanded by the earl of Menteith and the lords Erskine and Graham, consisted of the men of Stirlingshire and of the west-highlands. The main battle, composed of the burghers and commons, was commanded by the king in person, mounted on the tall and spirited grey horse given him by lord Lindsay. At his right rode the duke of Montrose, with a fine body of horsemen from Fife and Angus, and lord Ruthven was on his left, with nearly five thousand spear-

men from Strathern and Stormont. The rebel lords also formed their army in three battles, the first of which was composed of the men of east Lothian and the Merse, and was commanded by the lord Hailes and the master of Hume. The borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, with the men of Galway, formed the second division, which was commanded by the lord Gray. In the main battle was the young prince, with the principal lords who had taken part in the conspiracy.

The attack appears to have been begun by the rebels, and while it was limited to showers of arrows from the bowmen, produced little effect on either side; but when the two armies met, the loyalists with their spears drove back the first line of their opponents, and continued their victorious course, till they were checked by the advance of the borderers, who are said to have had an advantage in the superior length of their spears, but whose real superiority consisted rather in better discipline, and in the constant habitude of war. In a short time the first division of the loyalists, under the earls of Huntley and Menteith, not only lost the ground they had gained, but, although the struggle was carried on with great resolution and bravery on both sides, were themselves driven back on their main battle, where the king commanded in person. The slaughter was now great, and the tumult approached nearer and nearer the spot where James stood, when his nobles, representing to him the disasters which would fall upon the country, if he were killed or captured, urged him to flight, whilst they remained on the field, at least to hold their enemies at bay as long as possible. The king followed their advice, and, spurring his swift steed, fled in the direction of the village of Bannockburn, which was situated at the distance of about a mile from the field of battle. He crossed the stream of the Bannock at a hamlet called Milltown, and was riding at full speed through the hamlet, when his horse started at the sudden appearance of a woman who was drawing water in a pitcher, which she threw down hastily and fled at the sight of the horseman in armour. The king lost his seat, and was thrown to the ground, and the fall was so heavy, that when the cottagers came to his assistance they found him senseless. He was carried into the cottage of a miller, which stood by the road, where he was laid on a bed, and at length restored to consciousness by the homely cordials which the anxious attendants administered. When he opened his eyes, the first words he uttered were to call for a priest, that he might confess before he died. The cottagers, with unaffected anxiety for his welfare, questioned him respectfully as to his name and rank, on which he incautiously acknowledged that he was the king. On hearing this, the woman of the house was overcome with alarm and terror, and rushing into the road, she cried out for a priest to confess the king, at the same time wringing her hands and exhibiting other marks of the greatest distress.

Meanwhile, after the flight of the king, the victory had not remained long undecided, and the lords of the king's party having drawn off their forces as well as they could, some of the rebel soldiers pursued in the road which James had taken in his flight. Among the foremost, we are told, was Patrick Gray, Stirling of Keir, and a warlike priest, named Borthwick, in the service of the lord Gray. Borthwick came up just as the woman was crying out frantically in the road for a priest for the king, and, telling her he was a priest, requested her to take him immediately to the dying man. She obeyed, and he entered the cottage, and found the monarch extended on a flock bed, and covered with a coarse cloth. Borthwick approached and kneeling down by the king's side, demanded with apparent solicitude how it fared with him, and if he thought he could recover with the help of a physician. The king, who had now regained his full consciousness, and probably felt that he was not so much hurt as he imagined, replied that there was hope; upon which the priest, bending over him, under pretence of listening to his confession, drew his dagger and stabbed him to the heart, and continued his blows till he was satisfied that he was dead. The ruffian then made his escape, and we cannot discover that he was ever heard of again. He was said to have carried the body of the king with him, but if so, he did not carry it far, for the king's body was found, and was buried with royal honours by the side of his queen in the abbey of Cambuskenneth.

Thus died in the prime of his age a king concerning whose real character historians are singularly divided in opinion, and on which the circumstances in which he lived, and the bitterness of party animosity, render it almost impossible to decide.

His principal fault appears to have been his weakness, and he certainly wanted the judgment and prudence necessary to contend with the difficulties that surrounded him. He appears to have shared largely in the taste for letters and science which had distinguished many members of his family, but this taste led him into great political errors, and he allowed himself to be made the dupe of men who possessed ambition, without honesty or talents for ruling. With the same jealousy of his nobles, and the same unrelenting and unforgiving hostility towards those who rebelled against them, which had distinguished his father and grandfather, he wanted the skill and caution with which they carried out their object. At the time of his death, James III. was in his thirty-fifth year. By his queen, the daughter of the king of Denmark, he left three children, James, his successor, another son, also named James, created marquis of Ormond, but who subsequently became archbishop of St. Andrews, and John, earl of Mar, who died childless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ACCESSION OF JAMES IV.; PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE NOBLES OF THE LATE KING'S PARTY; INSURRECTION OF THE LATTER; BATTLE OF TAILLA MOSS; SUCCESSES AT SEA; ELEVATION OF SIR ANDREW WOOD; ADVENTURES OF PERKIN WARBECK.

As we have stated, the flight of the king had decided the battle which proved so fatal to him, and the lords of his party were suffered to withdraw towards Stirling without any vigorous pursuit, while the victors passed the night on the field. The loss was not very great on either side, though on that of the king the earls of Glencairn and Bothwell, and the lords Erskine, Semple, and Ruthven, were among the slain. When intelligence was brought to the camp of the manner of the king's death, it is said that the prince was overwhelmed with grief and remorse, which, however, were soon forgotten amid the pomp and ceremony of his accession to the throne.

The day after the battle, the victors fell back upon Linlithgow, and dismissed their army, and the first act of the new king was to reward those who had supported his cause. On this very day, the 12th of June, grants of lands were made to the Humes and Hepburns, who had been among the most powerful of the prince's supporters. The principal castles were committed to the keeping of officers of known fidelity, and others were sent to take possession of the late king's treasures and jewels. After the interment of the late king, the court removed to Perth, and James IV. was crowned, with the usual ceremonies, in the abbey of Scone on the 26th of June. The new king there committed the privy seal to the keeping of the prior of St. Andrews; and he appointed the earl of Argyle chancellor; Hepburn lord Hailes, master of the household; the lord Lyle justiciary on the south of the Forth; and the lord Glammis justiciary of the north. He chose Whitelaw, subdean of Glasgow, as his secretary, and Hepburn, vicar of Linlithgow, was appointed to the office of clerk of the rolls and of the council. Having thus arranged his ministry, the king proceeded to his palace of Stirling, and there fixed his residence. There the nobles endeavoured to bind the young king to them by the eagerness with which they administered to his pleasures. James had before his elevation to the throne formed an attachment to the beautiful Margaret Drummond, the daughter of lord Drummond, and her father, baser in his subserviency even than the other courtiers, encouraged an intimacy so dishonourable to his family. A perpetual succession of theatrical entertainments, balls, hunting parties, and other amusements, were got up for the king and his youthful mistress; and when, by direction of parliament, he accompanied the lords justiciaries to their circuit of the local courts, care was taken that he should be attended by the lady Margaret, and by his hunters and falconers, with his fool, who we are told was named English John.

One of the first cares of the new government was to examine the foreign relations of the kingdom, which were likely to be considerably shaken by a revolution of so violent a character. An embassy was sent to Henry VII. of England, who, with his characteristic caution, made every professien of friendship, while he prepared to meet any emergency by provisioning and strengthening the castle and town of Berwick. But war was at this moment the interest of neither party, and soon afterwards a truce for three years was concluded between the two countries. The party now in power proceeded next to take summary measures against their political opponents, and the earl of Buchan, lord Forbes, Ramsay lord Bothwell, and a number of others, were summoned to appear and answer the charge of treason at the ensuing parliament.

This parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 6th of October. It was well attended, and there were present, besides a numerous array of inferior ecclesiastics, the archbishop of St. Andrews (Schevez), and the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Whitchurch, Dunblane, and the isles; while the secular aristocracy was represented by the earls of Argyle, Angus, Huntley, Morton, Errol, Marshal, Lennox, Rothes, and Athol; the lords Hailes (the master of the household), Lyle (high justiciar), Hamilton, Glammis, Gray, Oliphant, Montgomery, Drummond, Maxwell, Graham, Carlisle, Dirleton, and other noble personages. After the first preliminaries of parliamentary business were over, the persons charged with treason, including all who had borne arms on the late king's side in the field of Stirling, were summoned to appear and defend themselves. One great object of these proceedings was to throw the blame of the late rebellion, and especially of the king's death, upon the party who had supported the crown, and, by a strange perversion of terms, the men who had supported the reigning monarch against his insurgent subjects, were described as rebels and traitors. They were accused, singularly enough, of having attempted to bring into the kingdom their enemies of England, and to reduce the crown of Scotland to a dependence on that country; and of having advised the late king repeatedly to break the agreements which he had made with his nobles. The earl of Buchan made a confession of guilt, and threw himself upon the king's mercy, in return for which he was pardoned, and taken into favour. Ramsay lord Bothwell, the late king's favourite, who had escaped out of the kingdom, failing to appear, was condemned, and his estates confiscated. The latter were given to the lord Hailes, who was made an earl. Ross of Montgrenen, the late king's advocate, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a skirmish at the bridge of Stirling before the battle of Sauchie Burn, when the person of the present king is said to have been in danger, appears to have been an object of special animosity. He also was condemned in his absence, and his lands were given to Patrick Hume of Fastcastle.* It was subsequently enacted that, in consequence of the great displeasure con-

* The first baron accused before the parliament, lord Lindesay of the Byres, is said to have escaped by the special pleading of a younger brother. Lord Lindesay was a stout old soldier, who knew no better answer to make to the indictment than by offering to fight with his accusers, venturing his own person against any two of them. The lord chancellor apologized to the king for the veteran's rudeness, as the natural consequence of a military education, and advised lord Lindesay to submit to the king's pleasure, who, he ventured to say, would be gracious to him. There stood near the lord Lindesay his younger brother Patrick, who, understanding it was the wily meaning of the chancellor to obtain a submission on the part of his brother, that he might impose some mulct or penalty upon him, trod upon the lord Lindesay's foot, as an intimation to him not to plead guilty. The hint was totally lost upon Lindesay, who was on bad terms with his brother, and happened besides to have a corn on his toe, which made him resent the treading on his foot, for which he fiercely rebuked his brother. Nevertheless Patrick knelt down, and prayed to be heard as counsel for his brother, and the house of his forefathers. This could not decently be refused; and the pleader, in an exordium of some eloquence, implored those whom he addressed, that, as victors in the civil conquest, they would recollect that they were still liable to the vicissitude of human affairs, and might themselves hereafter stand at that very bar, and implore the protection of the laws against such triumphant enemies as might be in power for the time. He therefore conjured them to administer the laws impartially, as they would desire to enjoy their protection if they should need it in their own case. The chancellor assured Lindesay that his pleading should be fairly heard and decided upon. The advocate proceeded to object to the presence in court of the king, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his retaining a seat in the judicature in a case where he was one of the parties concerned. The parliament yielded to his reasoning on the subject, and the young king, to his no small displeasure, was obliged to retire from the assembly. The counsel next stated, that the term of the charge, which ought to run on the summons, had been suffered to elapse, and that the citation bore no continuation of days. This was an objection in point of form which the parliament also thought it necessary to sustain, so lord Lindesay was dismissed from the bar. He

ceived by the king against all who by their appearance in the field of Stirling under the royal banner were to be considered as the chief promoters of the slaughter of his late father, such of the rebels as were in possession of hereditary offices, should be deprived of them for the period of three years. The parliament afterwards proceeded to investigate the causes of the late "rebellion," which, as might be expected, ended in a complete justification of the present king, and a general condemnation of his opponents. It was declared, that the whole matter having been examined by the three estates, they were unanimously of opinion, each man for himself, and under his loyalty and allegiance, that the slaughter committed in the field of Stirling, where the king's father happened, with others of his barons, to be slain, was wholly to be ascribed to the offences, falsehood, and fraud, which had been practised by him and his perverse counsellors. It was their further opinion, "that our sovereign lord that now is, and the true lords and barons who were with him in the same field, were innocent, quit, and free of the said slaughters, battle, and pursuit, and had no blame in fomenting or exciting them." It was recommended that a declaration to this effect should be drawn up, to be shewn to the pope, and to the kings of the various countries in alliance with Scotland; and that the seals of a certain number of the representatives of each estate assembled in this parliament should be attached to this declaration, along with the great seal of Scotland. By another act, all grants signed by the late king since the 2nd of February, when the prince took the field in arms against his father, were revoked, because, as it was pretended, they were made for the assistance of the treasonable faction which had been enemies to the realm and to the present king. At the same time, as a manifestation of the clemency of the party which now held the government, it was ordered that all property seized during the late troubles by either party, should be restored to the rightful owners, and that the heirs of those in arms against the present king who fell in the battle of Stirling, should be allowed to succeed to their hereditary estates and honours, in spite of any legal impediment that might arise from the circumstance of their being slain while in a state of rebellion.

The parliament was prorogued from time to time, holding, in fact, four different sessions; the first of which began on the 6th of October, 1488, and the last on the 3rd of February, 1489. Besides the proceedings against the rebels, and the acts of justification already mentioned, the attention of the legislature was called to various subjects of importance connected with the state of the country. An attempt was made to restore order throughout the realm, and put an end to the practice of murder and robbery which then prevailed, by dividing the kingdom into districts, each of which was entrusted to the care of certain barons, who promised, on their oath, to do their utmost to detect and bring to punishment all offenders. Other laws were passed, providing for the better administration of justice, for the regulation and improvement of the commerce and coinage of the realm, and for putting a check on the practice of purchasing at the court of Rome presentations to benefices in Scotland. It was ordered that the castle of Dunbar should be destroyed, that it might not again become a stronghold for the enemies of the state; the command of Edinburgh castle, with the tutelage of the king's brother, was given to lord Hailes, the master of the household; and Alexander Hume of Hume was promoted to the office of high chamberlain.

Some naval successes occurred at this time to throw lustre on the commencement of the young king's reign. Sir Andrew Wood, a naval officer of great talent and experience, had distinguished himself in several actions against the English during the reign of James III., his known faithfulness to whom is said to have been a matter of considerable embarrassment to the prince and the nobles of his party after their victory at Sauchie Burn. Buchanan has preserved a story, which appears not to be correct in some of its details, relating to the first negotiations with this commander, who had brought his ships up the Forth to support the movements of the late king. It

was so much astonished at his escape, for it appears that he comprehended nothing of the nature of the defence, that he swore, in a rapture of gratitude, that he would reward his brother's fine pyot words, (i.e. magpie talk) with the lands of Kirkfother. The king, on the contrary, displeased with the personal disrespect which he pretended had been shown to him, declared that he would send the advocate where he should not see his feet for twelve months; and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into the dungeon of the Rothesay of Bute.

It is needless to say that there are some inconsistencies in this story, which would hinder us from giving it much credit.

appears that a report had gone abroad, that the king was not slain in the battle, but that he had escaped to the ships; and more certain information was carried to the court at Linlithgow, that boats had been sent on shore to receive some of the fugitives. The prince immediately despatched a messenger to sir Andrew Wood, desiring that he would come to him on shore; but Wood refused to land, unless hostages were given for his safety. To this the prince consented, and the lords Seton and Fleming went on board as hostages for the safe return of the naval commander. When sir Andrew arrived, he was asked by the council if he knew where the king was, and who they were who had been carried in boats to his ships after the battle? He replied, that he knew nothing about the king, but that he and his brothers had landed from the boats, in order that along with other loyal subjects they might defend their sovereign; but when they saw that their endeavours were in vain, they returned to the fleet. He replied to the lords with a proud bearing, declared his detestation of rebels, and said, if the king were alive, he was bound to obey him alone, and if he were slain, he was ready to revenge him. The lords of the young king's council were offended at his freedom of speech, but they were obliged, by their safe-conduct and by a regard for their hostages, to let him depart. We are told, however, that when the hostages had returned, the citizens of Leith were called before the council, and solicited, with great promises, to fit out vessels and attack sir Andrew Wood. It is probable, however, that sir Andrew was a favourite in that port, and the citizens stated in reply their opinion, that his two vessels were so well equipped, and manned with such experienced seamen, and that he himself was so able a commander, that no ten vessels in Scotland would venture to attack him.

Although he refused to acknowledge the new government, sir Andrew was still active in the service of his country, and successfully protected the coasts against the piratical attacks of the English cruisers, who, unauthorised by their own government, took advantage of the domestic troubles in Scotland, to attack the Scottish merchant and fishing vessels, and even plundered some of the smaller coast towns. A year passes over, during which we know little of the course of events, and the kingdom seems to have remained still in a very unsettled state. In the February of the year 1490, a fleet of five English piratical ships entered the Clyde, and not only plundered the merchant ships, but gave chase to a vessel belonging to the king, and drove it into Dumbarton. The young king, provoked at this insult, again invited sir Andrew Wood on shore, and appealed to his patriotism, pointing out the danger and disgrace incurred by the whole nation, in thus allowing a few ships to insult their coasts. From this moment Wood appears to have given his entire support to the young monarch. He undertook at once to attack the pirates, and when the courtiers recommended him to provide himself with a more numerous fleet, he replied with some pride, that the two ships he had—the Flower and the Yellow Carvel—were enough for him. He immediately spread his sails, and finding the five English ships at anchor off the town of Dunbar, he captured them all after a desperate action, and bringing his prizes into Leith, presented their five captains to the king.

Sir Andrew Wood now became a favourite with the king, who began to show an extraordinary taste for naval architecture. It was not long before Wood had a new opportunity of distinguishing himself. We are told that his exploits had provoked great jealousy in England, and that king Henry, though he was unwilling to break the truce, had been heard to express his wish that some one would reduce the pride of the Scottish sailors. Wood had been sent, for some purpose or other, to the coast of Flanders, and an enterprising merchant of London, named Stephen Bull, encouraged by what were understood to be the wishes of his monarch, determined to intercept the Scottish commander on his return. Bull fitted out three good ships, and manned them with choice sailors, and a body of crossbow-men and pikemen, and was joined by several adventurous knights, who volunteered their services. With these he set sail for the Scottish coast, and cast anchor behind the May, a small island off the mouth of the Forth, where he watched for the return of the two Scottish ships of war. He had not been long there when the fishermen, whom he had seized and employed in looking out, announced that Wood was approaching with crowded sails, and the Flower and the Yellow Carvel found themselves unexpectedly in the presence of a formidable enemy. Sir Andrew had barely time to prepare for

action, when, as he approached, the English ships opened their fire upon him; but, either from unskilfulness in the use of their cannons, or, as it has been suggested, from the inferior size of the Scottish ships, the balls flew over them without doing them much injury. The Scottish ships then closed with the English, and throwing out their grapnel-irons, brought their ships close, and lashed them together with cables. A desperate combat followed, which was disputed with so much bravery on both sides, that, although it began early in the morning, at the approach of night it was still undecided, and darkness alone separated the combatants. At the return of day, the trumpets were sounded as the signal for renewing the combat, and they continued to fight with so much resolution, that, unconsciously, they allowed themselves to drift with the tide into the mouth of the Tay. Here the shore on each side was soon covered with crowds of people, shouting and gesticulating to encourage their countrymen. Victory at length decided in favour of sir Andrew Wood, who captured the three English vessels, which he carried into Dundee. Thence he proceeded to court, and presented the English commander to the king. James generously set all the prisoners at liberty, and sent them back to England, with an earnest remonstrance to king Edward on the depredations of his subjects. Wood rose to the highest degree of favour, and the king kept him much about his person at court, as his instructor in naval matters, and rewarded him with grants of lands.

This battle was gained on the tenth of August, 1490. The victory was the more welcome, because it came almost at the same moment that James gained a signal success over the lords who had risen up in arms against him. The vigorous conduct of the faction which had raised the king to the throne, and the unscrupulous use they had made of their power, did not entirely discourage their opponents. Two nobles who had hitherto acted with the party in power, but who are supposed to have been disappointed in their expectations of reward, the earl of Lennox and the lord Lyle, began the revolt. While lord Lyle occupied the strong fortress of Dumbarton, and held it against the king; Lennox and some of his kinsmen and friends raised their vassals in arms, and communicating with the disaffected in the northern districts, where the late king's cause was popular, organized a formidable rebellion. Lord Forbes, another of the insurgent nobles, marched about with the king's shirt, all bloody and torn with the blows that had caused his death, displayed on the end of a spear, which was thus exhibited through Aberdeen and the chief towns of the adjacent counties. The public were excited by this exhibition, and by the exhortations with which it was accompanied; and the overgrown power of the Hepburns, with the overbearing conduct of lord Drummond and his sons, who presumed on the influence of Margaret Drummond over the king, to commit great disorders, were themes which the opponents of the existing government turned to the utmost advantage.

The king lost no time in proceeding against the northern rebels, and towards the end of the summer of 1489 he laid siege in person to the castles of Duchal and Crookston, which were occupied by the insurgents, while he sent the earl of Argyle to besiege the more important fortress of Dumbarton, the garrison of which was commanded by the lord Lyle and Matthew Stuart, the eldest son of the earl of Lennox. As soon as these two fortresses had surrendered, the king marched towards Dumbarton to join the earl of Argyle.

Meanwhile the insurgents went on collecting their forces, and were gathering from different parts in order to fall upon the royal army. Their main strength, under the lord Forbes, the earl marshal, the lord Crichton, and the master of Huntley, were assembled towards Dumbarton, intending, as soon as they were joined by the earl of Lennox, to raise the siege of that place. Lennox commanded a considerable force, composed almost entirely of highlanders, with which, in his descent to the low districts, it was his original intention to pass the bridge at Stirling, but finding that the king's forces had occupied that town, he changed his place, and determined to pass the Forth at a ford not far from the source of the river. Lennox's army marched without proper caution, and at night they encamped carelessly, and without keeping the necessary watch, on a plain called Talla Moss, at a distance of about sixteen miles from Stirling. They were there betrayed to their enemies by a highlander named Alexander Macalpin, who left the camp and carried information to the king of their incautious position, and of the ease with which they might be taken by surprise, and

utterly defeated. James was then at Dunblane, and rejoiced at the highlander's intelligence, he lost not a moment in turning it to advantage. With the troops he could collect at the moment, consisting chiefly of the royal household, accompanied by the lord Drummond, he marched hastily and noiselessly to Lennox's camp, and, it being a dark night in the month of October, the insurgents were completely taken by surprise, and the whole army was soon either killed, taken, or dispersed. This disaster seems to have so entirely discouraged the insurgents, that they made no further attempt to relieve Dumbarton, which soon afterwards surrendered to the king, and within a very short period the revolt was entirely suppressed.

The successful issue of this expedition against the rebels tended to strengthen the government, which contained in itself many elements of durability. The young king, himself, began to display talent and energy, and among the party by whom he was now ruled, were men of great abilities as statesmen and warriors, such as the lord Drummond, Hepburn of Hailes, who had been raised to the title of earl of Bothwell, the high chamberlain Hume, the earl of Argyle (the lord chancellor), and the king's secretary Whitelaw. The king shewed a generous and open character, which gained him generally the love and respect of his subjects, while, contrary to the course pursued by those who held the throne before him, he surrendered himself entirely to the guidance of his nobles. These now saw that it was their wisest policy to act with a conciliatory spirit towards the party opposed to them, and, after Lennox's revolt had been suppressed, most of those engaged in it were pardoned, and the leaders were soon afterwards taken into favour. "Thus," says Buchanan, "in a short time all parties being reconciled, jocund peace and universal tranquillity ensued; and, as if fortune had become handmaid to the king's virtues, a plentiful harvest followed, and a golden season seemed to have arisen after the more than iron age. The king, however, when he had repressed public robberies by arms, and other vices by the severities of the laws, lest he should be thought to be a severe avenger to others, and too indulgent to himself, in order to shew openly that his father was put to death against his desire, bound an iron chain round his body, to which he added a link every year during his life. This, although it might be disagreeable to the authors of the murder, yet either trusting to the mildness of the king's disposition, or the power of their party, they abstained from every commotion."*

The tranquillity described by Buchanan continued for a brief period, though it is apparent what kind of tranquillity it must be considered from the proceedings of the parliament which met soon afterwards, one of the first acts of which was an attempt to restore order by fixing a severe punishment for those who committed open slaughter or rapine, and for those who were guilty of dismembering the king's subjects. It was also found necessary to renew the old enactments against the grievance of leagues or bands among the nobles and their feudal tenantry. The chancellor was ordered to sit three times a-year with certain lords of council, or in their absence the lords of session, to administer justice. All sheriffs, bailies, and provosts of burghs, were required to take copies of the acts and statutes now passed, and to cause them to be openly proclaimed within the bounds of their office, in order that none might plead ignorance of the laws. The earl of Huntley was appointed king's lieutenant north of the water of Esk, till James should have reached his twenty-fifth year, to ensure a more vigorous administration of the laws in the north. An embassy had been directed by James's first parliament to be sent to France and other courts to seek a bride for the youthful monarch, but the disturbances which followed seem to have hindered this project from being carried into effect. It was, however, revived on the present occasion, and the parliament

* It is difficult to say how much truth there is in Buchanan's story of the king's chain of iron. Tytler has pointed out from records printed in Rymer's Fœdera, the existence at this time of a conspiracy against king James in England. Ramsay lord Bothwell, the favourite of James III., had escaped to that country after the king's death, and was joined there by the earl of Buchanan, and a person named in the only document relating to this transaction, "sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scotland." These, with others whose names are not mentioned, entered into an agreement with Henry VII. by which they undertook to seize and deliver into that monarch's hands the king of Scots, and his brother the duke of Ross. Henry advanced them as a loan two hundred and sixty-six pounds, to enable them to carry out their project; but the want of documents leaves us in ignorance of their further proceedings, and we subsequently find Tod in credit at the Scottish court.

directed that Hepburn earl of Bothwell and the bishop of Glasgow should be sent to France to renew the alliance with that kingdom, and to proceed thence to Spain or other courts to negotiate a treaty of marriage. Another embassy was sent to Denmark, to renew the friendly relations with that country, and the archbishop of St. Andrews went to England, and an amicable arrangement was soon after made with king Henry for the regulation of the borders and the prolongation of the truce.

As James advanced in years, his opinion of those who had hitherto directed his actions appears to have undergone a change, and he probably became convinced that their object in effecting the revolution which placed him on the throne was of the most selfish character; that they sought only to enrich and aggrandise themselves at the expense of the crown and the country. This change is said to have been brought about by the influence of sir Andrew Wood, whose attachment to the king's father is well known, and who would hardly fail to warn him against the counsels of those by whom he had been deposed and slain. James began first to treat with coldness many of the lords who had lately held all the power in their own hands, and they soon found that they were the objects of his suspicion and dislike. One of the chief of them, the earl of Angus, went into England, and entered into a treasonable alliance with king Henry, but he had no sooner passed the border, on his return, than he was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in the castle of Tantallon. He only obtained his liberation on surrendering the lands and lordship of Liddesdale, with the castle of Hermitage, which the king gave to the earl of Bothwell, who now held the high offices of admiral of Scotland, and warden of the west and middle marshes. At the same time the king showed the feelings which now guided him, by issuing a proclamation, offering, after so long a time had elapsed, a reward to any persons who should discover the murderers of the late king. This was followed by a complaint, that a large portion of the treasures and jewels of the late king had disappeared, and never come to the present king's hands, and the king directed a searching inquiry to be made for the discovery of those who had stolen or concealed them. These seem to have been only threats, which were never carried into effect, and they were, perhaps, intended to intimidate, without driving those against whom they were directed to the necessity of resistance.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the summer of 1493, which was occupied with measures of resistance to the encroachments of the court of Rome, in regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. New directions were given for a matrimonial mission, and more money was voted for that purpose, but without any immediate result. Acts were passed for the encouragement of commerce, and for regulating the municipal government of the burghs. We also see a return to national peace and tranquillity, in the formal re-enactment of many old laws for the protection of the fisheries, for the preservation of game, for the punishment of idle men and vagabonds, for the protection of the poor, and for other purposes, which had probably been forgotten or neglected amid the recent troubles.

For some time past, James had been making himself remarkable by the activity with which he discharged the duties of a sovereign, and he showed at least a love for business, if not great talents for transacting it. As his mind was gradually alienated from his old partizans, and he reflected on the danger with which the crown had been so often threatened by the turbulent insubordination of the north, he determined to consolidate his kingdom by reducing the highland clans to a more regular form of government than any to which they had hitherto submitted. He appears to have flattered and gained over to his purposes some of the more powerful chiefs, by making them objects of his personal attention and favour. Among those who were thus induced to give him their entire support, were the earl of Huntley, Duncan Macintosh the captain of the clan Chattan, Ewan captain of the clan Cameron, Campbell of Glenurcha, the Macgilleouns of Dowart and Lochbuy, Mackane of Ardnamurchan, and the lairds of Mackenzie and Grant. To give greater effect to his plans, he made frequent visits to the highlands, and accustomed his subjects in the north to the presence of their sovereign. He thus proceeded twice in the year 1490 from Perth across the mountains to the head of Loch Rannoch; he also made two visits to the highlands, in 1493, penetrating to Dunstaffnage and Mingarry; and, in 1494, he thrice visited the isles. These progresses were attended with the most salutary effects. The wild people of the north, unaccustomed to the pageantry of

the court, were now taught to look with respect on the crown; and the rapidity of the king's movements, the ease with which he penetrated into their mountain wilds, the success with which he proceeded against those who resisted, and the generosity with which he rewarded his friends, produced everywhere a ready submission to his will. The lord of the Isles was the only one whose great power encouraged him to offer serious resistance, and he was cited before a parliament at Edinburgh, and having been condemned of high treason, was deprived of his possessions, which were forfeited to the crown.

While James was thus restoring order and peace at home, his foreign relations were gradually assuming a more hostile character. He knew that Henry VII. had given his countenance to conspiracies against his crown, and he was not unwilling to retaliate by giving his secret support to those who attempted to overthrow the government then established in England. Mutual suspicions increased the estrangement between the two princes, until at length, when the mysterious conspiracy of Peter Warbeck led to an open attack on the English monarch, James did not hesitate publicly to give it his support. It is supposed that the king of Scots had been in the secret of this plot long before the impostor was brought forward on the stage, and there can be no doubt that he had long been engaged in intimate correspondence with the duchess of Burgundy, the inveterate enemy of Henry VII., and the chief fosterer of Warbeck's plot. When this impostor was in Ireland, king James held open communication with him, and formally acknowledged him as duke of York; and when, in the November of 1494, the king received intelligence from Flanders, that the pretended prince would visit Scotland, he made preparations for receiving him in the most honourable manner. James and the Scots in general seem to have been perfectly convinced that Warbeck was the person he pretended to be, and he was everywhere treated as the duke of York, and, among other favours, the king gave him in marriage the beautiful Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the earl of Huntley. He was allowed to state his case before the king's council, and it was determined that he should be assisted in making war on his enemy, the usurper king Henry.

But king Henry was well aware of the plots against him, and with his usual deep and cautious policy had taken his steps to prevent them. By his system of political espionage, he had made himself acquainted with the intrigues of the conspirators in England, and he had arrested the principal personages on whom Warbeck calculated for any chance of assistance. The Scottish borderers, anticipating war, had begun to invade the English counties, and thus exciting the national feeling of animosity, had rendered doubly unpopular any interference from Scotland. It was in the November of 1495, that Warbeck arrived in Scotland, and he was received at Stirling with royal honours. It had been no sooner resolved by the council to give him assistance, than James ordered a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom at Lauder, and the king himself is traced, by the national records, moving about the country to superintend the equipment of his artillery, in which he took great pride. The duchess of Burgundy sent to his assistance a small force of German men-at-arms, with a considerable cargo of arms and military stores, and the arrival at the same time of an ambassador from France, the lord of Concressault, a warm partizan of the pretender, showed the interest which Charles VIII. took in the undertaking. Even some of the English barons of the border repaired to the Scottish camp, to pay their respects to the pretended representative of the house of York.

But domestic treason was as usual busy in Scotland. The war was not popular in the kingdom, and some of the most powerful of the Scottish barons took advantage of this circumstance to intrigue against king James, and to enter into communication with the English monarch. Among those who acted thus was the king's own brother, the duke of Ross. Ramsay, lord Bothwell, the favourite of James III., who now lived in the pay of king Henry, was the chief instrument in carrying on these intrigues; and through him the duke of Ross, the earl of Buchan, and the bishop of Moray, entered into a treaty with the king of England, and undertook to do their utmost to defeat the object for which their king was making war. Ross went so far as to promise to place himself under the protection of the king of England the moment king James crossed the border; and a plot was laid for seizing Warbeck in his tent at night, and delivering him to the English,

which seems to have been hindered from execution by the vigilance of the royal guards. On the other hand, many of James's most faithful counsellors were averse to the war, and vainly endeavoured to dissuade him from it.

James, however, was obstinate, and after exacting from Warbeck a promise that in the event of his success he should restore Berwick to the Scots, and pay a thousand marks towards the expenses of the war, he drew his army to the border, and entered England, confident that the English were going to flock in crowds to the banner of the pretender. To encourage them, a proclamation was published in the name of the duke of York, addressing the English people as his subjects, calling upon their sympathies for his house, promising them liberty from oppression, and relief from taxation, branding Henry as a usurper, and setting a reward of a thousand pounds on his head. To James's great mortification, this proclamation produced no effect, and as he held his course through Northumberland, nobody appeared to join his banner. In his anger, he gave up the country to indiscriminate plunder, and the havoc he made, and the outrages committed by his army, touched the heart of Warbeck himself, who is said to have remonstrated with him on such a cruel mode of making war, and to have declared that he would rather renounce the crown of England than gain it by the destruction of his subjects. It is said that James merely replied with a sneer that he thought that the prince need not be over solicitious for the welfare of a nation which would neither acknowledge him for a king, nor even for a fellow-countryman.

The army began now to suffer from want of provisions, and, as it was announced that a strong English force was approaching, James returned hastily and ingloriously to Scotland. The war was kept up during the winter between the border barons, and considerable depredations were made on both sides, but James's ardour in the cause of Warbeck was evidently cooled, and Henry, who was soon made acquainted with the feelings of the Scottish court, took advantage of this circumstance to enter into negotiations for peace, and he made new proposals for a marriage between king James and his daughter the princess Margaret. These were received coldly, and James refused to listen to Henry's demand of the surrender of Warbeck to the English. Yet the presence of Warbeck soon became a burthen to James, who was obliged to provide for him out of his own purse, which was not always sufficient for the profuse expenditure of his own gay and dissipated court. He appears too late to have felt the justice of the councils of those who were at first opposed to the war, and he seems to have resolved on continuing hostilities only until he could conveniently get rid of his guest. As the summer of 1497 approached, a serious insurrection in Cornwall encouraged the king of Scots to attempt another invasion of England. On this occasion, James separated his army into two divisions, one of which was sent to lay waste the country round Durham, while the king remained with the other to besiege the strong castle of Norham. But on this occasion, both the king's undertakings were unsuccessful. The bishop of Durham, anticipating that the Scots would take advantage of the disturbed state of the kingdom to invade it again, had strengthened all the fortresses of the bishopric, and had carried away the cattle and other property liable to plunder from the places where they were exposed, and having on the first rumours of the approach of an enemy sent to the earl of Surrey, who lay with a considerable force in Yorkshire, the Scots were obliged to return from Durham empty-handed, and they found their king so discouraged at the resolute defence made by the garrison of Norham, that he soon after raised the siege, and returned home. The English retaliated by an immediate invasion of Scotland, where they destroyed the castle of Ayton, but this seems to have been nearly all the mischief they effected.

Warbeck took no part in this expedition. During the king's absence with the army, a ship commanded by Robert Barton was secretly prepared in the port of Ayr, and thither the pretended duke of York repaired with his beautiful consort and a body of thirty horse. On the 6th of July, 1497, Warbeck set sail, and left the coast of Scotland, never to return. The Scottish king, though glad at his departure, still studiously treated him with all the honours due to his pretended rank. He subsequently proceeded to Ireland, and from thence went over to England to join the Cornish rebels. He was at last taken prisoner, and, after a confession of his imposture had been extorted from him, he was ignominiously hanged at Tyburn. His wife, the lady

Catherine Drummond, was brought from St. Michael's Mount, where she had taken refuge, to Henry's court, where she was long admired for her beauty and misfortunes, and was known by the popular title of the White Rose. Henry generously gave her a pension, which she continued to receive after his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

JAMES'S LOVE FOR NAVAL AFFAIRS; TRUCE WITH ENGLAND; JAMES'S MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY MARGARET OF ENGLAND; REBELLION IN THE NORTH; THE "RAID OF ESKDALE;" DEATH OF HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.

As king James advanced in years, he gained in the love of his subjects and of his nobility. The latter, accustomed under two monarchs to be treated with suspicious jealousy, and often with stern hostility, seem to have rejoiced in a king whose prejudices were in their favour, and to have been willing at last to remain in tranquillity. James possessed many qualities which rendered him popular among his subjects of the middle and inferior classes. Generous and open in his manners, and fond of gaiety and mixing with the world, he, at the same time, partook in many of the more refined tastes of his father. The reign of James IV. was the golden age of the old Scottish literature, and boasts of such names as Dunbar and Gawin Douglas; but James's favourite pursuits were architecture and navigation. He lived in an age when wonderful discoveries of distant lands had drawn the attention of the wise and learned to the sea, and when the princes of Christendom began to be more than ever anxious for the possession of powerful fleets. Columbus had just astonished Europe with the discovery of America, and even the cautious and parsimonious Henry VII. of England patronised the voyages of the Cabots. It is not surprising, therefore, if an ardent mind like that of James of Scotland, became warmly interested in the prosperity of his navy. Scotland could hardly be said to possess a royal fleet, when the king ascended the throne, yet among her merchants and traders were many able and enterprising seamen, among whom we need only mention sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Andrew and John Barton, sir Alexander Mathison, and William Merrimouth of Leith. These men the king liked to have about his person, and under their directions he applied himself with great ardour to the study of naval affairs. He went out on short experimental voyages; mixed with the seamen and sailors; encouraged them with rewards and presents; and flattered their commanders by visiting them familiarly in their houses. Above all things he paid attention to gunnery, and he not only prided himself on his train of artillery, but he practised with it himself.

Still James was deficient in the prudence and sound judgment necessary to form a great king, and the effect of his good qualities was often marred by a rash and ungovernable temper. This, combined with an unfortunate accident which happened at the time of which we are now speaking (1498), might have driven the country into a new war with England, had it not been prevented by the forbearance of Henry VII. Two independent kingdoms, placed with relation to each other as Scotland and England then were, could hardly avoid accidental hostilities on the borders, which might easily be taken as provocations to war, although with mutual forbearance they might with equal ease be pacifically arranged. In the present instance, a party of Scottish youths, some of them of good families, crossed the Tweed at Norham to visit the castle. It appears that they had given no notice of their coming, and the governor and his garrison, with their natural prejudices excited by the recent siege, accused them of coming as spies, and, taking up arms, attacked them and drove them back over the river. The Scottish borderers carried their complaints to king James, who was enraged at this unprovoked outrage, and sent an angry message to the king of

England, demanding reparation and threatening war in case of refusal. King Henry returned a temperate reply, describing the occurrence as an accidental and unpremeditated disturbance, which he regretted, and was ready to inquire into and afford redress. The bishop of Durham (Richard Fox), to whom Norham castle belonged, took the matter in the same spirit, and wrote a letter to the Scottish king so conciliating and flattering, that James invited the bishop to meet him at Melrose, where conversations are said to have taken place between them which soon afterwards led to a closer alliance between the two monarchs.

King Henry's policy towards Scotland had been pacific in the extreme, and had been met with no unfriendly feeling by James, who was influenced by the intervention of Spain. Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish envoy at the court of England, had proceeded to Scotland in the year 1497, with a missive to king James from his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and he soon acquired so much influence over the prince to whom he was thus accredited, that he was appointed his principal commissioner in the negotiations with England. The result of these negotiations was a truce of seven years, concluded at Ayton, on the 31st of September, 1497, and it was soon afterwards agreed that this truce should continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of the survivor. Soon afterwards d'Ayala left Scotland, and James, no longer influenced by his councils, seems to have been less earnest in his pacific negotiations, which were interrupted by the circumstances just related. They were now renewed with increased confidence, and the English king having sent his vice-admiral, Rydor, as ambassador to the Scottish court, the truce was finally ratified at Stirling, on the 20th of July, 1499.

This important matter being arranged, king Henry sought, with a wise policy, to cement the alliance between the two countries by a new tie. A proposal had been made long before for a marriage between king James and king Henry's eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, which had met with the approbation of the wisest statesmen of both countries; but different circumstances, combined with the tender age of the lady, and James's attachment to Margaret Drummond, had interrupted the negotiations on this subject. They were now, however, renewed, and James's nobles, fearful perhaps of the influence of the mistress, combined with the king's impetuous temper, warmly recommended the union. Commissioners on the part of the two kings held repeated meetings and consultations, the result of which was that the king and the princess were betrothed in the year 1500, although the marriage treaty was not finally signed till the 24th of January, 1503. It was stipulated in this treaty, that as the princess Margaret had not yet completed her twelfth year, her father should not be obliged to send her to Scotland before the 1st day of September, 1503; and within fifteen days after her arrival there, king James was bound to espouse her. The usual arrangements were made as to the income to be settled on the queen, and the dowry to be paid with her. She was to be at liberty to keep twenty-four English domestics, men and women, in addition to her Scottish household, and, if she survived her husband, after his death she was to be permitted to reside, at her pleasure, either in Scotland or England. In general, the terms of the marriage, especially with regard to the dowry to be given with the princess, were less favourable to Scotland than such treaties had usually been in former times.

It was, however, highly popular with the Scottish nobles, who, as far as we can gather, began to be seriously alarmed at the influence of the king's mistress, and to have been fearful that the Drummonds aimed at still greater projects of aggrandisement. It is supposed that the slowness with which the negotiations had been carried on, was principally caused by the opposition of the Drummonds, but the influence on which they relied was suddenly broken by a domestic tragedy, which, though involved in the deepest mystery, we can hardly help connecting with the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. While the treaty of marriage with England had not yet received the royal signature, and James seemed unaccountably backward in giving it, the lady Margaret Drummond and her two sisters, Euphemia and Sibylla, who were then at Drummond castle, were suddenly seized with illness after a repast, and died in great agonies, with all the symptoms of having been poisoned. The circumstances of their death seem to have been studiously concealed, and their bodies were hastily removed to Dunblane, and there buried immediately, without any

further inquiry. After this occurence no further delay appears to have taken place in the preparations for the English marriage.

The chain was now broken with which James had so long been bound, and he prepared eagerly for his marriage. At the beginning of August, 1503, the princess Margaret proceeded to Scotland, in charge of the earl of Surrey. She was now fourteen years old, while James had reached his thirty-first year. Among the distinguished people who formed the train of the young queen of Scots, were the earl of Northumberland, the lord Dacre, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham. At Lamberton kirk, in Lammermuir, they were met by the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Morton, and other Scottish barons, who came as commissioners from king James, and to whom the earl of Northumberland delivered the princess with great solemnity. From hence the cavalcade proceeded towards Dalkeith, and when Margaret reached Newbattle, only a few miles short of Edinburgh, James himself came to meet her. We are told by a contemporary writer that the king flew to Newbattle, like a bird that seeks its prey, and, that entering her chamber, he found her playing at cards. After the first familiar salutation, he entertained her by his performance on the claricord and lute. When he departed he leaped on his fine courser without putting his foot in the stirrup, and set off at full speed, leaving his train far behind him. Perceiving, however, that the earl of Surrey had come out to greet him, he turned back and saluted the earl barehead. At his next visit, the queen exhibited her musical skill, while he listened with bended knee. On another occasion, the king came with a retinue of forty horse, while he rode himself on a mule. Everything was done to show the ardour of a youthful lover, eager to throw himself at the feet of the mistress of his heart. When at length the princess Margaret left Dalkeith to proceed to the capital, James met her half-way, mounted on a bay horse trapped with gold, he and his attendants riding, to use the phrase of the old writer, as if after a hare. An exhibition of chivalry took place on this occasion. A knight appeared on horseback, attended by a beautiful lady, who held his bridle and carried his hunting horn. Another knight, sir Patrick Hamilton, came forward and seized the lady, on which a conflict took place, which was continued till the king put a stop to it by calling "peace." When they reached the suburbs of Edinburgh, the princess descended from her litter, and mounted upon a pillion behind the king, and they thus rode through the streets of the city to the palace, amid the acclamations of the populace. On the 8th of August, the marriage was solemnised in the abbey church of Holyrood, by the archbishop of St. Andrews. The marriage dinner was unusually splendid, the walls of the room being covered with tapestry representing the siege of Troy, while the windows presented in compartments the arms of England and Scotland, and a thistle and a rose interlaced under a crown. At the first course, a boar's head, gilt, was brought in with all the attendant ceremonies. Minstrels and players amused the company with their performances after dinner and after supper, and we are told that many moralities were acted "by John Inglis and his company." Several successive nights were occupied with scenes of the most sumptuous revelry, with feasting, morris dances, masks, and dramatic entertainments of various descriptions. The days were passed in tournaments and similar pageantry, in which the king distinguished himself by his strength and martial skill. In one of these pageants, James appeared in the character of the savage knight, surrounded by men disguised in goat-skins. In another, an illustrious French knight, Antoine d'Arsie de la Bastie, tilted with lord Hamilton, and afterwards fought in the barriers with him. Hamilton was nearly related to the king, and in great favour, and on the third day after the marriage he was created in honour of the marriage earl of Arran. At the close of these festivities, rich gifts were distributed in lavish profusion to the visitors, both foreigners and Scotchmen.

The numerous attendance of foreigners at James's wedding showed the high respect which he had already gained abroad. Indeed, but a few months had passed since the Scottish king had been enabled to send a strong auxiliary force to assist the king of Denmark against the revolted Norwegians. He was enabled to give effective assistance to his northern ally and kinsman by the excellence of his fleet, for the improvement and perfection of which he never ceased to labour. Among the ships he was now building was one, to which he gave the name of the Great Michael, which far exceeded in magnitude any that had pre-

viously been made in western Europe. The dimensions of this huge vessel are given by Pitscottie, who tells us that in his days they were preserved at Tullibardin, "planted in Hawthorn, the length and breadth, by the wright that helped to make her." She was two hundred and forty feet long, and thirty-six wide within the sides, which were ten feet thick. We are told that in building this vessel, all the oak woods of Fife, except Falkland, was used up, besides what was brought from Norway. Numerous foreign as well as Scottish shipwrights were employed in its construction, and the king in person anxiously urged the work, yet it took more than one year to finish it. Ships at this time only carried cannons on their upper decks, and, in spite of her enormous magnitude, the Great Michael had only thirty-five guns, sixteen on each side, two in the stern, and one in the bow; but she carried an immense quantity of small artillery, such as culverins, double dogs, falcons, hagberts, serpents, and cross-bows. She required three hundred mariners, and a hundred and twenty gunners, and her whole complement of men was about a thousand. These tastes of the king were, it may be supposed expensive, and joined with the outlay in beautifying the palaces of Stirling and Falkland, and other buildings, and the extravagant sums lavished on pageantry, and on less ostentatious pleasures and dissipation, soon drained the royal coffers, and the king was often embarrassed by the want of money. He was thus reduced to expedients for raising it, which were not always strictly just, and which might, but for the king's popularity and redeeming virtues, have provoked a determined resistance. "Among others," Buchanan tells us, "one was proposed, it is generally believed, by William Elphinstone bishop of Aberdeen, which was very oppressive to the whole nobility. Among the tenures of lands among the Scots, there is one by which the landlord holds an estate, obtained either by purchase or gift, which is, that if the possessor dying leaves an heir under age, his pupilage belongs to the king, or some other lord superior, to whom belongs all the rents till the pupil attains the age of twenty-one. There are also other services annexed to this species of property; if the possessor sells above the half of his estate without the consent of his superior, the whole reverts to the superior lord. This law, which had lain long dormant, as unjust, and enacted by court parasites for readily filling the exchequer, the king was advised to revive, as he would be able to raise some money from those who had violated it, by a process they called *recognition*. This method of exacting money, although it did not deprive any person of his whole estate, being of more general application, was more grievous than his father's avarice: for the injury extended to many and most honourable men, who—since under the two last kings, on account of the external and civil wars in which they were engaged, the very remembrance of such a law had nearly been lost—were forced either to redeem their lands from the collectors of the exchequer, or surrender some part of them. So great, however, was the love to their prince of those who suffered, and such the respect they bore him on account of his other virtues, that their dissatisfaction did not produce any commotion."

While the king was rendering himself popular in the south, the spirit of revolt had again shown itself in the north. We have already mentioned James's personal visits to the highlands in the early part of his reign, and the success which attended them. At the close of the century, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, his policy towards the highlanders was suddenly changed, and in place of his former moderation, he became oppressive and unjust. He summarily revoked charters which he had granted himself, and, having appointed the earl of Argyle his lieutenant, he gave him authority to lease out nearly the whole lordship of the isles. The old landholders were expelled ignominiously from the possessions of their forefathers, which were given to enrich the supporters of the king's policy and measures. At this time (in 1502) Donald Dhu, the grandson of John lord of the isles, had been shut up a close prisoner in the castle of Inchconnal for forty years, and the men of the isles, who, in spite of the illegitimacy of his birth, looked upon him as the true heir of Ross and Innisgail, determined to set him at liberty, and proclaim him their king. The Mac-Ians of Glencoe led the insurrection, and having surprised the castle of Inchconnal, they carried Donald Dhu in triumph to Torquil Macleod's castle, in the isle of Lewis. This exploit was the signal for a general revolt of the fierce population of these districts, who overran Badenoch with fire and sword, and burnt the town of Inverness.

James was well aware of the dangerous confederacy which had been formed in the north, and he instantly called forth the military array of the kingdom, which he placed under the command of the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, and Marshal, and other barons, and ordered them to advance immediately against the rebels. The supreme command of this army was afterwards entrusted to the earl of Arran. All the king's improvements in ships and artillery were brought to bear upon the northerns, and produced a proportionate impression. It was now especially that James felt the importance of his fleet. A small squadron, under sir Andrew Wood and another of his ablest seamen, Robert Barton, proceeded to the isles, and the king, who was preparing an attack on the turbulent clans of Eskdale and Teviotdale, accompanied them as far as Dumbarton. The islanders had not been used to attacks by sea of this formidable character, and Wood and Barton reduced with ease the strong insular castle of Carneburgh, and spread so much terror among their enemies, that most of the chiefs, such as Macleod, Mac-Ian, and others, returned to their allegiance, or endeavoured to avoid the suspicion of disaffection by the zeal with which they co-operated with the king's officers. The rebellion was thus soon appeased, and the chiefs who had supported the crown were rendered still more loyal by liberal grants of the confiscated lands.

In the midst of these proceedings, between the breaking out of this northern insurrection and the sending the fleet, James had called a parliament to give force to his measures of repression. This parliament met at Edinburgh on the eleventh of March, 1504, and proceeded at once to pass a variety of acts, the direct object of which was the reformation and civilization of the highlands. One of these divided the wilder districts of the north into new sheriffdoms, and placed them under the jurisdiction of permanent judges. It was stated in this act, and not without reason, that the districts thus brought within the pale of the law, had hitherto set justice at defiance, and that their inhabitants had become little better than savages. The isles were divided into north and south; the sheriffs for the north isles were to hold their courts at Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south in the Tarbet of Lochkilkerran. The inhabitants of Dowart, Glendowart, and Lorn, were ordered to attend the justice-ayre at Perth, while those of Mawmor and Lochaber were to come to the similar court at Inverness. The courts for Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Kantire, and the larger Cumbray, were to be held at Ayr; those of Argyle were to be held, in the words of the act, "wherever it is found that each highlander and lowlander may come without danger and ask justice," a remarkable testimony to the unsettled state of that district. Ross and Caithness were to be separated from the sheriffdom of Inverness, and placed under their own judges; and the inhabitants of these three extensive districts were to attend as usual the justice-ayre of Inverness. There were wild and unsettled districts in the lowlands, which it was also necessary to reduce to good order, and resolutions were taken for this purpose. Other steps were taken by this parliament for facilitating the administration of justice throughout the kingdom. It appears that much confusion and delay of justice occurred in the court of the lords of the session, from the great accumulation of cases, for the relief of which a court of daily council was appointed, the judges of which were to be appointed by the king, and they were to hold their sittings in Edinburgh. An act was passed restricting the granting of comprehensive pardons under which persons guilty of great crimes had been accustomed to purchase impunity. Various other laws were made at this time for protecting agriculture, for regulating the letting of lands, and for equalizing weights and measures. It was finally declared that all barons or freeholders, whose annual revenue was less than a hundred marks, might absent themselves from the meeting of the three estates, provided they sent their procurators to answer for them; but that those whose income exceeded that sum should be obliged to attend; a law which affected the constitution of the parliament itself.

This parliament was followed, as we have already stated, by the expedition against the highlanders, on his return from which the king marched with a powerful army to punish the borderers for their plundering propensities. He had first sent a messenger to the English king, requesting his co-operation in the task of purging the borders of thieves, who disturbed the peace of both kingdoms, and accordingly the English warden, lord Dacre, was ordered to repair to James's head quarters at Lochmaben. This "raid of Eskdale," as

it was called, was long remembered on the border for the summary justice which was executed upon multitudes of turbulent marauders. Scarcely a month had passed after this expedition, when James found it necessary to make another progress in the north, by way of Scone, Forfar, Aberdeen, and Elgin, as far as Forres, for the purpose of examining the proceedings of the judges and seeing personally that the laws were properly executed. The next year a new insurrection broke out in the isles, headed by Torquil Macleod, with Maclean of Dowart, Macquarrie of Ulva, Macneil of Barra, and Mackinnon. A fleet under the command of John Barton, was again sent to the northern seas, and the earl of Huntley was directed to invade the isles from the north, while the king himself proceeded against them from the south. By these vigorous measures the rebellion was quickly suppressed, and in 1506, the northern hold of Torquil Macleod, the castle of Stornaway in Lewis, was taken by storm, and the power of its lord entirely destroyed. Donald Dhu, whom the insurgents had proclaimed king of the isles, escaped to Ireland, where he died. In this manner the king reduced his whole kingdom to such a state of order and good government, that about a year later he took what might have been considered a somewhat hazardous method of testing the obedience of his subjects to the laws. He set out on horseback secretly and alone, with nothing but his riding cloak cast round him, his hunting knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds in his purse for his travelling expenses. Thus equipped, he rode from Sterling to Perth, and thence by Aberdeen and Elgin to the shrine of St. Duthoc in Ross, where he heard mass. The king related with pride that through this long and solitary progress he met with no interruption, and saw nothing but tranquillity; and having made himself known and assembled the principal nobles and gentry of the districts through which he had passed, he returned with them in a sumptuous progress to Sterling.

Proud of his fleet, James began to interfere more in the political affairs of the continent. Among all his foreign allies, he was most partial to France, and entertained a frequent correspondence with its monarch and with the lord of Aubigny. This led to a certain degree of estrangement between Scotland and England, and the breach was increased when, after the Spanish successes in Italy, James entered into an offensive alliance with France against Spain, the favourite ally of king Henry VII. Soon after this, he exerted himself successfully in protecting the duke of Guelders from the designs of the emperor Maximilian. And when an embassy from the pope came to urge him to break off his alliance with the French king, he was so far from listening to it, that he offered to send Louis an auxiliary force of four thousand Scots to serve in his wars in Italy. In 1508, the archbishop of St. Andrew's and the earl of Arran were sent on an embassy to France, to procure commercial privileges; and not long afterwards the aged lord of Aubigny came from France to induce James to join Louis in the league against the Venetians; but dying at Corstorphine soon after his arrival, the French noble was buried in the tomb of his Scottish ancestry. In this embassy the French king flattered James's personal vanity by asking his advice as to the marriage of his daughter with the king of Castile, and by following his counsel when given. James now assumed a tone of pride towards the English monarch, whose jealousy was excited by his intimacy with the king of France, and who began to anticipate his direct hostility. A circumstance occurred at the same time calculated to raise ill-feeling between the two countries. The earl of Arran and his brother sir Patrick Hamilton had passed through England on their embassy to France without Henry's knowledge, and they now landed in Kent on their return. The English king was probably offended at what might be considered a slight in giving him no notice of the passage of the ambassadors through his dominions, and he now sent an officer to meet them, who was to require them, before they proceeded further, to bind themselves by oath to observe the peace with England. This they refused to do, and they were detained and committed to custody, while Henry sent Dr. West as his ambassador to Scotland to explain and justify his proceedings. But James highly resented the detention of his envoys, declared that they had only done their duty in refusing the oath, and demanded their liberation. This dispute was partially arranged, when the death of Henry VII. on the 21st of April, 1509, came to render more difficult the relations between the two countries.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND; DEFEAT OF ANDREW BARTON; OUTRAGES ON THE BORDER; JAMES'S HOSTILE PREPARATIONS; EXPEDITION OF THE EARL OF ARRAN; DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST ENGLAND; FLODDEN FIELD.

The Scottish monarch was becoming gradually so much attached to France, that he allowed himself to be led into a course of policy which was injurious to his country and fatal to himself. The pacific temper of Henry VII. had been extremely favourable to the advancing prosperity of Scotland, and James had begun to assume a proud and haughty bearing in his transactions with the sister country; but in his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., he found a prince who was as proud and intemperate as himself, and although mutual congratulations were exchanged on his accession to the throne, it was not likely that the amity between them would last long undisturbed.

The ocean seems at this time to have been considered a sort of open field, on which the ships of one nation did not scruple to attack and plunder those of another, whenever they thought they could do it with impunity. Some vessels under the name of merchant ships, and even under the still more honourable one of king's ships, were no better than pirates, and enriched themselves by indiscriminate depredations on the high seas. Sometimes several captains seem to have associated together for this purpose. A few years before the time of which we are speaking, the Hollanders had taken and plundered a small fleet of Scottish merchantmen, and slain the crews. This was not considered a subject for diplomatic remonstrance between the two countries; but Andrew Barton, one of a family to whom the king had given great influence in naval affairs, was sent with a squadron to punish the depredators, which he did so effectually, that he sent home to his king a multitude of hogsheads filled with the heads of the Dutch sailors. On another occasion, the Bartons had been attacked and plundered by the Portuguese, upon which king James granted letters of reprisal, which were soon carried into effect. The Portuguese navy and commerce were at this time the richest and most powerful in the world, and the Scottish navigators would gain too much in such an extensive field of depredation to leave it. At length in 1507, John Barton, the father, was taken in his ship, the Lion, and imprisoned at Campvere, in Zealand. This provoked king James to renew and extend the letters of reprisal to Barton's sons. The Bartons now seem for two years to have carried on an indiscriminate war with the Portuguese merchant navy, and under cover of this excuse with those of other nations. It is said that these ships, and especially Andrew Barton with the Lion and a smaller vessel, watched off the English ports to attack the merchantmen as they entered, and captured many and carried them to Scotland as prizes, under pretence that they were laden with Portuguese goods. Two English ships were sent to watch in the Downs, and attack Andrew Barton on his return from a cruise which he was making against the Portuguese; according to some accounts the expedition was undertaken by order of king Henry, who was irritated by the frequent complaints of his merchants; according to others the ships were fitted out privately by the earl of Surrey, who is said, when he heard of the continual depredations of the privateers, to have declared that, "the narrow seas should not be so infested whilst he had an estate that could furnish a ship, or a son who was able to command it." It had been for some time the practice of the English nobles to fit out ships for their own private commercial speculations, and some of the young aristocracy were becoming bold sea commanders. The two ships now sent to intercept Andrew Barton, were placed under the command of the earl of Surrey's two sons, the lord Thomas Howard and sir Edward Howard. The two Howards put to sea immediately, and had the fortune to fall in with Barton's two ships, the Lion (one of the largest ships in the Scottish navy, and inferior in size only to the Great Harry, the largest ship of war belonging to England), and an armed bark called the Jenny Perwin. The latter tried to make her escape, and was closely pursued by sir Edward Howard, while the lord Howard engaged with Barton. Both parties fought with the utmost obstinacy, and it is said that Barton, when he lay

on the deck desperately wounded, still continued to encourage his men with his whistle, till he was killed by a cannon-ball. His ship was then boarded, and captured; the bark was overtaken, and soon surrendered, and both ships were carried into the Thames. The vessels were detained as lawful prizes, but their crews, after a short imprisonment, were sent home to Scotland.* King James was enraged at the insult offered to his navy, as well as for the loss of one of his best ships and the death of a favourite officer, and he sent a herald to the court of England to remonstrate and demand redress in threatening language. But king Henry condescended to give no other reply than that the defeat of pirates ought never to be a matter of dispute among princes. The great sensation which the defeat of Andrew Barton seems to have caused in England, and the length of time during which it was remembered with pride, furnishes a decisive proof that the English must have suffered much from the depredations of the Scottish rovers.† The defeat of Andrew Barton is placed by the annalists in the year 1511.

* Stowe, in his Annals, gives the following account of the capture of Andrew Barton:—"K. Henry being at Leicester, heard tydings, that one Andrew Barton, a Scottish man, and pyrate of the sea, seeing that the k. of Scottes had war with the Portingales, robbed every nation, and stopped the kings streames that no marchant almost could passe, and when hee tooke English mens goods, hee bare them in hand that they were Portingales goods, and thus he robbed at every havens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Howard lord admirall of England [he was not made lord admiral till the year following], the l. Thomas Howard sonne and heirs to the earle of Surrey, and John Hopton, to the sea, which made readie two ships, and taking sea by chance of weather were severed. The lord Howard lying in the Downs, perceiving wher Andrew was making towards Scotland, chased him so hard, that he overtooke him, so there was a sore battell betwixt them, Andrewe ever blewe his whistle to incourage his men; but at length the lord Howard and the English men did so valiantly, that by cleane strength they entred the maine decke. The Scottes fought sore on the hatches; but in conclusion Andrewe was taken, and so sore wounded, that he died there. The remnant of the Scots were taken with their shippe called the Lion. All this while was the lord admirall in chase of the barke of Scotland called Jenny Perwin, which was woont to sayle with the Lion in company, and hee with others did so much, that he laid them aboord, and though the Scottes manfully defended themselves, yet at length the English men entred the barke, slewe many, and took all the residue. Thus were these two shippes taken and brought to Blackwall, the second of August. The Scotts taken prisoners were sent to London, wnere they were kept as prisoners in the archbish. of Yorkes place nowe called Whitehall, and after sent into Scotland."

Another cause of irritation between the two countries occurred about the same time, though it was the result of a border squabble of the reign of Henry VII. The wardenship of the middle marches had been given to sir Robert Ker, an officer of James's household and master of his artillery, who seems to have drawn upon himself great odium from the borderers of both kingdoms by the severe and rigorous manner with which he exercised his jurisdiction. At length, in revenge for some provocation with which we are not acquainted, he was attacked and slain by three Englishmen, named Lilburn, Starhead, and Heron. The English king showed the utmost readiness to punish the offenders; Starhead and Heron escaped, but Lilburn was taken, and delivered up to the Scottish authorities; and, as Heron had escaped, his brother was seized and sent to king James in his stead. Several years had passed over; Lilburn had died in prison; and the whole affair seemed to be forgotten. Encouraged by this, and by the circumstance that a new king sat on the throne of England who cared less

† Even so late as the days of Elizabeth the fate of Barton was made the subject of a ballad, which seems to have been very popular, under the title of "A true relation of the life and death of sir Andrew Barton, a pyrate and rover on the seas." All the English accounts agree in describing him as a pirate. This curious ballad begins with representing the English merchants carrying their complaints to the king:—

When Flora with her fragant flowers
Bedeckt the earth so trim and gay,
And Neptune with his dainty showers
Came to present the month of May,
King Henry would a hunting ride,
Over the river Thames passed he,
Unto a mountain top also
Did walk, some pleasure for to see.

Where forty merchants he espy'd
With fifty sail towards him came,
Who then no sooner were arrived,
But on their knees did thus complain:
"An't please your grace, we cannot sail
To France no voyage to be sure,
But sir Andrew Barton makes us quail,
And robs us of our merchant ware."

Vext was the king, and turning him,
Said to the lords of high degree,
"Have I ne'er a lord within my realm,
Dare fetch that traitor unto me?"
To him replyd Charles lord Howard,
"I will, my liege, with heart and hand;
If it will please you grant me leave," he said,
"I will perform what you command."

Minor characters are introduced in the sea-fight which is described with details that were, perhaps, not authorised by history. Barton's ship is described as mounting "eighteen pieces of ordnance."

than his father to conciliate the Scots, the two assassins, Starhead and Heron, began to show themselves openly, and the former, who appears to have been the principal offender, was the less apprehensive of danger because he had taken up his residence at a distance of ninety miles from the frontier. But the spirit of revenge never slept among the Scottish septs till it was fully satiated; and Andrew Ker, the son of sir Robert, sent two of his vassals to track him out. They broke into his house by night, murdered him in cold blood, and carried his head to their master, who raised it up as a signal of triumph in the most conspicuous part of Edinburgh. King Henry looked upon this outrage as a just subject of complaint, while James seems not to have interfered in the slightest manner.

The feelings of the latter were, indeed, at this time becoming daily more and more warlike, as he took an increasing interest in the political disputes on the continent of Europe. Engaging warmly in the interests of the king of France, he watched with anxiety the various leagues and combinations which were made for or against him; and when at length in the beginning of the year 1511, the English monarch joined the Italian league against Louis, James took up earnestly the quarrel of the latter. It was at this time that the mutual provocations just described occurred, and James was offended at the same time by some attacks of the English on his continental allies, and by Henry's refusal to deliver to the Scottish queen the jewels which had been bequeathed to her by her father. At the beginning of 1512, Henry declared war against France; and soon afterwards his ambassador, along with those of France, Spain, and the pope, arrived at James's court. James treated Henry's pacific proposals with coldness; he spoke with indignation against the league into which he had entered against France, and laboured earnestly but in vain to reconcile Louis and the pope.

James seems now to have reckoned upon war, and he showed his usual vigour in preparing for the emergency. Continual musters were held throughout the kingdom, in order to train the male population to the use of arms; the dockyards were filled with busy workmen, launching ships already finished, or completing those in the progress of building; stores of gunpowder and other ammunition were collected, new cannons were cast, and those scattered in the royal castles were brought out to be carried on ship-board. He announced, however, no other intention than that of fitting out his fleet to place it at the service of the French, while, to gain time, he professed his willingness to listen to the amicable proposals of England. Henry was by no means desirous of counting Scotland among the number of enemies with whom he had to contend at this moment, and early in 1512, he sent lord Dacre and Dr. West as his ambassadors to king James, to propose a formal renewal of the peace between them, and to prevent if possible the Scottish fleet from sailing to France. James treated them with extraordinary courtesy, and sent them away loaded with rich presents; but they had been unable to counteract the influence of the French ambassador De la Motte, who not only persuaded the Scottish king to enter into a new and closer league with France, but he induced him to countenance an attack upon Berwick, which failed, and he himself, with the ships he had brought from France, attacked a fleet of English merchantmen on the Scottish coast, and was permitted to carry those he had captured into the port of Leith.

It still remained doubtful whether James would plunge into war or not. He had talked loudly, and had made great preparations, and he had already ordered his naval commanders to look out for English ships, but when he had completed his fleet, he found that he had spent all his money in preparations, and that he had none left for carrying on the war. It is said that in his distress he had caused it to be intimated to the English ambassador, lord Dacre, that the payment of the disputed legacy, which was withheld unjustly, and a present of five thousand angels, would be a sufficient bribe to counterbalance his friendship for France. The negotiations were again renewed; for James, pressed by his necessities, was anxious to gain more time, and Henry was engaged in projects which made him unwilling to be further embarrassed by a war with Scotland. Offers of accommodation were made on both sides, which ended in James insisting on Henry's abandoning the league against France. In spite of James's perpetual activity, which was calculated to call off his attention from such subjects, he was at times suddenly seized with attacks of bitter remorse for the part he had taken in causing the death of his father, and then he shut himself up from

the world in apparently sincere penitence. On several occasions, while labouring under impressions of this kind, he had declared his resolution to undertake an expedition to the holy land to expiate his offences by fighting against the infidels, but various circumstances had hitherto prevented him from putting this resolution into effect. At the close of the negotiations just mentioned, when Dr. West again proceeded to Scotland, to make a last effort to detach James from his alliance with France, he found the monarch labouring under one of these attacks, under the influence of which he again talked of his expedition to Jerusalem, and he had shut himself up for a week in religious retirement in the church of the friars observants at Stirling. The bishop of Moray, a crafty prelate, who was said to have been bribed by the French king, had now gained great influence over him, which he exerted to urge him into war; and all that West could obtain was a promise that he would not begin hostilities without a formal proclamation of war, and that, if Henry had proceeded on his threatened expedition into France, he would give him sufficient time to return for the defence of his kingdom.

James, now urged on by an evil genius, hastened his preparations for war with increasing activity. The two countries could hardly be said to be at peace, for his naval commanders had obtained letters of reprisal, and Leith was crowded with English prizes. James at the same time attempted to raise up a war against the English monarch in Ireland, by entering into negotiations with O'Donnell, of Ulster, and that chieftain repaired to the Scottish court in the spring of 1513. He was at the same time encouraged in his designs by the arrival of ships from Denmark bringing him a contribution of arms and ammunition; and La Motte came with a French squadron laden with provisions for the fleet, and brought rich presents from king Louis to the Scottish nobles who were believed to exercise most influence over his mind. But James was finally decided by one of those incidents which manifested his weakness and want of prudence. It appears that his backwardness had already alarmed Louis, and his queen, Anne of Britany, well aware of his temper, addressed James in a romantic letter, in which she claimed his protection as a distressed damsel, who was attacked by a traitorous monarch, and she sent him a ring from her finger as to her own faithful knight, accompanied with a present of fourteen thousand crowns. The French king had not calculated without reason on the success of this artful stratagem, for from the moment he received the letter James seems to have resolved on hostilities; and when, soon afterwards, intelligence arrived that king Henry had landed in France, he ordered his army to assemble and his ships to put to sea.

On both elements James's proceedings ended most disastrously. His fleet was one in which at that day he might justly take pride. It consisted of the Great Michael, already described, with a thirty-oared galley belonging to her; of thirteen great ships of war; and of about the same number of smaller vessels. This fleet was well provisioned, and carried on board three thousand soldiers under the command of the earl of Arran, who, from his superior feudal rank, had the chief command of the fleet as well as the army. James embarked in the Great Michael, and remained some days with the fleet, encouraging the seamen. When he left, Arran, whose incapacity as a commander was soon obvious, instead of obeying the king's orders, which were to sail immediately for France, proceeded to the coast of Ireland, where he landed his troops and stormed the town of Carrickfergus, which was plundered and burnt, and its inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, treated with the most brutal barbarity. After this exploit, the earl returned with the fleet to Ayr, to dispose of the plunder. James was greatly enraged when he heard of the earl of Arran's proceedings, and he immediately sent sir Andrew Wood to supersede him in the command. Before he reached the coast, Arran had again set sail, but all we know of the further history of his fleet is, that it did reach France, and that at the beginning of the next reign a few of the ships returned, in a shattered and disabled state. It is supposed that the Great Michael and most of the other ships were sold for a trifle to the king of France, and that they rotted in foreign harbours or were broken up for the timber.

After the fleet had departed, the king employed himself with the utmost activity to assemble his army, and although the war was not generally popular, James was so much beloved by his subjects that they flocked from all parts to his standard, and even the clans from the highlands and the isles, joined their sovereign under their dif-

ferent chiefs. The army thus assembled amounted at the lowest estimate to a hundred thousand men. James had already sent a messenger to king Henry in France, bearing a letter of recrimination and defiance, in which he made a long enumeration of injuries, true or imaginary, which he had experienced from that monarch. These were, the denial of a safe-conduct to one of James's messengers; his refusal to surrender the jewels left to the queen of Scotland by her father; his bad faith in the treaties relating to the peace of the border; his protection of Heron, one of the murderers of sir Andrew Ker; the slaughter of Andrew Barton and the capture of his ships; his making war upon the duke of Gueldres, and now upon the king of France. The letter ended with requiring the English monarch to desist from further hostilities against this most Christian prince, certifying him that in case of refusal he should hold himself bound to assist him by force of arms, and to compel Henry to abandon so unjust a war. James's messenger found the king of England in his camp before Terouenne; and when he delivered his letter, Henry burst into an ungovernable passion, and asked him if he would take back a verbal message to his master? The messenger said that, as a subject of the king of Scots, he was bound to perform the commands of his sovereign, and that it was contrary to his allegiance to report the commands of others. He wished therefore for a message in writing; but at the same time he reminded the king that James's demand was not that he should write him a letter, but that he should straightway leave the war and return to his own country. "That," said Henry, "I shall do at my own pleasure, and not at your king's command;" and he again broke out into violent invectives against the Scottish monarch, declaring that he had heard nothing from him which he had not long expected from a king regardless of all law, human or divine; that he might act as he thought best, but that he (Henry) would not desist from his wars for any threats of his, nor had he any regard for the friendship of one whose faithlessness he had too often experienced. The herald replied to this outburst of anger by a denunciation of war.

James showed by no means the same activity in making war that he had manifested in preparing for it, and he had to contend with the earnest exhortations of his queen and of many of his best counsellors, who deprecated the war. He seems, however, no longer to have hesitated in his resolution, and a first demonstration of hostilities was made by his chamberlain, lord Home, who crossed the border with a force of eight thousand men, and after plundering and laying waste the adjoining districts of England, returned homeward with his booty. But with an extraordinary neglect of military precautions, he forgot to push on his picquets, and at a pass called Broomhouse he suddenly found himself engaged with a strong body of English under sir William Bulmer, one of the ablest of the English commanders on the border. A part of the Scots, who were intent only on their plunder, took to flight on the first alarm, and the rest, after suffering severely from the English archers, who were distributed among the furze bushes, were charged furiously by Bulmer's cavalry, and so entirely defeated, that the lord Home fled for his life, leaving his banner on the field, and his brother sir George Home a prisoner in the hands of the victors. The Scots lost on this occasion five hundred men slain, and four hundred taken prisoners.

King James, deeply mortified at the result of this invasion, determined immediately to march into England at the head of his army, and wipe off the disgrace of Home's defeat. This fatal determination was earnestly combated by the queen and those who were in favour of peace; and unable to make any impression on his obstinate temper, they seem to have made an attempt to work upon his superstitious feelings. The king had summoned his army to assemble at Edinburgh, and while they were there, voices were heard at the dead hour of midnight, at the market cross of Edinburgh, where citations were usually made, summoning the king and the chief leaders of the army to appear within sixty days at the bar of the infernal judge. Before he left Linlithgow to place himself at the head of his troops, James attended as usual the service of vespers in the church of St. Michael. Suddenly an old man, bareheaded and of venerable appearance, was seen to enter the church and approach him. His hair, which was of a bright golden colour, flowed over his shoulders, but it was thinly scattered over his smooth bald forehead. He was clad in a long robe of blue, girt about the middle with a linen girdle. The crowd made way respectfully, as the stranger

approached, and proceeding directly to the king, he leaned over the chair where he was kneeling, and addressed him in a solemn and distinct voice—"I am sent to warn thee against proceeding in thy present undertaking, which admonition if thou neglect, it will not fare well either with thee or with those who accompany thee; I am also ordered to warn thee to beware of familiarity with women, for if thou do otherwise, it will occasion thy destruction and disgrace." The speaker then withdrew in the same mysterious manner, and when, as soon as the service was ended, James ordered him to be brought into his presence, he was not to be found, nor could any body tell how he had vanished. Buchanan received the account of this incident from sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who was standing by the king's chair at the time of the occurrence.

If this apparition caused any misgivings in the royal mind, they were quickly dissipated when he arrived at Edinburgh, and found himself at the head of one of the most numerous and best equipped armies that a Scottish monarch had ever led into the field. His large train of artillery was at that time remarkable. With this army, after having passed it in review in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, he marched, apparently with no definite plan of operations, and entering England on the 22nd of August, encamped on the banks of the river Till, one of the tributaries to the Tweed, at a place called Twiselhaugh. He remained here two days, and on the 24th of August, issued a proclamation promising that the heirs of all who fell in the present campaign, should inherit, without payment of the usual feudal fines. The next few days were spent in exploits unworthy to occupy the time of a splendid army like that which James had brought into the country of his enemy. He first marched down the Tweed, and invested the castle of Norham, which held out for a week. He then returned up the river, and besieged and took the castle of Wark. He then advanced a few miles, and took and destroyed the small fortresses of Etal and Ford, the latter belonging to sir William Heron, who was still his prisoner in Scotland. Much precious time was thrown away in these unprofitable undertakings; but this was not all. In the capture of Ford, the lady Heron, a beautiful but artful woman, fell into James's hands, and he became deeply enamoured. She used her influence over his affections to cause still further delays, while she kept up a secret correspondence with the English leaders. Time was thus given to the latter to concentrate their forces, and march against the invaders.

King Henry had not left the defence of his kingdom unprovided for, though he had made little noise in his preparations. When he embarked for France, on the last day of June, 1513, he took the earl of Surrey, one of his ablest commanders, by the hand, and said, "My lord, I trust not the Scots, therefore I pray you be not negligent." And he knew well that he spoke thus to no deaf ears, for, when the Scottish herald at Terouenne gave him warning from James to return home to defend his kingdom, Henry replied that he had left the task of defending his kingdom to a noble person who knew well how to execute it with fidelity. He immediately dispatched a messenger to England, to order Surrey to summon the array of the northern counties, and hold himself in readiness to resist the threatened invasion. This he did so effectually, that before the enemy had been many days on the English territory, he found himself at the head of an army of twenty-six thousand men, with which he marched through Durham, and received there, as was usual on such occasions, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert. He was soon afterwards joined by the lord Dacre, sir William Bulmer, sir Marmaduke Constable, and other barons of the north; and at Alnwick his army was increased with a reinforcement of five thousand men, under his son the lord Thomas Howard, who had succeeded his brother in the office of lord high admiral. From Alnwick, on the 4th of September, Surrey sent his herald with a challenge, in which he accused the Scottish king of having broken his faith and league with the king of England, in thus invading his dominions, and offered to fight him on the succeeding Friday, the 9th of September, if he would remain in England so long. To this letter of defiance, the lord Thomas Howard added a message, informing James that he was the commander who had defeated and slain the pirate Andrew Barton, and that on the day of the battle he would be found in the van-guard to justify that act.

The herald found James still encamped at Ford, spending his hours listlessly, with his new mistress, but his spirit was roused

by the scornful challenge of his antagonists, and he replied at once that he desired nothing more than the battle offered him, and that he would be ready to fight on the day appointed, at the same time denying flatly the charge of broken faith which had been made against him. Meanwhile, James already felt the inconvenience of his position. Want of provisions and the continued rains had spread discontent among his soldiers, who were mortified at seeing him expend in his pleasures the time which ought to have been employed in military operations, and many of them deserted the banners of their leaders, and returned home with the plunder they had been able to collect. Most of his best counsellors remonstrated with him against leaving to his enemy the choice of the day of battle. But James seemed suddenly deaf to all counsels, and confident in his own power, and believing that there was no force in England able to withstand him, now that the king was absent with his army in France, would only yield so far as to change his position, which was not a good one at Ford, for a stronger one on the hill of Flodden, where he encamped on an elevation inaccessible on the two flanks, and defended in front by the river Till.

When Surrey was informed of this movement, he pushed forwards to Wollerhaugh, whence on the seventh of September he reconnoitred the Scottish position, and saw with mortification that it would be too hazardous to attack it in front. He now tried to draw James down into the plain, and with this object sent a herald with another letter, which is sufficiently characteristic to excuse our giving it entire. Surrey addressed the king as follows:—"Right high and mighty prince, so it is that lately I sent unto you rougecroix poursuivant at armes, and by him advertized your grace that I and other my sovereign lord's subjects were come to repress and resist your invasions of this, the king's my sovereign lord's realm. And for that intent I offered to give you battle on this half, Friday next coming, which my message your grace took pleasure to hear, as I am informed. And by your herald Isley ye made answer that you were right joyous of my desire, and would not fail to accomplish the same, and to abide me there where you were at the time of my message so showed unto your grace. And albeit it hath pleased you to change your said promise, and put yourself into a ground more like a fortress or camp than upon any indifferent ground for battle to be tried, wherefore considering the day appointed is so nigh approaching, I desire now of your grace for the accomplishment of your honourable promise, you will dispose yourself for your part, like as I shall do for mine, to be to-morrow with your host in your side of the plain of Milfield, in likewise as I shall do for mine, and shall be with the subjects of my sovereign lord on my side of the plain of the said field to give you battle betwixt twelve of the clock and three in the afternoon, upon sufficient warning by you to be given by eight or nine of the clock in the morning by the said poursuivant. And like as I and other noblemen, my company, bind us by our writing subscribed with our hands to keep the same time to the intent abovesaid; if it may like your grace by your honourable letters, subscribed with your hand, to bind your grace for the accomplishment of this desire, trusting that you will dispatch our said poursuivant immediately, for the long delay of so honourable a journey we think should sound to your dishonour. Written in the field in Wollerhaugh, the 7th day of September, at five of the clock in the afternoon."

This letter was signed by Surrey himself, and by the principal commanders in his army. It is said that James refused to receive the messenger, and that when he heard the contents of the letter, he replied haughtily that it did not become an earl to dictate to a king. When Surrey was informed of the ill success of his messenger, he proceeded to act with a decision which showed his contempt for the enemy with whom he had to contend. On the 8th of September, he put his army in motion, and crossing the Till encamped that night at Barmoor wood, about two miles from the hill of Flodden. Early next morning he continued his march in a north-westerly direction, and then turning suddenly to the eastward recrossed the Till, the vanguard and artillery under lord Thomas Howard at Twisel bridge, near where that river enters the Tweed, and the main body under the earl of Surrey himself at a ford of the Till about a mile higher up. Before the middle of the day, the English army was drawn up in battle array in the rear of the Scottish camp, between them and their own country, with an easy ascent to James's position.

The English had been allowed to make these important movements without the slightest interruption; for James seized

apparently with a fatal infatuation, lost precious moments in vain altercations with his commanders. The Scots seem to have had a prejudice against marching far into England, and, before the arrival of the army under the earl of Surrey, alarmed at their king's imprudent behaviour, they had become clamorous in their demands that, instead of advancing, he should march upon Berwick, and open the siege of that fortress. When the English division, under the lord Howard, were seen defiling over the narrow bridge of the Till, the Scottish chiefs urged James to attack them at a moment when he might take them in detail and gain an easy victory, but he refused. The earl of Angus, Archibald Bell-the-Cat, whose character and experience ought to have given weight to his counsel, advised the king to fall back upon the Scottish frontier before his retreat were cut off, or at all events not to let the enemy get in his rear, but his advice was treated with rude contempt. James told him tauntingly, that if he was afraid to fight, he might return home. Angus is said to have burst into tears at this insult, and, leaving his two sons with all his followers to join in the ensuing conflict, he took the king at his word, and withdrew. While the English army were still crossing the river, and might have been attacked with advantage, the master of the artillery, Borthwick, begged to be allowed to bring his guns to bear upon them, but received a peremptory order to remain quiet, and the earl of Huntley, giving similar advice, was treated with scorn. A last remonstrance was made by the old veteran, lord Lindsay of the Byres, at which James was so deeply offended, that he threatened on his return to Scotland to hang him at his own gate.

At length intelligence was brought that the English army was drawn up for battle, and that it was advancing steadily against his position at Flodden. The earl of Surrey had formed his army into three divisions. The van, consisting of ten thousand men, was again divided into a centre and two wings, the former led by the lord Thomas Howard, while his brother sir Edmund Howard commanded the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Constable the left. Surrey himself commanded the central division of his army; the rear was commanded by sir Edward Stanley; and the lord Dacre with a strong body of horse formed a reserve. James divided his army into four divisions, the first commanded by the earl of Huntley and the lord Home, the second by the king, the third by the earls of Argyle and Lennox, and the last, which consisted of the men of the Lothians, by the earl of Bothwell. The three first divisions were drawn up with the king in the centre, and the fourth served for a reserve. When James knew that the English were advancing, he set fire to his camp, and made a movement down the hill to seize the high ground of Brankston before it was gained by the enemy. At this time the wind, turning in the direction of the English, threw the smoke of the burning tents of the camp between the two armies, so that they approached each other unseen, till the smoke suddenly clearing off, they found themselves face to face, with only a quarter-of-a-mile between them. The battle was commenced by the Scots. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the division under Huntley and Home made a furious attack upon that part of the English van commanded by sir Edmund Howard, and beat it back, sir Edmund himself having narrowly escaped with his life. His brother the lord admiral, alarmed at the vigour of the attack, sent a messenger to his father, entreating him to extend his line and thus detach a part of the centre to his assistance. But before this could be done, the lord Dacre brought up his horse, and thus supported, the lord admiral advanced against the earl of Huntley's division, and drove it back with great slaughter. The borderers under lord Home, imagining the victory was gained when the English had retreated before them, had quitted their ranks in search of plunder, and took no further share in the conflict. As the English van advanced, driving before them Huntley's division, they soon came upon the levelled spears of another division of the Scottish van, commanded by the earls of Crawford and Montrose, and became engaged in a new and desperate conflict.

But the battle was carried on with the greatest obstinacy in the centre, where the king, on foot, and surrounded by his principal nobles, encouraged the Scots by his personal bravery. After a desperate struggle, victory seemed to have crowned his efforts, the first ranks of the English centre were broken, and Surrey's own banner was in danger of being taken, when the fortune of the day was suddenly changed by the arrival of the division under lords Howard

and Dacre, who, having defeated Crawford and Montrose, threw themselves furiously upon the flank of the Scottish centre. The earl of Bothwell, seeing the king's division waver under this double attack, brought up the reserve in all haste to his assistance, and the battle continued to rage in this part of the field without any decided advantage on either side.

Meanwhile, in the other wing, the contest had been more disastrous to the Scots. The highlanders and men of the isles, little accustomed to discipline or control, and dreadfully galled by the English archers, were eager to use their broadswords, and could not be kept in their ranks by the remonstrance of their commanders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox. La Motte and the French officers, who were in this division, foreseeing the fatal results of their insubordination, endeavoured to restrain them, not only with words, but with blows. But it was in vain; the highlanders rushed forwards, with their usual fury, on the English spearmen; but the latter, commanded by sir Edward, stood steady under the shock, and when the first force of the attack was spent, they advanced in their turn, and drove back the Scots with dreadful slaughter. The earls of Argyle and Lennox, La Motte, and many other men of distinction, fell in this struggle.

Instead of continuing the pursuit of the discomfited highlanders, Stanley wheeled about, and charged the rear of the Scottish centre with his whole force. The slaughter here now became dreadful. Anxious for the fate of the king, and disdaining to fly while he was in danger, the Scots fought with such desperate fury, that when the ground became damp and slippery with blood, the combatants threw off their shoes to obtain a firmer footing. It was late in the evening, when sir Edward Stanley's division attacked the king's division in the rear, and the approach of dusk added to the confusion; yet the king, who kept his place in the foremost ranks, continued to encourage his men by his voice and example. At length, struck almost at the same time by an arrow and a bill, James fell mortally wounded, at the distance of only a few paces from his antagonist, the earl of Surrey. The nobles and their followers, rendered still more desperate by the fate of their monarch, rushed round his body, and forming in a circle, continued to fight, although the increasing darkness rendered it difficult to distinguish between friends and foes. At this time everything was so confused and uncertain, that Surrey drew off his men, and caused them to pass the night under arms, with strict watches. The dawn of day only brought them the full knowledge of the greatness of their victory. The field before them lay covered with heaps of corpses, and the Scottish artillery, in which James had taken so much pride, and which Surrey declared consisted of finer guns than any in king Henry's arsenal, stood deserted on the side of the hill. The only enemy that presented itself was a small body of Scottish troops, which occupied a neighbouring hill, and which, threatening to be troublesome to the division commanded by the lord admiral, was dispersed by a discharge of the English guns. The earl of Surrey immediately ordered thanks to be offered for his victory, and having created forty knights on the field, he ordered lord Dacre, with his cavalry, to gallop off in pursuit of the fugitives.

Thus ended disastrously James's imprudent campaign. The borderers of lord Home's division had rallied, and passed the night in stripping and plundering the dead, so that when the English soldiers spread over the field, they found a great part of them naked. At least ten thousand of the Scots were slain, a less number than had fallen in more than one battle against the English in former days, but never had there flowed such a fearful amount of noble and gentle blood. The body of the king was found, disfigured with wounds, but easily recognised by lord Dacre, buried under a heap of corpses. Besides the king, there were slain thirteen earls, Argyle, Athol, Bothwell, Caithness, Cassillis, Crawford, Errol, Glencairn, Huntley, Lennox, Montrose, Morton, and Rothes; the archbishop of St. Andrews, the abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, the dean of Glasgow, and other ecclesiastics; the French ambassador, La Motte; fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; five eldest sons of peers; and so large a number of gentry, that every grown up male of some families was cut off; and there was scarcely a family in the whole kingdom which had not some relative to mourn over. The body of king James was carried to Berwick, where it was embowelled and embalmed, and it was ultimately interred at Richmond, in Surrey. The old chroniclers state that the royal tomb was afterwards broken open, and the

body exposed to view and treated with neglect, and finally with indignity. James's sword and dagger, taken from his person when the body was found, are still preserved in the College of Arms in London. Yet the Scots believed, at first, that their king had escaped from this fatal field, and, amid a number of ridiculous stories, it was rather widely credited that James, on quitting the field, struck with violent remorse, had hurried away to Jerusalem, in the hope of expiating his sins by this pilgrimage.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHANGE IN SOCIAL CONDITION IN SCOTLAND; LITERATURE; THE SCOTTISH POETS; JAMES I. AND II.; HOLLAND, HENRYSON, DUNBAR, GAWIN DOUGLAS.

The disaster at Flodden forms a marked epoch in Scottish history, and was followed by a time calamitous to the kingdom. It is a period at which we may for a moment stop the progress of history to observe the change in society, and more especially to consider the great gage of social improvement, the progress of literature. During the long period of which we have been treating, scarcely any change seems to have taken place in the habits or condition of the Celtic population of the north; and some districts of the south, chiefly in the west, and on the border, people lived in the same state of wild clanship as they had done a century before; but generally, throughout the lowlands of Scotland, the Saxon Scottish race, though they had preserved their ancient manners and customs, had improved in social condition. This arose in a great measure from the increasing wealth of the country, owing to the extension of its commerce. A considerable advance in civilization was also shown by the increasing taste for literature and science, which was encouraged by the example of the kings of the race of Stuart. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the foundations of universities and schools had tended greatly to propagate learning, and the sons of noble families, laying aside their ancient contempt for everything but arms, now eagerly attended the lectures of the professors. A feeling of this kind, once established, was sure to increase rapidly, and the efforts of parliament were added to give it stability. Several statutes were passed during the latter part of the fifteenth century, to compel the nobility and gentry to give their sons a liberal education. In a parliament held at Edinburgh in 1496, it was ordered that all barons and freeholders, whose fortunes were sufficient to enable them to do so, should send their sons to the schools as soon as they were eight or nine years old, and keep them there until they had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue; after which they were to place them during three years as pupils in the seminaries of art and law, so that they might be instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and fitted to hold the offices of sheriffs and ordinary judges. James IV. always showed himself a patron of learning among his subjects, and it was under his auspices that the university of Aberdeen was founded by bishop Elphinston, in the last year of the fifteenth century, by which there were now three universities in Scotland. About eight years afterwards, the art of printing was introduced into Scotland by a servant of the king's household, Walter Chepman.

It was to the kings of the house of Stuart that the Scots owed the improvement of their language; under them were laid the foundations of the national poetry. At an earlier period, no doubt as early as the thirteenth century, when English poetry began to be developed, the southern bards passed over the border, whenever the warlike barons of the north gave them encouragement, to recite at their courts the songs and romances of England, which were listened to with delight, because the language of the two countries was identical, with the mere difference of dialect. Yet the poetry of the south appears long to have found few imitators in Scotland, though in the original annalists of the Scottish wars

we find traces of political satire which show that the Scots were not backward in composing songs of defiance or triumph. At length, however, in the year 1375, a Scottish ecclesiastic named John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, who was then nearly fifty years of age, composed in Scottish verse, in imitation of the metrical chronicles of the south, a laborious life of Robert Bruce. Barbour's life of Bruce does not merit the name of poetry; it is, like most of its English prototypes, mere prose, written in measure, and with rhymes. Barbour was educated at Oxford, and it was no doubt in England that he gained his taste for metrical composition. Somewhat more than forty years after the publication of this work, under the regency of the dukes of Albany, another metrical chronicler arose in the person of Andrew Winton, prior of the Inch of Lochleven, who, about the year 1420, wrote what he entitled an *orygnale cronykil* of Scotland, from an early period down to his own time. His style, if style it may be called, resembles closely that of his predecessor. In order to convey to the general reader some idea of these two compositions, it may be well to give a few lines from each, but their works are so equally flat and unadorned, that we may take them at random. A battle is described by Barbour as follows:—

The Scottismen sa will[1] thaim bar,*
And swa gret slauchter maid thai tnar,
And fra sa fele[2] the lyvis rewyt,[3]
That al the feld bludy wes lewyt.[4]
That tyme thar[5] thre batailis wer
Al syd besid fechtend wil ner,[6]
Thar mycht men her many dint,[7]
And wapynnys[8] apon armuris stynt,[9]
And se tumble knychtis and stedis,[10]
And mony rich and reale[11] wedis
Foully defoullyt undre fete,
Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet.[12]
A lang quhile thus fechtand thai war,
That men na noyis mycht her thar.[13]

This is a favourable specimen of the versification of John Barbour. It may be compared with the following equally favourable example of the "cronykil" of Andrew Winton, which states in a few words the death of St. Serf, one of the early hermits of the isles:—

Eftir al this sanct Serf past†
West onto Culrosse alsa fast.
And he his state that he knew
That til his endying ner[1] he drew;
This wretchit warlde he forsuyk;[2]
His sacraments thar al he tuk,
Withe schrift,[3] and ful contricion.
He yalde,[4] withe gude devocion,
His cors[5] till halowit[6] sepulture,
And his saulle to the Creature.

It will be seen at once that the language had become much modernised during the forty years which had intervened between the two rhymers. Contemporary with Barbour there was, however, another Scottish writer, who is only known as "Blind Harry," and who composed in verse a life of Wallace. Blind Harry shows far more poetical talent than the two chroniclers just mentioned, although his history is like theirs, very heavy and wearisome. The following description of November, as it found Wallace and his men outlaws in the woods, may serve as an example:—

The dyrk regeoun apperand wondyr fast,‡
In November quhen October was past,
The day faillit throu rycht courss worthit[1] schort,
Till banyst men[2] that is no gret comfort:
With thair power in pethis worthis gang
Hewy[3] thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.
Thus Wallace saw the nychtis messynger;
Phebus had lost his fyry bemys cler:
Out of the wood thai durst nocht turn that tyd,
For adversouris that in thair way wald byde.[4]

While Andrew Winton was composing his dull rhymes, the young king of Scotland, James I., was languishing in captivity in England, where he passed his time in making love and in studying the then fashionable poetry of the great Chaucer. The temperature of the young prince was highly poetical, and at a court where literature was in great repute, he imbibed tastes which accompanied him to his own land, and there implanted them in the hearts of many of his subjects. That James's love of poetry was not merely assumed, we have sufficient evidence in what remains of his own compositions. We allude to the "King's Quair" (or quire), a poem in which he pictured his love for the lady Joane, whom he afterwards made his queen, and which is still looked upon as one of the choicest specimens of early Scottish verse. This poem is understood to have been written while he was still in England, and it opens with a touching picture of James's

* [1] Well. [2] Many. [3] Reived, took. [4] Left. [5] Their. [6] Well near on all sides busied fighting. [7] Blow. [8] Weapons. [9] Strike. [10] Knights and steeds. [11] Royal. [12] Lost their seat. [13] No noise might hear there.

† [1] Near. [2] Forsook. [3] Confession. [4] Yielded. [5] Body. [6] Consecrated.

‡ [1] Became. [2] To banished men, to outlaws. [3] Heavy. [4] For adversaries that would bide in their way; *i. e.*, who lay in wait for them.

feelings in his captivity. After telling how he had been captured and carried into a foreign country, he proceeds:—

Quhare[1] as in ward full oft I wold bewaille *
My dedely[2] lyf, full of peyne and penance,
Saing[3] ryght thus, quhat have I gilt[4] to faille[5]
My fredome in this warld and my plesance?
Sen every wight has therof suffisance,
That I behold, and I a creature
Put from all this, hard is myn aventure.[6]

The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
They lyve in fredome everich in his kynd;
And I a man, and lakith libertee,
Quhat sall I seyne,[7] quhat resoun may I fynd,
That fortune suld do so? Thus in my mynd
My folk I wold argue, but all for noucht;
Was none that myght that on my peynes rought.[8]

Than wold I say, giff God me had devisit,
To lyve my lyf in thraldom thus and pyne,
Quhat was the cause that he more me comprisit,
Than othir folt, to lyve in such ruyne?
I suffere alone amang the figuris nyne,
And wofull wrache that to no wight may spede,
And yit of every lyvis help has nede.

The long dayes and the nyghtis eke,
I wold bewaille my fortune in this wise.
For quhich, again distresse confort to seke,
My custum was on mornis for to rise
Airly as day, o happy exercise!
By thee come I to joye out of turment!
But now to purpose of my first entent.

James's prison, at this time, was in the castle of Windsor, and he goes on to relate how he obtained his first sight of the lady to whom he became so warmly attached. The description of the garden-view is a favourable specimen of the style of the poetic monarch.

Bewailling in my chamber thus allone,†
Despaired of all joye and remedye,
For-tirit[1] of my thoucht and wo-begone,
And to the wyndow gan I walk in hye,
To see the warld and folk that went forbye,[2]
As for the tyme, though I of mirthis fude[3]
Mycht have no more, to luke it did me gude.

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis[4] long and small
Railit about, and so with treis[5] set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,[6]
That lyf was non, walkying there forbye,
That mycht within scarce any wight aspye.

So thick the beuis[7] and the leves grene
Beschadit all the allyes that there were,
And myddis every herbere mycht be sene
The scharp grene suete jenepere.
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That, as it semyt to a lyf without,
The bewis[7] spred the herbere all about.

* [1] Where. [2] Death-like. [3] Saying. [4] Sinned. [5] To love. [6] My hap. [7] Say. [8] Cared—none cared about my sufferings who might relieve me.

† [1] Tired out. [2] Along in front. [3] Food for mirth. [4] Rods. [5] Trees. [6] Knit with hawthorn hedges. [7] Boughs.

James's poetry, it will be seen, was English in its language, as well as in its style, but his imitators adopted the broader dialect of their countrymen, and though he had done much to refine it, it was some time before it lost its old stiffness. Poetry had now gained a sufficient hold to be used in political warfare, and in the violent struggles which marked the earlier half and the middle of the fifteenth century, it was made by the different parties the instrument of bitter satire and abuse. One of these satires, which has been preserved, was composed, apparently, in the year 1453, amidst the great struggle between the throne and the house of Douglas, by a partizan of the latter named Holland, as a satire on James II., who is described under the character of the howlat, or owl. Holland has adopted the style of allegory and alliteration which belonged properly to an earlier period, and which have rendered the poem altogether so obscure, that we will only attempt to give a single stanza as an example. After describing how the Howlat, for his pride and tyranny, was deserted by all the other fowls, the nobles, the writer proceeds:—

Than this Houlat hideous of hair and of hyde,‡
Put first fra poverty to priss, and princes awin peir;[1]
Syne[2] degradit fra grace, for his grit[3] pryde,
Bannyt[4] bittirly his birth belfully in beir.[5]
He welterit, he wrythit, he wareit the tyd[6]
That he wes wrocht in this warld wofull in weir.[7]
He criplit,[8] he cryngit,[9] he carefully[10] cried,
He solpit,[11] and sorrowit, in sichingis seir,[12]
He said, "Allace! I am lost, lathest[13] of all,
Bysym in bale best;
I may be simple heirest
That pryd yit nevir lest
His feir, but a fall."

Contemporary with Holland was Robert Henryson, a poet of considerable sentiment, who wrote a collection of Fables in Scottish verse. It was Henryson who first gave a more national character to the lowland poetry of Scotland. There is much simple elegance in the fables of Henryson, but their great interest lies in the applications, by way of moral, to the condition of his country. Thus, after telling the fable of the wolf and the lamb, he says that the lamb is a symbol of the poor people, merchants, and labourers, who were oppressed

‡ [1] Own peer, or equal. [2] Afterwards. [3] Great. [4] Cursed. [5] Balefully aloud. [6] Cursed the time. [7] War. [8] Twisted himself. [9] Shrunk. [10] Sorrowfully. [11] Sobbed. [12] Sore sighings. [13] Most hateful.

by the extortions of the rich and the crafty. There were, he tells us, three sorts of wolves in Scotland in his time; first, the lawyers, who oppressed people by perverting and falsifying the laws; secondly, men of power, who oppressed the poor with taxes and burthens; and thirdly, the landlords, who cruelly oppressed their tenants.

The third wolf is men of heretage;*
As lordis, that hes landis be Godis lane,[1]
And settis to the maillaris[2] a willage,
For prayer, price, and the gersum tane;[3]
Syne[4] vexis him or[5] half the term be gane,
With pykit querells, for to mak him fane
To flitt, or pay the gersum new agane.

His hors, his meir, he mone len[6] to the laird,
To dring and draw, in court and cariage;
His servand, or himself, may nocht be spard,
To swynk or sweit,[7] withouttin meit or wage:
Lo, as he standis in lawbour and boundage,
That skantly may he purches by his maill,[8]
To leif upone dry breid and wattir kaill.[9]

Hes thow no rewth to gar thy tennent sweit
Into thy lawbour, full faynt with hungry wame?[10]
And syne hes littill gude to drink or eit,
Or his menye,[11] at evin quhen he cumis hame:
Thow suld be rad[12] for richtous Godis blame;
For it cryis vengeance to the hevin so he,
To gar[13] a pure man wirk, but meit or fe.[14]

Another fable, entitled the *Dog, Wolf, and Sheep,* is directed against the partial and unjust administration of the law, especially in the ecclesiastical courts. Henryson was a very miscellaneous writer, and of his productions, we must not forget to mention the charming little poem of *Robin and Makyne,* which has been described as "the first and perhaps still the best pastoral poem in the Scottish language." The influence of English poetry, and especially of the writings of Chaucer, on the north, is very visible in the writings of Henryson, who, moreover, wrote a continuation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida,* under the title of the *Testament of Faire Creseide,* which he affected to write in the southern dialect and orthography, and which seems to prove that he must have been educated in England. Robert Henryson was also the author of pious ballads and of other miscellaneous pieces. He lived apparently through the reign of James III., and had several poetical contemporaries, but of less note; and we must not forget that this was the age which produced two of the most celebrated burlesque poems in the Scottish language, *Peblis to the Play,* which was long attributed to the pen of James I., though it appears erroneously, and perhaps *Christ's Kirk on the Green,* which some have ascribed to a later and some to an earlier date.

Under James IV. flourished the two great stars of Scottish poetry, William Dunbar and Gawin Douglas. Dunbar is remarkable for his versatility of talent, and his poetry, which consists chiefly of short pieces, is extremely interesting for its historical allusions and for its pictures of contemporary society and manners. One of his earliest poems to which we can fix a date was written to celebrate the nuptials of king James IV. with the English princess Margaret, under the allegory of the *Thistle and the Rose.* In the course of this allegory, the king is earnestly warned against unjust partialities and against the love of other women, failings to which he seems from all accounts to have been subject:—

And sen thow art a king, thow be discreit;†
Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of odour sueit,
And lat no nettill vyle and full of vyce
Hir fallow[1] to the gudly flour-de-lyce;
Nor latt no wyld weid, full of churlicheness
Compair hir till the lilleis nobilness.

Nor hald non udir flour in sic denty[2]
As the fresche rois, of cullour reid and quhyt:[3]
For gife thow dois, hurt is thyne honesty;
Considdering that no flour is so perfyt,
So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,
So full of blisful angeilik bewty,
Imperiall birth, honour, and dignité.

James's pilgrimages to holy shrines, as well as his journeys in disguise in the provinces, are said to have been dictated as much by his taste for low amours, as by his penitence or love of justice. Dunbar's shorter pieces contain allusions to the king's peculiarities in these respects. One of them, entitled the *Tod* (fox) *and the Lamb,* appears to have for its subject some scandalous adventure of the king at Dunfermling; and in another Dunbar celebrates a burlesque dirge over the dulness of the court at Edinburgh while the king was doing penance for his sins in the religious house which he had built at Stirling. In some poems Dunbar complains of the prevalence of female influence at court. In many other short pieces the poet complains that, although he enjoyed court favour, yet

* [1] Loan. [2] The farmers, those who rent land. [3] The entry-money, or fee. [4] Afterwards. [5] Before. [6] Must lend. [7] Labour or sweat. [8] His rent, gain. [9] Colewort. [10] Womb, belly. [11] Household, family. [12] Advised. [13] Make. [14] Without meat or pay.

† [1] Be made equal or fellow to. [2] Such dainty. [3] Red and white, alluding to the junction of the two rival roses in Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.

all the substantial marks of that favour were showered upon unworthy objects, while he himself had only the empty name; and he manifests his jealousy of the jestours, light women, alchemists, and other such like persons, who often stood between him and the preferment he demanded. Among these was a foreign physician who gained some celebrity in his time by a bold but unsuccessful attempt to invent wings for flying. This man, whose name is believed to have been John Damian, is said to have been a native of Lombardy, and having left his native country, had for some time gained a living in France by the practice of surgery and medicine. He subsequently, in 1501, repaired to Scotland, where he was well received at court, and he soon ingratiated himself with the king, who gave him the appointment of court physician. The king imbibed, about this time, an extraordinary passion for alchemy, which was, at least, encouraged by his foreign physician, who was a great adept in this science, and he caused a furnace and laboratory to be established in his palace at Stirling. The household accounts contain entries of sums of money paid to the "French leich," or physician, for the purpose of "multiplying." The spleen of Dunbar and others was moved by the favours shown to this designing interloper, as they considered him, and they could no longer contain themselves, when, early in 1504, the vacant abbacy of Tungland, in Galloway, was conferred upon him. It is probable that the new abbot of Tungland, in spite of the obloquy cast upon him by his rivals, was a man of considerable ingenuity and talent, and that we may look upon James's attachment to him as a proof of that monarch's enlightened love of science as well as letters. At length, in the September of 1507, the abbot imagined that he had crowned all his experiments, by the invention of wings to fly! It happened that a French embassy had lately come to Scotland, and was at the period last-mentioned preparing to return to France; on which the abbot made a public boast that by means of his new invention he would start at the same time and be there before them. Accordingly he mounted the castle wall of Stirling, and fitting on his wings, which were partly made of feathers, trusted himself to the air, but instead of flying to France, he fell to the ground and broke one of his thighs. So far from being disconcerted by this mishap, he is said to have explained it by alleging that those who had furnished him with the materials had, by accident or design, mixed with them feathers of the dunghill fowl, and that these, by their natural tendency to the earth, had broken his upward flight. Among his numerous enemies there was one general feeling of exultation at his misfortune, and Dunbar has expressed his sentiments in more than one poem on the occasion. In the bitterly satirical ballad entitled *The feigned Friar of Tungland,* Dunbar pretends that the alchemist was an apostate "Turk of Tartary," who had disguised himself in Lombardy, and passing for a friar, had practised medicine in France, until he was obliged to fly the country on account of the numerous patients he had killed through his ignorance. In Scotland the adventurer followed the same course, and was made an abbot, but instead of performing mass and the other services of the church, he was always engaged in his smithy.

Unto no mess preissit[1] the prelat,
For sound of sacrying bell nor skellat;[2]
As blaksmyth brukit was his pellat,[3]
For battiring at the study.
Thocht he come hame a newe maid channoun,
He had dispensit with matinnis cannoun,
On him come nothir stole nor fannoun,[4]
For smwking of the smedye.[5]
Me thocht feir fassounis he assalyeit[6]
To mak the quintessence, and failyeit;
And quhen he saw that nocht avalyeit,
A federem[7] on he tuke:
And schupe[8] in Turky for to fle;
And quhen that he did mont on hie,
All fowlis farlet[9] quhat he suld be,
That evir did on him luke.
Sum held he had bene Dedalus,
Sum the Mynataur marvaluss,
Sum Martis[10] blaksmyth Vulcanus,
And sum Saturnus cuk.[11]
And evir the cuchettis[12] at him tuggit,
The rukis[13] him rent, the ravynis him druggit,[14]
The huditt crawis[15] his hair furth ruggit,
The hevin he micht nocht bruke.[16]

In another short poem, Dunbar laments the death of numerous "makkars," or poets, his predecessors and contemporaries, and complains that he was left almost alone. Nevertheless, many poets of more or less merit were still alive, and others were springing up; so that Scottish poetry had undergone no decline in the reign of James V.

[1] Hurried. [2] Rattle, or small bell. [3] Head. [4] Scarf. [5] For smoking of his smithy. [6] Fair fashions he assayed. [7] Feathering, wings. [8] Shaped, prepared. [9] Wondered. [10] Mars's. [11] Cook. [12] Owls. [13] Rooks. [14] Roughly. [15] Hooded crows. [16] He might not enjoy or possess the heaven.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES V. TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARY STUART IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES V.; THE QUEEN-MOTHER REGENT; UNSETTLED STATE OF SCOTLAND; REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY; THE QUEEN FLIES TO ENGLAND.

Scotland had seldom experienced so severe a blow as that inflicted by the defeat at Flodden. The king, the great officers of state, the magistrates, the heads of families, were almost all cut off in one dreadful disaster, and the management of affairs was left, at a moment of so much difficulty, to a young widowed queen, and a few of the less distinguished of the nobility, whose private feuds gave promise only of disunion and anarchy. The first necessity, however, was to check as much as possible the grief and despondency which showed themselves everywhere, as the fatal intelligence became known, and in this trying emergency men of all classes showed a manly courage and resolution in preparing for the defence of their country. The praiseworthy example was set by the merchants of Edinburgh, to whom the government of the city had been confided when their chief magistrates went to join the king. When the first news of the disaster at Flodden arrived, they put forth a proclamation, cautioning the townsmen against believing hastily in uncertain intelligence, and commanding them to hold themselves in readiness to take up arms for the defence of the town at the sounding of the common bell, while the women were strictly forbidden to be seen crying or wailing in the streets. As soon as the agitation had partially subsided, a parliament was called, which met at Perth early in October, but so great had been the loss of noble and gentle blood, that it was composed chiefly of the clergy. One of the first public acts of this parliament was to cause the infant king to be crowned at Scone, with the usual solemnities, under the name of James V. The queen-mother was appointed regent; and the castle of Stirling, with the custody of the king, was entrusted to the lord Borthwick. The parliament appointed, for the present, Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, with the earls of Huntley and Angus, to be the queen's advisers. These measures were adopted under the pressure of the moment, and as the best apparent means of preserving order, until further deliberation. But the parliament was far from unanimous, and amid much jealousy and difference of opinion, there was a strong party who objected to placing the chief power in the hands of the queen, and who secretly sent a messenger to France, to the duke of Albany, the son of the prince who had been banished for his treasons, and the next heir to the crown after the infant who now bore it, urging him to return to Scotland and assume the office of regent.

It was fortunate for Scotland that, instead of following up his success, the earl of Surrey found it necessary to disband his army after the battle, and thus the unsettled government was relieved from the distress and embarrassment which must have followed an immediate invasion of the kingdom. Hostilities, however, continued to devastate the borders without intermission, in which king Henry's warden of the marches, lord Dacre, played a principal part. Soon after the battle of Flodden, lord Dacre had distinguished himself by his activity against the Scots, and had merited thereby a letter of thanks from his sovereign, who further directed him to make two rodes into Scotland, by the west and middle marshes. Lord Dacre's reply, in which he describes the manner of his putting these orders into execution, affords so singular a picture of a border foray at this time, that it deserves to be given in his own words:—"Please it your highness," Dacre says to the king, "to know, I have received your most honourable letters of your gracious thanks for my poor service done to your grace according to my duty, which is to me the most singular com-



MARGARET TUDOR.

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1541.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

fort and rejoicing I can have; for by the same I well perceive your highness regardeth not the sinister report or rumour surmised against me, nor your grace regardeth or giveth any credence thereunto, whereby I am bound the rather to do unto your highness the most laudable and acceptable service I can or may do, and so shall undoubtedly at all my power. And whereas by the same your most honourable letters I understand your pleasure and commandment is, that I should effectually proceed to the speedy execution of two rodes upon the west and middle marches, to the most annoyance of the Scots that I possibly may, like it your grace to know, upon Thursday last past I assembled your subjects in Northumberland to the number of a thousand horsemen, and rode in at Gallespeth, and so to the water of Kale, two mile within Scotland, and there set forth two forays: my brother Philip Dacre, with three hundred men, which burnt and destroyed the town of Rowcastle, with all the corns in the same and thereabouts, and won two towers in it, and burnt both, roof and floors: and sir Roger Fenwick, with three hundred men, burnt the town of Langton, and destroyed all the cornes therein; which towns are in the heart of the country, two miles beyond Jedworth, upon the water of Cheviot. And I came with a 'stale' (*by stealth, unawares*) to a place called the Dungeon, a mile from Jedworth, and so went to the Sclater ford on the water of Bowset, and there the Scots pursued us right sore, and there bickered with us and gave us hand-strokes; there came three standards to back them, that is to say, David Kerr of Fernihurst and the laird of Boudgedworth on the one side, and the sheriff of Teviotdale on the other side, with the number of seven hundred men or more. The laird of Walghope was hurt there with an arrow, and his horse slain; Mark Trumbill was stricken with a spear, and the head left in him; his horse was won; and divers Scotchmen were hurt there. And so we came forwards, where we saw my brother sir Christopher Dacre with his host arrayed at a place called the Belling, which was to us no little comfort, and to him great gladness, seeing the small power we were of at that time. My said brother came in at Cressop-bridge, and then entered the Middle Marches, and so came through Liddesdale to the Rugheswyre, fourteen miles within the ground of Scotland, and there he put forth two forays: sir John Ratcliffe with five hundred men in one, which burnt the town of Dyker, six miles from the said swyre, with a tower in the same; they laid corn and straw to the door, and burnt it both roof and floor, and so smoked them out. Also, the said sir John and his company burnt the towns of Sowdon and Lurchestrother, with a tower in it, and destroyed all the corns about them, and took divers prisoners, with much 'insight' and goods. Nicholas Harrington, Nicholas Ridley, Thomas Middleton, and George Skelton, with others to the number of five hundred in the other foray, burnt the town of Hyndhalghakede and a tower in the same, floor and roof; and in likewise the towns of West Sawsyde and East Sawsyde, with a pile (*fort*) of lime and stone in it. And my said brother sir Christopher, with two thousand horsemen, and four hundred footmen with bows, for safeguard of the host in straits, came in a stale to Dykerawe; and there the said forays relieved (*returned*) to him, and so came forward and met me. We had not ridden above the space of a mile, when we saw the lord chamberlain (Home) appear in our sight, with two thousand men, and four standards; the other three standards resorted to him, and so the country drew fast to them. We put us in array, and came homeward, and rode no faster than sheep and swine that we had would drive, which was of no great substance, for the country was warned of our coming, and the beacons burnt from midnight forward. And when the Scots had given us over, we returned home and came in at the Redeswyre. I came to Harbottle at midnight; my brother sir Christopher lay that night at the tower of Otterbourne, and upon the morn to Hexham, and his folks in other towns upon the water of Tyne, and on the third day at home, as many as might get."

"Sir," continues lord Dacre, "I see not the gentlemen of the country in a readiness for defence of your borders, for certain of them to whom I had given warning, as my lord Ogle, which promised to come to me, the constable of Alnwick, and others, trusting they would have been glad to do your grace service accordingly as they have done to your wardens in time of war, came not to me at the place appointed, whereby I was not accompanied as I thought to have been. I was counselled and advised by my guides to have adjourned my purpose, and so would have done, but only that I had

appointed with my brother sir Christopher to meet him in Scotland, for he departed from me to the west marches to bring my folks from thence, whom I might not disappoint, for I had no space to give him warning, it was thirty miles from me and more, and else I had not kept my purpose, which now is performed, thanked be Jesus, and all your subjects in safety but a servant of mine, which was killed there, and two Scots were slain, and many others hurt the same time. Please it your grace, as for the rode to be made upon your west march, I cannot see how it can be done conveniently until the next light [the full of the moon was the time generally chosen for inroads of this kind,] for two considerations; one is because I dare not be absent of this middle march during this light, for fear the Scots should destroy and burn the country in my absence, which I regard greatly; and another is that my servants' horses which came to this rode were sore laboured, for they rode twenty-eight hours without any bait. And in the next light I shall, God willing, perform the said rode; and in the mean time shall cause small rodes to be made, which shall be as great annoyance to the Scots, as a great rode should be; and thus shall your money be employed to the best I can, and for the greatest hurt and destruction of the Scots; for I shall be as good a husband thereof as I would be of mine own, and always I shall be ready to give account of the same at your pleasure."*

Thomas lord Dacre was a man of great talent both as a warrior and as a diplomatist, and he became one of king Henry's most faithful and unscrupulous agents in his designs against Scotland. We shall soon meet with him deeply engaged in fomenting the intrigues which disturbed that kingdom, where feuds were now showing themselves among all orders of society, and hardly less among the clergy than among the laity. The archbishop of St. Andrews and two bishops, as well as other dignified ecclesiastics, had fallen at Flodden, and there was great rivalry for the vacant dignities. A few potent nobles seemed the more violent in their feuds, since they were left almost alone. The death of the old earl of Angus and his son, had left the title to his grandson, a young man who, proud of having thus become the head of the great house of Douglas, looked upon the all-powerful chamberlain Home with a feeling of deadly hatred, and the whole of the south was divided by the partizans of their rival interests. The most powerful lords of the north were the earls of Huntley and Crawford, who also were busy in promoting their own separate interests. Encouraged by the example of their superiors, the lower orders became turbulent and unruly, and many parts of the country were openly traversed by bands of robbers, who plundered almost without resistance. The disunion among the nobles was increased, rather than otherwise, by the arrival of the earl of Arran, who, retaining his title of high-admiral, had remained in France since the unfortunate expedition which had drawn upon him the late king's displeasure, and who now returned to Scotland with a few of the smaller ships. At the same time came a French knight well known in Scotland for his courage and accomplishments, the sieur D'Arsie de la Bastie, who had been formerly the favourite of James IV., and seems now to have enjoyed the particular friendship of the duke of Albany. The latter had received the message of the party in Scotland who wished him to assume the regency, and had acceded to their request, but, not able to leave France immediately, he sent de la Bastie to communicate with them. In the midst of all these dissensions, the kingdom was still at war with England, and in its distress it found how little it could depend upon its foreign alliances; neither the king of Denmark, whom James IV. had assisted in reducing his rebellious subjects, nor the king of France, though James's devotion to his cause had been the origin of all the misfortunes which had now fallen upon Scotland, would give her any assistance against her foreign enemy.

The young queen, though still very young, possessed great talents, but she unfortunately possessed also many of the failings of her brother, which ill-fitted her to reconcile or contend with the factions which now divided Scotland. She was not only firm but obstinate, and she was often led by passions and resentments which overcame her better judgment, while she followed her pleasures with a contempt for public opinion that was not calculated to secure the respect of the people she had to rule. A few months after the death of her husband she

* This letter is printed from the original in Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. i., p. 93. The language is here modernised, except in the names of places.

was delivered of a posthumous son, which was named Alexander, and created duke of Ross, and to this time her delicate situation had kept her in retirement, and rendered her an object of especial interest. Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, a prelate venerable for his age and for his patriotism, had during this interval exerted himself to calm the turbulence of the various claimants to power; but their feuds ran so high, that the government was only carried on with difficulty, and it seemed impossible even to call together a parliament. The only measure of any importance that was effected, was the appointment of the earl of Crawford as chief justice to the north of the Forth, and the lord Home to the same office in the south. On the queen's recovery from her confinement, a parliament was assembled, and she was confirmed in the regency, and three counsellors were appointed to advise her and to have the custody of the young king and his brother, probably the lords before mentioned. The troubles of the kingdom seemed, however, to increase, and new strength was given to them by the sudden announcement that the queen, without even advising with her council, had married the young earl of Angus. Angus was a man apparently of small talents, vain and self-opiniated, and he imagined that his own power as the head of the house of Douglas, joined with his alliance with the queen-regent, must make him at once the most important personage in the kingdom.

From this time the divisions in the kingdom assumed a new character, and they gradually separated themselves into two great parties, one of which leaned towards England and the other towards France. The latter faction consisted especially of those who wished to bring over the duke of Albany; while the former were headed by the queen-mother and her young husband, who placed themselves in intimate correspondence with king Henry and his ministers. We have already seen that the war with England which led to the fatal battle of Flodden, was not popular in Scotland, and in spite of the bitter national animosities which had been roused by it, the English party found great support, principally among the extensive vassalage of the house of Douglas. Henry seems from the first to have calculated more upon political intrigue for the advancement of his designs against Scotland, whatever they may have been, than upon hostilities; and since the battle of Flodden he had shown no intention of carrying on the war except by border inroads, which were directed principally against the lands of those who were opposed to the English influence. In the meanwhile English agents were actively employed in intriguing in Scotland, and money was not spared to support the party of the queen; and in these intrigues the lord Dacre held a prominent place. We shall soon see how effectually this English nobleman exerted himself in creating distress and confusion in the neighbouring kingdom.

A strong feeling of opposition to Angus, joined with sentiments of nationality, caused the greater part of the nobility of the kingdom to join the party now opposed to the queen-mother. Yet they received so little encouragement from France, that the French king retained the duke of Albany from Scotland as long as he could, and in the peace which at this moment he was concluding with England, he merely inserted a coldly formal clause, by which the Scots were to be admitted to the peace, if they desired it, and if they committed no further hostilities, and if not, it was intimated that France would abandon them. The Scots were not unwilling to obtain peace, although there were some amongst them who, in a blind desire for vengeance, urged the continuance of the war; but there were difficulties to be arranged between the wardens of the borders, and these, with the desire to postpone the final settlement of the treaty until the arrival of Albany, who had already been relieved from the sentence of banishment and forfeiture, caused it to drag on slowly through several months.

In the course of these negotiations, bishop Elphinston died, and the vacancy of the see of St. Andrews led to new feuds, in which the turbulence of the church was as conspicuous as that of the laity. The queen appointed to the see a worthy ecclesiastic, celebrated as a scholar and a poet, Gawin Douglas, who was the uncle of the earl of Angus; but the enemies of the house of Douglas had brought forward another claimant, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, a turbulent and factious churchman, who had interest enough with the chapter to obtain his own election. The retainers of the house of Douglas seized upon the episcopal castle, and attempted to hold it by force of arms, but they were attacked by Hepburn, who carried the fortress by

storm. Angus was preparing to lay siege to them, when a third claimant came forward, to increase the confusion, and eventually to carry off the prize. This was Foreman, bishop of Moray, who had been a great favourite of the late king, and had been often employed by him in foreign embassies. By this circumstance, and his great riches, he had obtained influence at the court of Rome, and he now obtained a papal bull appointing him to the vacant archbishopric. He returned with this to Scotland, and contrived to secure the interest of the chamberlain Home, a nobleman who, during the interval before the return of the duke of Albany, had usurped almost regal power. By the influence of Home, and a judicious distribution of money, it was arranged that Hepburn should surrender the castle to Foreman, on condition that he should be allowed to retain the revenues which he had already collected, and that the rich priory of Coldingham should be given to his nephew. This was but one among many acts of violence which were daily taking place throughout the country; for the nobility had resumed their old practices of riding about the country with troops of armed followers, and private warfare was carried on without control. The queen, by her marriage, had, according to the terms of the king's will, rendered herself no longer capable of holding the regency, and the return of the duke of Albany continued to be delayed. Under these circumstances, the ambition of the earl of Arran was excited, and aspiring to the regency himself, he raised forces to make war upon the earl of Angus, and was joined by the earls of Lennox and Glencairn. In the midst of the confusion thus created, the earl of Lennox seized the castle of Dumbarton, and the earl of Angus narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his enemies, who had laid an ambush for him; while the important fortress of Dunbar, which formed a part of the territory of the duke of Albany, was delivered to the French knight De la Bastie. The French party, for whom de la Bastie had thus taken possession of the strong fortress, now received powerful support from the selfish and intriguing archbishop of Glasgow, the celebrated Beaton, who joined heartily with those who called in the duke of Albany. On the other hand, one of the most powerful of the northern barons, the earl of Huntley, with the lord Drummond, and the earl marshal, joined the party of the queen and her husband, and thus added very considerably to its strength.

The accession of Francis I. to the French throne in 1515, seems to have renewed the friendly feeling between Scotland and France. Two French ambassadors, Le Vaire and Villebresne, repaired to Scotland to urge the government of that kingdom to accede to the peace with England, and they succeeded in their mission, the Scots declaring that they had not accepted peace from the fear of their enemies, but from their love to France and their zeal in the projected crusade against the infidels. On the 18th of May, 1515, soon after this answer had been given, the duke of Albany arrived at Dumbarton, where he was received amid a general demonstration of joy, and he was soon afterwards installed in the regency. Albany at once threw himself into the arms of the party which had called him over, and his first acts, instead of being conciliatory, showed a determined hostility towards the English party. He was, no doubt, acquainted with the intrigues of Henry VIII., whose minister, lord Dacre, by means of his agents, an English priest named Williamson, and the queen's secretary sir James Inglis, and a host of minor emissaries and spies, had gained great influence in the country, which he used continually to promote confusion and embarrass the existing government. A proposal had been made to the young queen, before Albany's arrival, to fly into England, and take with her the infant king and his brother; and this design seems to have been laid aside through the apprehensions rather than the inclinations of the leaders of her party. The daring and powerful lord-chamberlain Home, had also gradually gone over to the queen's party, as the period of Albany's arrival drew near, influenced also, as it appears, by lord Dacre's persuasions. According to Buchanan, Home was driven to join the English party, after Albany's accession to the regency, by the hostility of the regent, who was prejudiced against him by the misrepresentations of John Hepburn, the prior of St. Andrews, who believed that he had been prevented from establishing himself in the archbishopric by the chancellor's influence, and who had ever since regarded him and the successful claimant, Foreman, with the bitterest hostility. This man, Buchanan tells us, "having secured the regent's friends by private gifts, obtained the entire possession of his ear; and

by secret accusations, and a pretence of knowledge in the manners of his country, so insinuated himself into the confidence of a prince ignorant of Scottish affairs, that he was almost solely entrusted with the management of the most important transactions. He was sent by him with a commission to travel over all Scotland, and inquire into the misdemeanours of those who oppressed and enslaved the common people; and he still further insinuated himself into his confidence by the manner in which he executed this trust. He particularly pointed out, in the several districts, what recent quarrels or ancient animosities existed; likewise, what factions there were, and who were their chiefs; and the facts which were known to all, he narrated with sufficient fidelity; but as often as an opportunity offered, he excited informers to bring complaints against the tyranny of Home; and partly by true, and partly by false representations, completely prejudiced the duke against him. After he had surveyed the whole kingdom, on his return, when he explained to the regent the relationships, connexions, and leagues, which existed among the different families between themselves, he persuaded him that not one of the powerful noblemen could be brought to punishment for his crimes, however flagrant, without giving offence to a number; and that not so much on account of the enmity and conspiracies of the relations, as because, although the punishment extended only to a few guilty, yet the example would reach a great many, who, formerly enemies, from a similarity of crime, and a dread of punishment, would become friends; nor was it possible to chastise such great and extensively spread factions by domestic forces. He therefore advised him to request the king of France to send a greater number of troops, to break down the contumacious race, which would equally promote the advantage of Scotland and the interest of France; but, in the mean time, the chiefs of the factions ought to be humbled, or, if possible, cut off, yet cautiously, that they might not perceive that a number were aimed at. These, at present, were principally three, of whom Archibald Douglas (the earl of Angus), enjoyed the greatest popularity with the crowd, for the name of his family was fondly cherished on account of the many services they had rendered the Scots; besides, being in the flower of youth, and supported by his affinity with the king of England, he was too ambitious for a private station; next, Home, who he said was a man of great weight from the power he had enjoyed for such a length of time, and more formidable; then, digressing, he proceeded invidiously to relate all that had been done by the Homes against the regent's father and uncle, in which, although the Hepburns were participators, he attributed the whole blame to the Homes; besides, he often repeated, with many asseverations, the story of their standing aloof in the late battle with the English, the malicious rumour respecting the king's death, and the rebuilding of Norham castle through their connivance; and lastly, Foreman, who, though neither formidable on account of his relations, nor his noble descent, yet would form a great acquisition to whatever side he should incline; for all the wealth of the kingdom being gathered into his one house, he could either relieve the present want of the party by money, or by his promises allure numbers to their common confederacy. Hepburn's representation of Foreman was rendered of less weight by the known enmity which existed between them; besides, the archbishop created little envy on account of that wealth, which he delighted more in scattering profusely than in hoarding, and in the disposal of which he was not more munificent to any than to the French attendants of the regent; neither did he endeavour to attach himself so much to one party, as to extend his benevolence to the whole. But the suspicions respecting the warden of the borders sunk deeper in the mind of the regent, which he soon betrayed by his estrangement from Home, and his coldness when they met. Wherefore, in a few months, not being treated as he expected by Albany, he began to hold secret meetings with the queen and her husband, in which he greatly lamented the situation of the country, because the infant king was entrusted to an exile, born and educated in a state of banishment; whose father's ambition had nearly deprived his elder brother of his kingdom, and who himself, as next heir, it was evident only waited till everything else was settled according to his wishes, to remove the innocent child, assume the crown, and complete what his father had impiously projected. One only method of avoiding the danger remained; it was for the queen to depart to England with her son, and

commit herself and her interest to the protection of her brother."

Buchanan is not correct in stating that it was some months after the accession of the duke of Albany to the regency when Home went over to the English party, as we know that Albany was not made regent till the 10th of July, and the chamberlain had openly joined the queen and her husband within a month, as his conversion is announced in a letter from lord Dacre at the beginning of August. The example of so powerful a nobleman as Home no doubt drew many to the party he had espoused, which seems at this moment to have been gaining in strength. Many wise and patriotic men, indeed, looked forward to the government of the duke of Albany with apprehension. Some were anxious for the continuance of peace, and disapproved of the hostile feelings shown by the new regent towards England, which seemed rather to have been instilled into his mind in France, than dictated by a sincere desire to promote the true interests of the people over whom he was called to rule. Others, who were equally hostile towards England, regretted their regent's French connexions, and disapproved of the servile devotion he showed to the king of France. The English party took advantage of all these feelings; they talked of the ambition and manifold treasons of the regent's father, and pointing invidiously to the conduct of Richard III. of England, they intimated their fears that the example would not be thrown away on one who, like him, had only two infants between himself and the throne. They described him as a foreigner, with none of the feelings or interests of a Scot, and totally ignorant of the laws, manners, and wants of the people he came to govern, and augured a period of misrule which was fraught with calamity for the country.

Albany began his government with manifesting the most implacable hostility towards the party opposed to him, and the queen was made to feel that her friendship was no protection to those who were attached to her or her husband. Lord Drummond, a nobleman advanced in years, and distinguished by his devotion to the royal house of Scotland, was thrown into prison in the castle of Blackness, on the pretence that he had treated with rudeness the lion herald when he had perhaps brought an unwelcome message to the queen. A charge more evidently fabricated to excuse the attack, was made against the learned Gawin Douglas, that he had illegally procured his nomination to the see of Dunkeld through the influence of the English monarch at the court of Rome, and he also was committed to rigorous imprisonment. The queen implored in vain for the liberation of her friends and counsellors; and then gave vent to her indignation in querulous letters to her brother. But the rigour of the regent's proceedings had the effect of drawing off from her party many of those who were unwilling to expose themselves to the hostility of a party which seemed most powerful to commit injury.

These proceedings, however, were only introductory to a step of a more important character. Perhaps Albany had received some intimation of the intrigues which had been carried on for the removal of the two princes to England, or at all events he probably suspected that some such attempt might be made, and he resolved that they should no longer remain in the custody of their mother. A parliament was called at Edinburgh, and it was ordered that out of eight lords nominated by the parliament, four should be chosen by lot, and three of these, to be selected out of the four by the queen, were to take the princes into their custody. Three peers were accordingly named, and they proceeded to the castle of Edinburgh, where Margaret was residing, that the two royal children might be delivered to them. Queen Margaret was as high-spirited as she was talented, and she showed no inclination to submit quietly to the will of the regent, or even of the parliament, which she naturally looked upon as acting under the influence of the party opposed to herself. When the three noblemen presented themselves at the castle gates, these were suddenly thrown open, and the queen appeared holding the king in one hand, while a nurse carried his younger brother in her arms, and with an air of dignity and a loud and clear voice she bade the envoys of the parliament advance no further till they had declared their business. The scene was one calculated to produce an imposing effect upon the multitude who were assembled in front of the castle, and who testified their loyalty to their young sovereign by their enthusiastic shouts. The three noblemen, in reply to the queen's question, stated that they were sent by the parliament to take the two princes into their custody; upon which the queen gave a signal,

and the portcullis rolled down and opposed an insurmountable barrier to their further approach. She then said, "I hold this castle by the gift of my late husband, your king, who also entrusted me with the keeping and government of my children, and I shall not yield them to any person whatsoever; but I respect the parliament, and I require a delay of six days to consider their mandate." The three noblemen retired, and during the respite which she had thus gained, Margaret removed with the children to Stirling, which was a stronger fortress, with a garrison more devoted to her cause. Thence she sent her final answer to the regent, proposing that the royal children should be placed in the custody of the earls of Angus, Home, and Marshal, and Lauder of the Bass. As these were, with one exception, men devoted to her party, the proposal was inadmissible, and the regent proceeded immediately to take measures for reducing the queen to obedience. He assembled an armed force without delay, and directed the lords Borthwick and Ruthven to lay close siege to the castle of Stirling, while he ordered Home, as provost of Edinburgh, to arrest Angus's brother sir George Douglas, and summoned Angus himself to join the host at the head of his vassals. But the earl, who, alarmed at the consequence of the queen's disobedience to the orders of parliament, had at first urged her to deliver up the princes to the three noblemen, and had caused a notarial instrument to be drawn up of his being no party to her refusal, had subsequently retired to his territory in the Mearns, where he was collecting his vassals, not to join the standard of Albany, but to resist the storm with which he saw that he was himself threatened; whilst Home, refusing to execute the regent's orders, left the capital by night, and escaped to the border. Upon this the regent issued a proclamation against all who held Stirling castle against the government, and marched against that fortress at the head of seven thousand men. The queen, convinced that it was in vain to resist, and alarmed by the desertion of some of her friends, requested an interview with the regent, and delivered up to him the castle and her children, requesting favourable treatment for herself and her husband. This request, however, was only partially granted; for, while he assured the queen of his loyalty and attachment to the young monarch and herself, he refused to promise any favour to the earl of Angus, as long as he remained associated with traitors to the state. The princes were now committed to the custody of the earl Marshal and the lords Fleming and Borthwick, and, a garrison more devoted to the government having been placed in Stirling, the queen was conducted back to Edinburgh, with every mark of respect, to her former residence in the castle. Her children remained with their three guardians at Stirling.

The hostility of the regent was now mainly directed against Home, who, while on one hand he used his influence over the earl of Angus to encourage him to resistance, entered into a close alliance with lord Dacre, and was urgent for a strong force to be sent to their assistance from England. The Scottish borders were thus soon in arms against the authority of the regent. The latter again summoned the force of the kingdom to reduce his enemies. He began by sending to the queen a proposal for a reconciliation, by which he offered to support her and her husband in all just and lawful actions, and to put her in full possession of her jointure lands, and maintain her according to her rank, on the condition that they should co-operate cordially with the parliament and renounce their secret connection with England. This proposal was certainly a fair and even a generous one, yet Margaret unhesitatingly rejected it, probably under the influence of Dacre and Home, though some have excused her by intimating that she mistrusted Albany's promises. Against Home the regent declared the utmost hostility, and he insisted that he should not remain in Scotland, on which that nobleman made an earnest request through Dacre for assistance from England, and assembling a strong force, he re-captured the castle of Home, which had been seized by the regent, and took that of Blacater, and in the latter, which was no more than five miles from Berwick, it was determined that the Scottish queen should take refuge, as a place from which she could at any time pass easily and rapidly into England. Margaret agreed to this proposal, and having contrived to join lord Home, who met her with an escort of forty horsemen, he conducted her to Blacater.

The regent was extremely provoked at this proceeding, and, encouraged by the full support of the parliament, he soon

raised an army of forty thousand men to suppress the insurrection, and with this force he advanced to the borders. At the same time a new proposal for a pacification was sent to the queen, but was again rejected, and the duke of Albany sent two commissioners, sir William Scott and sir Robert Lauder, to meet the English commissioners, lord Dacre and Dr. Magnus, and consult with them for the arrangement of all questions relating to the border. As the regent advanced with his army, many of Home's partizans became alarmed, and he soon found himself too weak to offer any serious resistance. Home was himself captured, and committed to the charge of the earl of Arran, who, however, suddenly deserted the regent's party, and fled with his prisoner to England. They were followed by the queen and her husband, the earl of Angus, but she went no further than Harbottle in Northumberland. Margaret was at this time in an advanced state of pregnancy, and eight days after her arrival at Harbottle, she gave birth to a daughter, named after herself Margaret. From Harbottle, on the 10th of October, 1515, she addressed a letter to the regent, in which she declared that she had been constrained to leave Scotland on account of the danger to which her life was exposed from the designs of her enemies, protested against the regent's conduct, and claimed the government of the kingdom and the custody of the young king, as a right given her by her husband's will, and confirmed by the pope. She received a reply from the council of state, dated on the 13th of October, in which she was informed that by the terms of the will itself, she had forfeited all claim to the tutelage of her son when she married the earl of Angus, and that the disposal of the government lay entirely with the three estates, and could not be disposed of by the will of a deceased king, or by the decision of a pope. This was followed by two other letters, one from the council, the other from the regent himself, in which the queen was earnestly entreated to follow no longer the counsels of evil advisers, but to return to Scotland, where she should be treated with every respect due to her station, and she was even offered the guardianship of her children, if she would give her solemn promise that they should not be taken out of the kingdom. But the queen seems still to have been influenced by suspicions of the regent's sincerity, and she obstinately refused to listen to terms which, to say the least of them, displayed great indulgence. The three earls, Home, Angus, and Arran, had taken courage, under the influence of lord Dacre, and, at a meeting at Coldstream on the 15th of October, they entered into a bond of mutual alliance, by which they engaged to resist the regent with all their vassals and followers, and to labour together for the deliverance of their sovereign from the custody of those whom they affected to consider as his enemies.

CHAPTER II.

CONDUCT OF HENRY VIII.; NEW REBELLION OF ARRAN; EXECUTION OF THE HOMES; FRANCE DESERTS THE SCOTTISH ALLIANCE; THE QUEEN RETURNS TO SCOTLAND; VISIT OF THE REGENT TO FRANCE; INSURRECTION IN THE ISLES; FEUDS BETWEEN ANGUS AND ARRAN; ALBANY REASSUMES THE REGENCY.

The regent, having thus driven out of the country the enemies of his government, was left to profit by his triumph, but his proceedings appear to have been characterized by great forbearance. The earl of Arran was proclaimed a rebel, and his castles were seized, but, at the intercession of the mother of the fugitive nobleman, the regent promised him forgiveness if he returned to his allegiance. Arran, with sudden precipitancy, deserted the colleagues with whom he had so recently leagued himself, and returned to Scotland, where he was received into favour. The queen and her friends in England were exasperated at this defection, and when, about the same time, the youngest

of the two royal children died rather suddenly at Stirling, she hesitated not to proclaim publicly her belief that he had been poisoned by the duke of Albany. It was not long before Home and Angus followed Arran's example, and returning to Scotland, they both promised allegiance, and were pardoned. The queen never forgave the desertion of her husband, and she implored her brother more earnestly than ever to interfere in procuring redress of what she considered her wrongs. King Henry was at this time involved anew in continental politics, and he had just concluded a new truce with Scotland, not unwillingly, for he was well aware of the advantage of securing peace at home before he engaged in hostilities abroad. Nevertheless he wrote a letter to the estates of Scotland, in which, assuming an offensive tone of superiority, he told them that their young nephew was not safe under the government of the duke of Albany, and urged them to remove that nobleman from the regency and banish him from Scotland. This letter was laid before a parliament which met at Edinburgh in the latter end of June, 1316, and on the 1st of July the estates returned an answer expressed in firm language, declaring that the duke of Albany had been called to his high office, not in consequence of any advances made by himself, but by their own deliberate choice; that at their call he had left the service of France reluctantly; that they believed his government was in every way beneficial to Scotland; and that as they placed their entire confidence in him, so they were prepared to defend his government with their lives against any attack to which it might be exposed.

Henry saw, by the tone of this letter, that the Scottish parliament was not likely to be influenced by open intimidation, and he again left the English party in Scotland to be supported by the active intrigues of his warden of the border, lord Dacre. A letter from this nobleman to cardinal Wolsey, written on the 23rd of August, 1516, gives us a curious picture of his proceedings, and shows us that disaffection was again gaining ground among the nobles who had so lately made their peace with the regent. He says, "I have received a letter from Clarencieux king-at-arms to be sent unto your grace; also I have received another letter sent to myself from the said Clarencieux, whereby I perceive, and by such mutual communication as hath been between us twain, as well as since his departure from your grace as before, there was tokens devised between us how I should know as he sped, and how he should know what practises as I dealt withal; whereupon by his said letter to me now directed, I perceive that it resteth upon the answer of the French king coming with Layfayette. And because I see that he goeth not so shortly to work, but driveth the time, I labour and studies all that I can to made division and debate, to the intent that if the duke (Albany) will not apply himself, that then that debate may grow that it shall be impossible to him to do justice. And for that intended purpose in that behalf, I have the master of Kilmawrs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland; as the queen can declare unto your grace, or any other Scotchman, if it like your grace to demand them. And also I have secret messages from the earl of Angus and others, which I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace, if the said duke apply not himself. And also I have four hundred outlaws (and give them rewards), that burn and destroy daily in Scotland; all being Scotchmen which should be under the obedience of Scotland. And if the said duke will apply him to the king's pleasure, then shall all these practises be void and of none effect."

The effect of these intrigues, and the disaffection of the Scottish nobility, were soon shown openly. The earl of Arran, who imagined that he had a better claim to the regency than Albany, had already entered into a new treasonable bond with the earls of Lennox and Glencairn, Mure of Caldwell, who had married a sister of Lennox, and other barons, the object of which was to depose the present regent. Mure attacked the archiepiscopal palace of Glasgow, then the depôt of the king's artillery, and carried it by storm, and he enriched himself and his followers by the plunder; but, though he declared his intention of holding it for Arran, he was compelled to surrender it on the approach of Albany with a powerful army. The archbishop of Glasgow, the celebrated Beaton, now interposed, and at his intercession Arran was again pardoned. Buchanan says that it was Foreman, archbishop of St. Andrews, who interceded for him on this occasion. Lennox returned to his allegiance, and appears thenceforth to have remained loyal; but Mure and his followers held out for some time in the west. The short-

lived rebellions of men like Angus and Arran seem to have given little uneasiness to the regent, but Home was an abler and therefore a more formidable rival, and he seems now to have resolved on consolidating his own power by making this nobleman and his brother William severe examples to terrify his enemies. We are told by Buchanan that Albany had pardoned Home and his brother, with the express reservation that if they offended again, their former acts of rebellion would be brought forward in accusation against them. With a charge thus hanging over their heads, it could not but be easy at any time to find an excuse for putting the threat in execution, and we are told that the continued turbulence of the Homes gave good cause for suspecting that they were meditating new acts of treason. After the submission of Arran, the regent had retired to Falkland, where he appears to have matured his plans of vengeance, and he proceeded thence to Edinburgh, to meet a parliament which he had summoned to assemble there on the 24th of September. There appears to have been distrust on both sides, and it is said that the regent allured the Homes to court by an apparently friendly invitation, which seemed to leave no cause of apprehension. Nevertheless many of their most attached friends urged them not to go, and at least recommended that if the earl of Home went himself, he should leave his brother William behind him, as they believed that the regent would not dare to treat the one brother with severity while the other was at large. But, in spite of the persuasions of their friends, the two brothers, with their friend Andrew Ker of Fernyhirst, proceeded to the capital. Their arrival was no sooner known, than all three were arrested and thrown into prison. The circumstances of their trial are involved in much obscurity, but it is said that, probably in order to give popularity to the judgment, the charge of treason against the president was combined with an accusation of having traitorously deserted his sovereign at the battle of Flodden, and a ridiculous story that James had escaped from the battle, but that he was subsequently murdered privately by Home. Both the brothers were condemned; the earl was beheaded on the eleventh of October, and his brother suffered next day; their heads were exposed on the tolbooth, and their estates were confiscated. Andrew Ker was also condemned, but he escaped from prison. The lord Fleming was appointed chamberlain in place of the earl of Home; and the office of warden of the borders was given to Albany's intimate friend, the French knight de la Bastie. The execution of the Homes appears to have been an unpopular act; and Buchanan has handed down to us as the general belief of the time that they fell victims to the hatred of the prior of St. Andrew's, who had never forgiven the chamberlain's agency in giving the archbishopric to Foreman.

Since Henry VIII.'s letter to the parliament against the duke of Albany, the present government of Scotland had been looking more and more for support from France, and now that an ambassador from that country, Francois de Bordeaux, was known to be on his way, their expectations were raised, but it was only to be again disappointed. The French king, Francis I., was desirous of conciliating England, and he treated his Scottish allies with coldness. When they asked for assistance against England, they met with a refusal, coupled with a recommendation to seize the first opportunity of concluding a peace with their southern neighbours, and Francis even refused to ratify a treaty of alliance which had been previously renewed between the council of regency and the ambassador of France, before the duke of Albany came to France. Francis showed still further an unfriendly feeling towards the Scots by declining to restore the county of Xaintongue to the Scottish crown, to which it had been given by Charles VII. in 1428. All these circumstances added to the embarrassment of the Scottish government, and a parliament was called in the November of 1516, to deliberate on the communications made by the French ambassador. It was on this occasion that the duke of Albany, anxious to visit his French estates, and encouraged by a private letter from the French king, made an urgent demand to the parliament for permission to absent himself for a short period in France.

Albany's demand of leave of absence met with very considerable opposition from all the friends of his government, who foresaw the evils which must necessarily arise from it. They represented to him that, having accepted the regency under the peculiar circumstances which called him to it, namely, the perilous position of the kingdom, the infancy of the king, and his own proximity by blood to the throne, it would be a dereliction of duty if he deserted his post before

the youthful monarch had arrived at an age to rule for himself; and they predicted the triumph of the English party during his absence, and his probable deposition from the regency. All expostulation, however, proved vain, and the parliament unwillingly consented to the regent's departure, and limited his period of absence to four months. A council of regency having been accordingly appointed, consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntley, Albany set sail from Dumbarton on the 7th of June, 1517. As a measure of precaution against the mischiefs foretold by his friends, Albany had taken with him in his train the eldest sons of many of the noblest families of Scotland, with the intention of holding them as hostages for the good behaviour of their relations. He had not, however, been long gone, when these predictions began to be verified. The regent had, as we have before said, placed his confidence in his French friend, De la Bastie, a man remarkable for his talents both as a statesman and a warrior, and, while he left the government of the kingdom entirely in the hands of the Scottish nobles just enumerated, he gave a still more arduous task, that of ruling the turbulent barons on the borders, to De la Bastie, with the further title of deputy or lieutenant of the governor, and in this quality he was to send Albany reports on the behaviour of the Scottish chiefs. The French knight held his court as warden of the marches in the castle of Dunbar, and he administered justice with so much firmness and resolution, that he soon drew on himself the bitter hostility of the borderers, who had been already provoked by the execution of the Homes. One of this house, Home of Wedderburn, whose wife was a sister of the earl of Angus, joining with other border chiefs, devised a plan for gratifying their revenge, and at the same time ridding themselves of a troublesome ruler. A party of borderers was collected to make a feint of attacking the tower of Langton, in order to draw De la Bastie into an ambush. The warden no sooner heard of the attack on Langton, than he hastened from Dunbar, with a few French knights in his train, to interpose his authority; but, before he had reached the scene of turbulence, he found himself and his small party suddenly surrounded with enemies, and he escaped with the utmost difficulty by the extraordinary swiftness of his horse. But he was ignorant of the country, and he had not gone far, before he found himself entangled in a deep marsh, from which he was unable to extricate himself. He was soon overtaken, and, amid the insults of his pursuers, and in mockery of his earnest supplications for his life, he was slain by the laird of Wedderburn's two younger brothers, John and Patrick Home; and the laird, cutting off his head, hung it by the hair to his saddle bow, and rode with it into the town of Dunse, where he stuck it up on the market cross as a trophy of his vengeance.

This sanguinary outrage caused a strong sensation throughout the country, and excited the indignation of the regents, who, believing that the Douglases were not strangers to it, appointed the earl of Arran, who was least likely to sympathise with them, warden of the marches. Arran proceeded with activity against the murderers and their accomplices, and having first seized upon the earl of Angus's brother, sir George Douglas, and his ally Mark Ker, he marched against the insurgents with an army, carrying with him the king's artillery, and soon compelled them to submit and to surrender into his hands the castles of Home and Wedderburn, as well as that of Langton which they had captured. But, with what appears to have been a mistaken lenity, although we hardly understand the motives which led to it, the murderers were all pardoned.

Another event had taken place which had some influence on the political relations of the different parties. Before Albany's departure, the question of the queen's return had been agitated, for Margaret seems to have been tired of her sojourn in England. It was accordingly arranged by the parliament, that she should be received with the honours due to her exalted rank, if she would promise not again to interfere in the political commotions of the country, by encouraging opposition to Albany's authority. She did not, however, arrive in Scotland until some time after the regent's departure from France, but she was honourably received at Lamberton Kirk by De la Bastie, with the earls of Angus and Morton, and conducted thence to Edinburgh, where, however, she was not permitted to visit her son, though this restriction was soon afterwards relaxed. It was subsequently renewed on a report, apparently without foundation, of a design of carrying away the young monarch to

England. The queen appears during this time to have acted with so much moderation, that she regained the confidence even of her opponents, and Albany, whose four months were expired, and who was disgusted by the murder of his friend and the turbulence of the Scottish barons, wrote to recommend earnestly that the government should again be placed in Margaret's hands. The nobility seem to have been willing to accede to this arrangement, but the queen, who had been reconciled to her husband, now insisted that Angus should be appointed regent. To this the nobles at once refused their consent, and the government remained as it had been left by Albany, and anxiously awaited his return.

Peace seemed at this moment to be permanently restored to the lowlands, but the highlands had been for some time in a state of open insurrection. James IV. had laboured earnestly to spread civilization among the highlanders, and for this purpose he sent for their sons to be educated in the lowland schools and universities, and brought the young chiefs to court to improve their manners, and attach them to his person. Among these were the sons of sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, in Ross-shire, the elder of whom became a great favourite of the king, who knighted him and gave him many proofs of his attachment. Young Macdonald accompanied James to Flodden, from whence he fled to the highlands to carry thither the news of the disaster, and to assist in organising a conspiracy to raise his father sir Alexander to independent power as lord of the isles. The immediate result was an alarming rebellion, led by Maclean of Dowart, in the isle of Mull, and Macleod of Dunvegan, in Skye. They seized the castles of Carnelreigh and Dunshaich, and declared war against all who refused to acknowledge the lordship of Macdonald. In spite of the exertions of the earl of Argyle, assisted by the Mackenzies, Monros, and other loyal clans, the insurrection soon spread through Lochaber, and a great part of Ross, and it was not without great difficulty that it was at length suppressed. With his characteristic leniency, Albany had forgiven the leaders, on their submission to his authority; but no sooner had Macdonald of Lochalsh made his peace with the government, than he took up arms again to prosecute a bitter feud against a rival chief, Mac-Ian of Ardnamurchan. The attempt to restrain him only provoked the first chieftain to new rebellion, and assisted by his old allies, the Macleods, he continued to pursue his war against Mac-Ian, and at the same time to make head against the earl of Argyle, although the latter was zealously assisted by Maclean of Dowart, who had deserted Macdonald. In a desperate battle at Craiganairgid in Morvern, Mac-Ian was entirely defeated, and himself and his two sons were slain. In the midst of his triumph, Macdonald of Lochalsh died unexpectedly, and as he left no descendant, the rebellion in the isles soon died away.

In the south the peace was soon disturbed again by the intrigues and rivalry of the different factions. Angus, as he grew in years, began to show greater abilities than he had displayed before, without losing his turbulence of character. His reconciliation with the queen had given great strength to his party, but it did not last long; for his irregularities and amours soon gave greater offence than ever to his wife, while the latter seems to have become convinced that she was best promoting the welfare of her son by joining cordially with the other nobles in supporting the dignity of his throne. In her anger, Margaret broke into violent recriminations against her husband, and announced her resolution of immediately obtaining a divorce. Angus was looked upon at the court of Henry VIII., as the head of the English party, since the execution of the Homes, and Henry was not a little alarmed at the proceedings of his sister. He sent in haste to Scotland an English friar named Chatsworth, the bearer of violent expostulations to the Scottish queen, forbidding the divorce, and with little delicacy intimating to her his belief that her own private life had not been more irreproachable than that of her husband. She was so far influenced by these representations that she did not press forwards the divorce, but she showed no inclination to be again reconciled to her husband, and joined herself more and more with the contrary party.

The foreign relations of Scotland continued to be unsatisfactory. An application came from Christiern of Denmark for a new aid to reduce to obedience his subjects who had been driven into rebellion by his tyranny, but it was prudently refused. In France, the duke of Albany was unable to change the policy of Francis I., who

having conditionally included the Scots in his treaty with England, sent two ambassadors to England, with orders to announce to the Scots that if they rejected the treaty they must look for no further support from France. The two ambassadors proceeded to Scotland in company with the English clarencieux herald, and a parliament was immediately called to deliberate upon their message. The threat of the French monarch seems to have produced an immediate effect; and the parliament made no difficulty in accepting the treaty. A public proclamation at Stirling, in presence of the regents and the ambassadors, announced that the truce with England was prolonged to the 30th of November, 1520.

We have some difficulty in understanding all the intrigues which were now going on in Scotland, but the only opposition to the truce seems to have come from the earl of Angus. This nobleman had now organized a formidable party, and counted among his supporters the earls of Crawford and Errol, the lord Glammis, and the bishops of Aberdeen, Dumblane, and Orkney. Arran had been elected to the presidency of the council of regency in opposition to Angus, with the title of lieutenant-general, and the country was soon disturbed by the rivalry between the two factions. The first act of open hostility was committed by the earl of Angus. Although the Scottish government had before decided on accepting of the peace with England concluded by the king of France, it seems to have dragged on without being finally concluded, until now the ambassadors of Francis I. passing through England, and bringing with them a fellow-ambassador from that country, pressed its ultimate decision, and it was agreed to by the regents and approved by the parliament. Angus, however, opposed it, apparently from mere factious motives, and he attempted to intrude himself into Arran's place, that he might manage the treaty himself. Failing in this, he raised his vassals, and intercepting the ambassadors on their way back to England, accused them of having acted in contempt of his authority, and severely upbraided them before they were allowed to proceed.

This occurred in the latter end of the year 1519. It was followed quickly by outrages of a still more serious character. The time was at hand for the election to the high office of provost of Edinburgh, and Arran, who held that office and believed that he was secure of the citizens, expected as a matter of course to be re-elected. But the intrigues of his opponents carried the election against him, and Angus's uncle, Archibald Douglas, was installed in the office. The election appears to have been made irregularly and tumultuously, and Arran's partizans attempted to force their way into the city, for the purpose of restoring order. This led to an obstinate and sanguinary struggle, in which sir James Hamilton, popularly known as the bastard of Arran, slew the leader of the tumult, a carpenter named Gawin, one of Angus's most unscrupulous partizans, but in the end Arran and his people were compelled to retreat. An outrage of a more brutal character was perpetrated in another part of the country by Angus's brother-in-law, Home of Wedderburn, the murderer of De la Bastie. It appears that William Douglas, a brother of the earl of Angus, who was an ecclesiastic, looked with an eye of envy upon the rich priory of Coldingham on the border, upon which Home attacked the prior then existing, and murdered him and six of his family. The vacancy of the office having been thus created, William Douglas seized upon the priory and intruded himself into the office by force.

The division between the two parties had risen to such a height that the regents were no longer able to exercise their offices, and it was determined to call a parliament to interpose its authority in appeasing the troubles which disturbed the peace of the country, while a messenger was sent to France to consult with the duke of Albany. The regent directed that, with regard to the provostship of Edinburgh, no person of the name of Douglas or Hamilton should be capable of election, and this prudent recommendation found so much weight, that Archibald Douglas resigned the office, and another person, a citizen named Robert Logan, was chosen in his place. Still the Douglases remained masters in the capital, though their influence was considerably weakened by the new disposal of the provostship. The parliament was to meet in Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520, and Angus, not apprehensive of any danger, and unwilling perhaps to have unnecessarily the appearance of overawing the parliament, had sent away all his forces, except a body-guard of four hundred spearmen. Meanwhile Arran had mustered his friends in considerable strength, and they resolved, at

the instigation, it was said, of archbishop Beaton, who then held the office of chancellor of Scotland, not to let slip the opportunity of crushing their formidable opponent; and for this purpose a meeting of the leaders of Arran's party was held on the 30th of April, in the church of the Black Friars, at which Beaton attended with a coat of mail under his linen rocquet, and where it was resolved to arrest the earl of Angus. The latter had been partly made acquainted with their designs, and, alarmed at the power of his opponents, he sent his uncle, Gawin Douglas, the bishop, to temporise with them. Gawin entered the church of the Black Friars, and, addressing himself to the chiefs, expostulated with them on their violent designs, asserted the peaceful intentions of the earl of Angus, and declared his readiness to meet all charges that might be brought against him, according to the laws of his country. In reply to this earnest appeal, Beaton declared on his conscience that he and his friends had no hostile intentions, and in the warmth of his denial, struck his hand with so much force on his breast, that his concealed armour rung with the blow. It is said that Gawin Douglas observed with a smile, that he perceived the archbishop's conscience clattered. Nevertheless, his appeal had produced a deep effect, and the sanguinary scene which followed might have been prevented, but for the untimely interference of a fierce member of the house of Arran, Hamilton of Finnart. Home of Wedderburn had brought a party of borderers to the assistance of the earl of Angus, and these, joined with the four hundred spearmen, had now been brought out, and were drawn up on the causeway in front of the church in battle array, with Angus himself at their head. This ill-judged display was enough to inflame the wild passions of many of the chiefs who were rallied round the banner of the earl of Arran, and just as that nobleman's brother, sir Patrick Hamilton, moved by the appeal of the bishop of Dunkeld, had offered his services as a mediator to procure a reconciliation between the two rival factions, Hamilton of Finnart stepped up to him, and pointing to the hostile array of the Douglases in the street, accused him of cowardice in wishing thus to avoid the combat. The proud spirit of the Hamilton fired in an instant, and contemptuously addressing Hamilton of Finnart by the title of bastard, which was perhaps a true one, sir Patrick rushed out with a few of his retainers to show his courage by attacking the Douglases. He was immediately slain, it is said, by Angus's own hand, and his followers shared his fate. All attempt at negotiation was now in vain, and a desperate combat ensued, in which Arran and his party were defeated with considerable slaughter, and driven out of the city. Arran himself escaped with a few of his followers, by a ford through the north loch; others concealed themselves in the capital, and archbishop Beaton fled to the church of the Dominicans, where he sought shelter behind the high altar, whence, however, he was speedily dragged by the fierce soldiers of the earl of Douglas, who would have put him to death, had he not been rescued by the bishop of Dunkeld.

Soon after this combat, a large body of the vassals of Angus rushed into Edinburgh, and enabled their chief to expel as many of Arran's adherents as remained in it. He was now entirely master of the capital, and for some months he usurped the supreme power, in spite of the government and the laws, while his opponents wasted their strength in a few petty hostilities which produced no results of importance. Such of the Homes as had been banished, were recalled, and they all crowded to the capital, where Angus gratified them by causing the heads of the earl of Home and his brother, which had remained exposed in front of the prison, to be taken down, and masses and other expiatory ceremonies to be performed for them. Arran and the regents held together, but without daring to attempt anything, and when, on one occasion, they had agreed to hold a meeting at Stirling, they were compelled to separate in haste, by intelligence of a design of the earl of Angus to surprise and arrest them. At length Angus himself was obliged to retire for a while to his extensive estates, to attend to his private affairs, and then a kind of compromise appears to have been spontaneously assented to, by which that nobleman's overbearing power in the government was not diminished.

We are told by the old chroniclers of these events, that during this time the whole kingdom had become one scene of confusion, rapine, and slaughter. The only measure which seemed to hold out any

hopes of a remedy seemed to be the return of the duke of Albany, who had now been absent nearly five years, instead of four months. Hitherto great difficulties had stood in the way of his return. The French king had been supporting the designs of England, and his ambassadors urged peace with England, and supported the party of the earl of Angus, while they advised both parties to a reconciliation. They represented the return of Albany as an event not to be wished for, and declared that the French king would not allow him to come. They endeavoured in vain, however, to procure a reconciliation between queen Margaret and her husband, and the violent threats and recriminations of her brother and his ministers had gradually excited her indignation to such a degree that she also was now ready to join a French party. It happened at this moment, in consequence of the election of Charles V. to the empire, that the policy of the French king had undergone an entire change, and he was no longer opposed to Albany's return to Scotland, while Margaret, convinced that no time was to be lost in adopting some plan for overthrowing the power which her husband had usurped in the state, wrote a letter in her own hand to the duke of Albany, urging him to return and reassume the regency, and promising him her entire support. The English party was alarmed at this step, and the voice of scandal was soon raised to invent motives and attribute designs. It was said that Albany had employed his influence at the court of Rome to procure a divorce between the queen and her husband, in order that he might marry her himself: and a rumour was sedulously spread abroad, that the young king of Scots had been privately carried to England, while the child of a plebeian had been purchased and exhibited to the people as their king.

In consequence of the queen's representations, the duke of Albany again set sail from France, and on the 19th of November he arrived in the Gareloch, in Lennox, whence he landed and proceeded to Stirling. The news of his arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and people hoped at last for a settled government. The queen joined him at Stirling, and exhibited her friendship with so much warmth, that her enemies made it the subject of reports of the most scandalous character. The principal nobility soon rallied round him, and he proceeded to Edinburgh, in company with the queen and archbishop Beaton, attended by a numerous escort of nobles and their retainers. Angus and his friends fled from the capital when they heard of his approach; and when he entered Edinburgh castle, the captain of that fortress delivered the keys to the regent in the presence of the young king. Albany immediately offered them respectfully to the queen, who returned them to him with the assurance that she considered him by his services and loyalty fully entitled to hold the custody of the king and the government of the kingdom, and the promise that she would support him in it to the utmost of her power.

CHAPTER III.

ALBANY REGENT AGAIN; INTRIGUES OF HENRY VIII.; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; ALBANY'S INVASION OF ENGLAND HINDERED BY THE MUTINY OF THE CHIEFS; ALBANY RETURNS TO FRANCE.

The duke of Albany was thus reinstated in the office of supreme governor of Scotland. During his absence he had been fully informed of the excesses of the Douglases and their allies the Homes, and he was determined to reduce their power. Accordingly, he had no sooner established himself in the capital, than he cited the earl of Angus and his partizans to appear and answer to the charges to be brought against them in a parliament which was summoned to meet at Edinburgh. The Douglases appear to have found little support, and Angus himself, with two of his chief partizans, Home and Somerville, fled to an obscure place called the kirk of Steyle, from whence the bishop of Dunkeld was sent on a mission to England. The learned prelate was first to visit the lord Dacre, and consult with him on the best means of suo-

porting their party in Scotland, and he was to proceed thence direct to the English court. His instructions, still preserved, show that he was commissioned to excite king Henry against the regent and the Scottish government by the most unscrupulous misrepresentations, which it is possible that the bishop, biassed by his own prejudices, may have believed to be true. He not only intimated his suspicions that the regent aimed at the crown, and that he harboured designs against the life of the young king, who he said was kept in a state of imprisonment, and even of want, but he accused him of showing him so little respect that he had converted the royal robes into dresses for his pages; and he declared that his designs were manifested by his placing the royal fortresses in the hands of French garrisons; that he put up the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom for sale; that he made away with the crown lands; and that he had usurped the office of regent, which he had forfeited by his long stay in France.

All these representations were readily listened to at the English court, for they were in fact but repetitions of the information which had been continually sent up by lord Dacre. This nobleman was again busily engaged in encouraging the disaffected and bribing the venial, in accordance with the earnest recommendations of Wolsey, who, when news was brought of the regent's return, saw the danger in which the English interest in Scotland would be placed, and recommended that Dacre should be doubly diligent in his intrigues to prevent it. He was, to use the words of the crafty and ambitious ecclesiastic, "favourably to entertain the Homes and other rebels, after his accustomable manner, so that they may continue the divisions and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said duke of Albany may, at his coming hither, be put in danger; and though," he says to the king, "some money be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length." Dacre, in his communications to the king, made no scruple in speaking of an adulterous intercourse between Margaret and the regent, and spoke of rumours which accused the latter of having attempted to bribe Angus to consent to a divorce, in order that he might himself marry the queen as a preliminary step towards the murder of the king and the seizure of the crown.

Henry affected to believe all these accusations, and he treated with scorn the expostulations of his sister, who had sent an envoy instructed to refute temperately the misrepresentations of the bishop of Dunkeld, and to represent the state of affairs in a favourable light. In a haughty communication to the Scottish parliament, Henry spoke of the queen as Albany's paramour, and again insisted on the expulsion of the regent, with a threat of immediate war unless they complied; and clarencieux herald, who was the bearer of this dispatch, was commissioned also to carry one of the monarch's violent reprimands to his sister. The Scottish parliament again replied with dignified firmness; they denied the truth of the imputations which had been thrown upon the character of the queen, and declared that their king was in perfect safety; that Albany had returned to reassume the regency at their own invitation; that they were satisfied of his fidelity and patriotism, and of his ability to govern; and that so far from being willing to dismiss him, they would not permit him to depart, if he desired it, until their king had completed his minority; and that if the king of England made war upon them for their refusal to obey him in this particular, they doubted not that their countrymen would be willing and able to repel the agression.

In spite of these provocations, the Scottish government appears to have been anxious to avoid hostilities, and the regent's policy was marked with the utmost moderation. It was determined to assemble the force of the kingdom, but to act as long as possible strictly on the defensive. But the English king, exasperated at the reply to his message, although he was at this moment again engaged in a war with France, determined to carry out his threat of compelling the Scots to drive away their governor. He suddenly issued a proclamation, banishing all French and Scottish subjects from England, and confiscating their goods; and he insisted, as a special mark of ignominy, that the Scots should be driven out of the kingdom on foot, with a white cross attached to their garments. He at the same time gave orders to the earl of Shrewsbury to raise the force of the north and invade the Scottish border, and that nobleman had advanced in his destructive course as far as Kelso, when he was encountered by the borderers of Merse and Teviotdale, and driven back with considerable loss. An English fleet had been more

fortunate, in ravaging the coasts of the firth of Forth without serious opposition.

The regent now assembled another parliament at Edinburgh, and it was at once resolved that war should be proclaimed against England, and writs were issued for arraying the whole force of the kingdom. It was further ordered, as a measure of precaution, that the young king should be removed to the strong castle of Stirling, where he was to be placed under the guardianship of the lord Erskine. But while these preparations were making, a new change in the queen's inconstant attachment came to embarrass the government. She suddenly proclaimed herself the advocate of peace, and, entering into secret correspondence with lord Dacre, betrayed the regent's plans to the English, while she intrigued among the Scottish nobility to prevent hostilities on the part of the Scots.

It was the autumn of 1522, when the Scottish army assembled, in obedience to the summons of the regent, in the fields near Rosslin. Buchanan states, which is scarcely credible, that the soldiers were ignorant of the cause for which they were thus brought together, and that they were not informed of the object of the expedition, until they reached Annan, on the borders of the Solway. While this imposing army, said to have consisted of eighty thousand men, with a formidable train of artillery, encamped here, Albany called together the chiefs, and explained his designs, but he found to his mortification that the majority were unwilling to pass the border. He, however, pushed on with a part of his force as far as Carlisle, causing a general panic through the neighbouring counties, which were unprovided for such an attack. It was probably Albany's intention, by his silence as to the object of the expedition, to take lord Dacre by surprise; but that nobleman received secret information not only of the movements of the Scottish army, but of the distaste of their leaders for the war; and, although the temptation for a powerful army under such circumstances to invade a rich and exposed country was great, he seems to have been confident that the regent's expedition would have no serious result. He immediately entered into negotiations with the duke, and it was proposed that he should visit the Scottish camp. Buchanan tells us that the negotiation was first opened by the regent himself, who secretly, by means of a merchant accustomed to transact business in England, apprised Dacre that an arrangement advantageous to both parties might be made if they had a conference. Dacre accordingly obtained a safe-conduct, and proceeded to the Scottish camp with an escort of twenty esquires; and held a private interview with Albany, at which it was agreed that hostilities should cease for a month, to give time for negotiating peace. In consequence of this arrangement, the regent retired from the border, and disbanded an army which he could probably no longer keep together.*

While we condemn the character of king Henry's intervention in Scottish affairs, and the unscrupulous means by which it was carried on, we must not imagine that he acted without an object of considerable importance to himself. We have seen that a French influence had long reigned in Scotland, and as this threatened to be extremely embarrassing to him, he was naturally desirous of establishing an English influence in its place. As long as the English king was engaged in war with France, he could not but entertain a hostile feeling towards the duke of Albany, who openly acknowledged himself a subject of France, and boasted of his devotion to his French sovereign. In the recent expedition against the English border he had two objects: one the national honour, the other to oblige the king of France, the latter of which seemed now to weigh more heavily on his mind; and he determined to visit France again, in order to explain to Francis the cause of his failure. Having, accordingly, appointed a council of regency, consisting of archbishop Beaton, the earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, and a French knight named Gresolles, all of whom he bound by oath to attempt nothing contrary to his authority during his absence, Albany left Scotland at the end of October, promising to return by the first of August in the following year. Another period of anarchy ensued, the effects of which are thus summed up by Buchanan, who lived at the time, and who has given us by no means an unfair estimate of parties. "I have shown," he says, "in what a wretched state Scotland was

* Tytler has given a somewhat different account of this transaction, and has offered some explanations of the regent's conduct, which seem more specious than sound. Buchanan's account is so circumstantial, that we can hardly avoid giving it credit.

during the last summer; the nobles at variance with each other; those places next to England visited with all the horrors of war, and so blockaded by sea, that every hope of aid from abroad was cut off. The design of the enemy in all this was evidently to humble the fierce spirits of the Scots, and force them to make peace, while the Scots who were averse to the French party laboured strenuously at the same time to promote a perpetual league with the English. At the head of this party stood the queen; for after Home was executed, and Douglas (Angus) banished, those who remained being considered as fit rather to follow than to lead, all who were opposed to the French applied themselves to her. She, that she might at once gratify her brother, and obtain possession of the chief power, dissembling her private ambition, advised her party that, as her son was now almost of age, they ought to free him from the hands of strangers and from a foreign yoke. She likewise looked forward to a protection against her husband, whom she had for some time past begun to dislike. The king of England, too, by frequent letters and promises to the Scottish nobles, promoted the design of his sister. He told them that there remained with him no obstacle to continual peace between the neighbouring kingdoms; that as formerly he still greatly desired it, not from any wish for his own aggrandisement, but to show to the world that he wished to cherish, protect, and by every means in his power promote the advantage of his sister's son; and, if the Scots would consent to break their alliance with France and join with England, they would soon be convinced that he was influenced neither by ambition nor love of power, but by a desire of concord alone, in uniting his only daughter Mary in marriage with James, by which alliance the Scots would not be reduced under the government of the English, but the English under that of the Scots. He added, that hatred as inveterate between other nations had been subdued and extinguished by affinities, commerce, and mutual kindnesses. Others enumerated the advantages and disadvantages which would arise from the friendship of the two nations. The one (the English) were a people born in the same island, reared under the same sky, the same in language, laws, customs, and manners; so like, even in countenance and colour, that they appeared rather one than separate nations. The other (the French), not more divided by climate and country than by their whole manner of living, could do the Scots little harm by their enmity and little service by their friendship. The English were at hand, but the French were friends afar off, whose only communication by sea might be obstructed by enemies or storms, and it ought to be considered how inconvenient it must be for the government, and how dangerous for the public, to have all hopes of assistance hanging on the wind, and the safety of the state placed at the mercy of an inconstant element. How much the aid of absent friends against present danger was to be depended upon, they might perceive, for they had felt it during last summer, when the king of England invaded them, and they were deserted by their allies; while, on the one hand, with his whole force he threatened to overwhelm them, and on the other, kept the assistance so often promised blocked up in the harbours of France by his fleet. These were the reasons urged when the league with England was discussed, and not a few, convinced by them, favoured the alliance. But they were combated by a strong opposition, for the majority in that parliament were previously secured by French bribes; and others, who reaped private advantage from the public distress, hated all idea of peace. There were, likewise, some who suspected the sincerity of the English promises, from the readiness with which they were made, especially as the direction of the English government was then chiefly committed to cardinal Wolsey, an ambitious priest, whose whole measures tended to increase his private power and dignity, and therefore he accommodated them to every breath of fortune. All these, influenced by different reasons, yet equally promoted the French alliance, and denied that this sudden liberality of the enemy was gratuitous. It was not the first time they said, that these arts had been used by the English for decoying the unsuspicious Scots. Edward I., after he was sworn and bound by every legal tie to act honourably, on being chosen as arbiter by the competitors for the throne, most unjustly created himself king of Scotland; and even lately, Edward IV., after he had betrothed his daughter Cecilia to James III., when the princess arrived at the proper age, and on the very eve of the marriage, took advantage of a war which arose from their domestic dissensions, and forbade the nuptials.

Nor did the English king intend anything else now, than by flattering them with the empty prospect of dominion, to make them really slaves; and when he had deprived them of all foreign assistance, to overwhelm them unexpectedly with the whole weight of his power. Nor was the assertion which the others seemed to exult in true, that an alliance is more secure with a near than with a distant state; for causes of dissension are constantly arising between neighbours, often from chance, and often from very trifling incidents among the nobles; that the terms of peace are always prescribed by the strongest; nor was there ever yet any treaty of friendship so sacred between neighbouring nations, but opportunities offered, or occasions were sought for violating it; nor could it be expected that the English would abstain from such violations under a king of Scottish descent, more than they did under so many kings of their own blood. For the sanctity of leagues, the holiness of the most solemn oaths, and the faith of treaties, which are the firmest bonds among the good, are among the wicked only convenient snares for deceiving; and these can be most successfully laid among bordering nations, whose language is the same, and whose customs and manners are alike. But setting aside all these arguments, two things ought to be considered; first, not to renounce rashly old friends, to whom they were under many obligations, and next, not to waste their time in fruitless altercation on a subject which could only be determined in a meeting of the estates. In this manner did the favourers of the Gallic faction restrain their opponents, and prevent any decision from being come to, till they had received certain intelligence of the arrival of the French auxiliaries."

But we have somewhat anticipated the course of events. In spite of the peaceful declarations of the English monarch, as soon as the departure of the regent was known, Henry began to intrigue to hinder his return to Scotland, and to embarrass the Scottish government by raising new troubles on the border. The earl of Shrewsbury was removed from the office of chief warden of the borders, and the earl of Surrey, a man of greater vigour and ability, was appointed to replace him. Under him the wardens of the east and west marches, the marquis of Dorset, and the lord Dacre, commenced a series of destructive incursions into Scotland, ravaging the Merse and Teviotdale. When the English retired, weary of destroying, the Scots retaliated by crossing the border and laying waste the adjoining districts of Northumberland. Surrey, provoked at this attack, collected his forces, and sweeping across the border, burnt the towns of Jedburgh and Kelso, but the English were driven back by a sudden and unaccountable panic which seized their horses. A somewhat striking account of this destructive raid is given by Surrey himself, in a letter written from Berwick, on the 27th of September, 1523, addressed to cardinal Wolsey. "On Friday at ten o'clock at night," says Surrey, "I returned to this town, and all the garrisons to their places assigned, the bishopric men, my lord of Westmoreland, and my lord Dacre, in like wise, every man home with their companies, without loss of any men, thanked be God, saving eight or ten slain and divers hurt at skirmishes and assaults of the town of Jedworth and the fortresses; which town is so surely burnt, that no garrisons nor none other shall be lodged there, unto the time it be new builded; the burning whereof I committed to two sure men, sir William Bulmer and Thomas Tempest. The town was much better than I wened (*thought*) it had been, for there was two times more houses therein than in Berwick, and well builded with many honest and fair houses therein, sufficient to have lodged a thousand horsemen in garrison, and six good towers therein; which town and towers be clerely destroyed, burnt, and thrown down. Undoubtedly there was no journey made into Scotland in no man's days living, with so few a number, that is recounted to be so high an enterprise as this, both with these countrymen and Scottishmen, nor of truth so much hurt done; but in the end a great misfortune did fall, only by folly, that such order as was commanded by me to be kept was not observed, the manner whereof hereafter shall ensue. Before my entry into Scotland, I appointed sir William Bulmer and sir William Overs to be marshals of the army; sir William Bulmer for the vanguard, and sir William Overs for the rearguard. In the vanguard I appointed my lord of Westmoreland as chief, with all the bishopric, sir William Bulmer, sir William Overs, my lord Dacre, with all his company; and with me remained all the rest of the garrisons and the Northumberland men. I was of counsel

with the marshals at the ordering of our lodgings, and our camp was so well environed with ordnance, carts, and dikes, that hard it was to enter or issue, but at certain places appointed for that purpose; and assigned the most commodious place of the said camp for my lord Dacre's company, next the water, and next my lord of Westmoreland. And at such time as my lord Dacre came into the field, I being at the assault of the abbey [of Jedworth, which was burnt], which continued unto two hours within night, my said lord Dacre would in no wise be content to lie within the camp, which was made right sure (*secure*), but lodged himself without, wherewith at my return I was not content, but then it was too late to remove. The next day I sent my said lord Dacre to a stronghold called Fernyhirst, the lord whereof was his mortal enemy, and with him sir Arthur Darcy, sir Marmaduke Constable, with seven hundred of their men, one 'cortoute,' and divers other good pieces of ordnance for the field. The said Fernyhirst stood marvellously strongly within a great wood. The said two knights, with the most part of their men, and Strickland your grace's servant, with three hundred Kendal men, went into the wood on foot with the ordnance, where the said Kendal men were so handled that they found hardy men that went no foot back for them. The other two knights were also so sharply assailed that they were enforced to call for more of their men, and yet could not bring the ordnance to the fortress, unto the time my lord Dacre, with part of his horsemen, lighted on foot, and marvelously hardily handled himself; and finally with long skirmishing and much difficulty, got forth the ordnance, wan the house, and threw down the same. At which skirmish my said lord Dacre and his brother sir Christopher, sir Arthur, and sir Marmaduke, and many other gentlemen, did marvelously hardily, and found the best resistance that hath been seen sith my coming to these parts, and above thirty Scots slain, and not passing four Englishmen, but above sixty hurt. After that, my said lord returning to the camp would in no wise be lodged in the same, but where he lay the first night; and he being with me at supper about eight o'clock, the horses of his company brake loose, and suddenly ran out of his field in such number that it caused a a marvelous alarm in our field; and our standing watch being set, the horses came running along the camp, at whom were shot above one hundred sheaf of arrows and divers guns, thinking they had been Scots that would have assaulted the camp. Finally the horses were so mad, that they ran like wild deer into the field, above fifteen hundred at the least, in divers companies; and in one place about fifty fell down a great rock and slew themselves; and above two hundred and fifty ran into the town being on fire, and by the women taken and carried away, right evil burnt; and many were taken again; but finally, by that I can esteem by the number of them that I saw go on foot the next day, I think there is lost above eight hundred horses, and all with folly, for lack of not lying within the camp. I dare not write the wonders that my lord Dacre and all his company do say they saw that night, six times, of spirits and fearful sights. And universally all their company say plainly the devil was that night amongst them six times. Which misfortune hath blemished the best journey that was made in Scotland many years. I assure your grace I found the Scots at this time the boldest men and the hottest that ever I saw any nation; and all the journey, upon all parts of the army, kept us with so continual skirmish, that I never saw the like. If they might assemble forty thousand as good men as I now saw fifteen hundred or two thousand, it would be a hard encounter to meet them. Pity it is of my lord Dacre's loss of the horses of his company. He brought with him above four thousand men, and lodged one night in Scotland in his most mortal enemy's country. There is no hardier nor better knight, but often time he doth not use the most sure order; which he hath now paid dearly for."

On the very day in which Jedworth was burnt by the English, the duke of Albany landed in the isle of Arran on his return from France. He had sent before five hundred French foot-soldiers, who had been encountered by the English ships as they entered the Forth, and very roughly handled. He now brought with him a French force of four thousand foot, five hundred men-at-arms, a thousand hagbutters, six hundred horse, of which one hundred were barbed, and a fine park of artillery. It is said that his arrival had been delayed by the close blockade of the French ports by the English fleet. To deceive the English commanders, instead of collecting a few large ships in one port, Albany had caused a great

number of smaller vessels to be fitted out unostentatiously in the various harbours along the coast, and collected his soldiers privately at different points inland, so that there was no outward appearance of hostile preparation. The English admiral had kept the sea, and watched in vain, till the month of August was advanced, and then he became convinced that no attempt would be made till the spring. The moment the regent was assured of the departure of the English fleet, and as soon as the stormy weather of the equinox was past, he hurried his soldiers to the coast, embarked them in no less than eighty-seven small vessels, and set sail for Scotland.

The courage of the French party in Scotland was suddenly raised by the arrival of the regent with so large a body of auxiliaries, and he was received by them with the utmost joy. But disaffection and intrigue had been busy during his absence; the queen had gone over entirely to the English party, and was in confidential correspondence with Surrey and Dacre; and few of the nobility could be relied upon. Nevertheless, the duke had brought with him a large sum of money, which for a while had its weight, and many of the nobles crowded round him with the warmest professions of devotion, who intended to betray him the first opportunity that offered. Albany was compelled to act with decision. He now undertook the war more as the ally of France than as the governor of Scotland; he knew that he must employ his French soldiers immediately, before they became burthensome to the state; and he knew also that he could depend on the support of the nobility no longer than his French money lasted. He had so entirely entered into the policy of the French king, that it was understood he had invited over to Scotland Richard de la Pole, the last representative of the house of York, who had been set up by Francis as a claimant to the crown of England, in the hope of disturbing Henry's government at home. This was a proceeding not likely to be forgiven by such a proud-spirited monarch as Henry VIII.

Immediately after his arrival, Albany called a parliament, and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet him on the 20th of October. When that day arrived an imposing force assembled at the usual place of rendezvous, the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, although signs had already been shown of an indisposition to the service. At Glasgow, the army was joined by Argyle and his highlanders, and the regent had now under his command an effective force of about forty thousand men. With these he marched slowly towards the border. But his march was attended by strong symptoms of disorder in his host, arising from jealousy of the French allies, from disinclination to the war, and from the severity of the weather, for the winter was setting in unusually early.

Meanwhile the earl of Surrey was informed of the regent's movements and of the temper of the Scots, by the queen and by his numerous spies, among whom the two prioresses of Coldstream and Eccles appear to have been particularly active. The best account of Surrey's proceedings are given in his own letters, which are further curious as containing some interesting traits of the personal character of the Scottish regent. On the 8th of October, when the first rumours of the regent's intentions arrived in England, Surrey, then at Newcastle, wrote to Wolsey as follows:—"Please it your grace to be advertised, that this day at ten o'clock, I received one letter of news from sir William Bulmer sent him from the prioress of Coldstream, and one other sent to me from the lord Ogle from Wark, of such news as he hath from the prioress of Eccles in Scotland. I believe right much that the contents of the prioress of Coldstream's letters be true; and the other do not much vary from the same. Also, by divers other ways, I have advertisements that the duke prepareth all that he can to invade this realm with the light of this next new moon, and by his words do right little esteem the power of England. Wherefore, to the effect of your grace's late letter, I shall to-morrow send letters to all the noblemen and gentlemen dwelling within the shires contained in my commission to be here in this town the 20th day of this month, trusting that, if all men come accordingly, the said duke shall find more sharp resistance than he doth look for. And notwithstanding that the weather hath been here so foul with marvelous great rain divers days, and most specially yesterday with rain and this day with snow, so that the opinion of many wise men is, it shall be very difficult for the said duke to carry any great ordnance, unless it be to Berwick, yet forasmuch as he might do infinite hurt in overrunning the country unless he were resisted, I shall cause all my said power to

come forwards, and to be here at the day prefixed. And if I shall see that the duke shall alter his purpose in setting forth, I shall countermand them, to the intent the king's highness shall be put to no more charge than shall be requisite; whereunto I shall have the best regard I can, the danger of destruction of the country by the enemies provided for. Most humbly beseeching your grace to help that some noblemen and gentlemen of the king's house and the south parts may be sent hither, though they bring no great numbers with them. God knoweth, if the poorest gentleman in the king's house were here, and I at London, and were advertised of this news, I would not fail to kneel upon my knees before the king's grace to have license to come hither in post to be at the day of battle. And if young noblemen and gentlemen be not desirous and willing to be at such journeys, and to take the pains and give the adventure, and the king's highness well contented with those that will so do, and not regarding others, that will be but dancers, dicers, and carders, his grace shall not be well served when he would be; for men without experience shall do small service, and experience of war will not be had without it be sought for and the adventure given. Of likelihood no man living shall ever live to see the Scots attempt to invade this realm with the power of Scotland, if they may be well resisted now. And by many ways I am advertised, that the duke of Albany is a marvelous wilful man, and will believe no man's counsel, but will have his own opinion followed. And because the French king hath been at so great charges by his provoking, having his wife's inheritance lying within his dominions, he dare not for no Scottish counsel forbear to invade this realm. I am also advertised, that he is so passionate, that if he be aperte (*open*) among his familiars, and doth hear anything contrarious to his mind and pleasure, his accustomed manner is to take his bonnet suddenly off his head, and to throw it in the fire; and no man dare to take it out, but leave it to be burnt. My lord Dacre doth affirm that at his last being in Scotland he did burn above a dozen bonnets after that manner. And if he be such a man, with God's grace we shall speed the better with him. Finally, most humbly I beseech your grace to send more money, at the least eight thousand pounds; and to advertise me of the king's pleasure and yours, how I shall be further ordered in anything ye will command me, which to the best of my power I shall fulfill, trusting that the gunners be well on the way hitherwards."

Some time passed after this, before any certain intelligence of the duke's movements was received, and in the mean time a constant correspondence appears to have been carried on with the queen and her party, who were desirous of hindering hostilities. At length, in the night of the 23rd of October, when the duke's army was already on its march towards the border, Surrey wrote to Wolsey the following letter, in which he appears labouring under some melancholy forebodings with regard to his own personal risk. "Pleaseth it your grace," he says, "to be advertised that I have forborne to write to your grace sith the 18th of this month, having no very certain tidings what the duke intendeth to do, unto this day that I have received divers letters, as well from the queen of Scots as from sir William Bulmer and others, all which letters I send herewith unto your grace. And where in one letter is contained, that she doth send her servant unto me for peace comprehending France, I trust this night or to-morrow to be advertised from your grace of the king's pleasure and yours, how I shall be ordered in answering any offer to be made to me for truce or peace, and shall defer making any answer unto the time I shall know the same. And as touching the comprehension of France, unless your grace do write to me what answer I shall make therein, I shall say that I have none authority to speak therein; and that I believe verily the king's highness will not be content therewith, and that I believe his highness will think the duke of Albany to be too mean a personage to meddle with so high a matter. Nortwithstanding, I will advertise his grace thereof, and when I shall know his most gracious pleasure, I shall advertise your grace of the same. And as touching her coming away, I shall show her that I have commandment to receive her if she come, notwithstanding I think she might both do more good in Scotland to the king's highness and to the king her son, than she should do being in England. Assuring her that she shall lack no good help of the king's grace, she continuing in her good mind towards his highness.

"Also," continues Surrey, "pleaseth it your grace to be advertised, that upon Tuesday last my lord marquis (of Dorset) with all the gentlemen of the king's house came hither; and the same day came my lord of Northumberland, my lord Clifford, my lord Latymer, my lord Darcy, my lord Scrope. And sith that time is come all their power, and all other gentlemen of Yorkshire wholly, and in likewise Lancashire, and divers of Cheshire, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Shropshire, and all your grace's retinue. And this day is come your grace's treasurer sir William Gascoyne. I assure your grace, God willing, we shall have men enough; and the best willed men universally from the highest to the lowest, that ever I saw. And because all be not yet come as far as Durham, and also that the weather hath been so marvelously rainy, which have so raised the waters that no man may pass from hence northward, and also for that I was not advertised that the duke was set forwards, nor knowing which way he would hold, I have stopped those that came first in this town and between this and Morpeth and Hexham, and the others about Durham. And to-morrow my lord marquis shall march to Alnwick, and with him my lord Darcy and many others, to the intent that if the duke would send in any good number to overrun the country, they may be ready to defend the same. And I with the rest will not march past Morpeth myself, and those now that be at Durham unto this town, unto the time I shall surely know whether he will go to the east border or the west. For if I should go any further, I should be compelled to return for lack of victual; for I can get no carriage in any manner for money to carry any with me. Assuring your grace that I think it not possible the duke can bring his ordnance unto Norham, Wark, or Carlisle, before Monday, though it rained no more unto that time, the waters be now so marvellously great that no man living hath seen them greater; but unto Berwick he may well come upon the further side of the water. Praying God to send him thither, where I trust he shall not only consume his time in vain, so many good men now being within the town, but also we coming thither shall have some reasonable store of victual, and shall be able to give battle at our advantage. Finally assure your grace, I and all others here be all afraid of one thing, that he shall not dare abide us. And great pity it were, that the king's highness should spend thus much money without battle. And as I think, if he abide us, we shall meet about Tuesday next. He doth make great boast of the landing of Richard de la Pole in Scotland, assuring the lords of Scotland that he shall have great help in this realm, wherefore, after my poor opinion, it were well done sir Rice ap Thomas were warned to be in readiness, for the said duke saith he shall land in Wales. If your grace know any man suspect, I doubt not ye will provide that he shall not ship away. I know no man living that I should mistrust, but he hath spoken so largely, and daily doth, that I know not what to think. Most humbly beseeching your grace, that if I fortune to miscarry in this journey, to be good lord to my poor children, assuring your grace that without the king's gracious favour and your grace's shown unto them, they shall be undone. For I have spent so much to serve the king's highness, that, if God do now his pleasure of me, I shall leave them the poorest nobleman's children that died in this realm this forty years; having neither goods nor foot of land to put in feoffment to do them good after me. And therefore most humbly I beseech your grace to be good and gracious lord to them for my poor service done in times past."

From George Buchanan, who was a volunteer in Albany's army, we have the most authentic account of the remainder of the regent's march. He directed his course from Glasgow to Melrose, where the Tweed was then crossed by a wooden bridge, across which his army proceeded to defile. A part only had crossed the river, when the rest of the army refused to follow them, alleging their disinclination to the war, and the troops which had crossed the river made common cause with them, and repassed the bridge. A council of the chiefs appears to have been held, with results similar to those in the previous expedition to the Solway, and the regent, under this second mortification, seems to have given up all further intention of marching into England, and proceeding down the river on the Scottish side, he halted opposite Wark castle, for the reduction of which he made immediate preparations. Albany appears to have placed no further confidence in his Scottish troops, but he employed the French auxiliaries in the attack on this fortress.

The castle of Wark, as Buchanan describes it, consisted of a strongly fortified and very high tower in the inner court, which was surrounded by two walls. The outer wall enclosed a large space of ground, in which the peasantry sought refuge in time of war with their cattle and goods; while the inner wall enclosed a much narrower space, and was surrounded by a ditch, and well fortified with towers. The French easily carried the outer court, but they were compelled to retreat by the flames and smoke of the straw and other agricultural produce with which it was filled, and to which the English set fire as they retired into the interior. When this was cleared off, the French returned to the attack, and during two days they battered the inner wall with cannon, until they had made what appeared to be a practicable breach. But when they marched to the attack, they were received so resolutely, and they found themselves exposed to such a heavy discharge of every kind of missile from the keep tower, that they were beaten back, and obliged not only to evacuate the castle, but to repass the river. Albany was so much discouraged at this defeat, that, hearing of the approach of the earl of Surrey with a force which it would have been madness to encounter in the present temper of his troops, he commenced his retreat by marching with the French auxiliaries to the monastery of Eccles, about six miles from Melrose, and immediately afterwards, in the midst of a violent snow-storm, he disbanded his army and returned to Edinburgh.

The earl of Surrey has given an account of his own movements on this occasion in a letter to the king, which is preserved in the British Museum. "Pleaseth it your highness," he says in it, "to be advertised, that upon Saturday, at night, the duke of Albany, with a great puissance, brought his ordnance into Wark, on the far side of Tweed, upon Scotland side, and began to shoot right sore upon Sunday by the break of day, and so continued all that day and Monday. At which time I being at Holy Island, seven miles from Berwick, was advertised of the same at seven o'clock at night the said Sunday; and incontinent sent letters to my lord cardinal's company, my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Westmoreland at St. Cuthbert's banner, lying at Alnwick and thereabouts, and in likewise to my lord Dacre and other lords and gentlemen lying abroad in the country, to meet me at Barmore Wood, five miles from Wark, on Monday, who so did. And the said Monday, at three o'clock at afternoon, the water of the Tweed being so high that it could not be ridden, the duke sent over two thousand Frenchmen in boats to give assault to the place, who with force entered the base-court, and by sir William Lisle, captain of the castle, with a hundred with him, were right manfully defended for the space of one hour and-a-half, without suffering them to enter the inner ward; but finally the said Frenchmen entered the inner ward, which perceived by the said sir William and his company, they freely set upon them, and not only drove them out of the inner ward, but also out of the outer ward, and slew of the said Frenchmen ten persons. And so the said Frenchmen went over the water. And incontinent the said sir William advertised me of the said assault, desiring to have rescue this day, or else the place would be no longer kept. Whereof I being advertised by three o'clock this morning, advanced forward with the whole army by the break of day. And the duke, hearing that I came towards him, took away his ordnance, and in likewise departed himself with his whole company, but as yet I cannot advertise your grace of truth how far he is gone, but to-morrow I doubt not I shall know the certainty. Sir, I doubt much that if he hear that I break this army, that he will return with his ordnance unto Wark, which I fear will not hold long against him; for and if I had not made new fortifications of bulwarks of earth, it had not been tenable one half-day. I would it were in the sea, for I know not how to get men to remain in it. Sir, undoubtedly there was never man departed with more shame nor with more fear than the duke hath done this day; and notwithstanding the great assembly that he hath made in Scotland, he hath not done ten shillings worth of hurt within your grace's realm, nor never durst himself enter the same. Sir, I fear me it shall not be possible for me to keep this army no longer together; for such as come out of the bishoprick, this country, and other places, at their own costs, have spent all that they have; and with much difficulty and fair words I have kept them here thus long. Notwithstanding I shall do my best to keep them together unto the time that I shall know the duke's army be perspoiled (*dissolved*). Assuring

your grace that master Magnus hath but three thousand marks left, and if the army should be discharged to-morrow next, I think ten thousand marks will not pay that is owing and conduct money home. And considering how painfully and with how good will they have served, it were pity they should depart without having that was promised them, wherefore most humbly I beseech your highness that convenient money may be sent hither with diligence. And if it come not before the departing hence of the army, to the intent they should not go hence grudging and speaking shrewdly, I shall deliver them as much as is here with as much as I may borrow. And also I shall bind myself by my bill signed with mine hand to pay them as much as shall be due for the rest; most humbly beseeching your highness to see me discharged of the same with convenient diligence, or else I shall be utterly undone for ever. Also, I beseech your grace to send thankful letters to such as have done good service at this time, whose names be contained in a bill here inclosed; also sixty-four score blanks to be written here to such as I do not remember the names of; assuring your grace that in all my life I never saw so many Englishmen in none army nor so well willed as these were from the highest to the lowest, nor never was gentleman so much bound as I have been this journey to all noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers; which favour they have shown me for the great love they bear to your highness, and the desirous mind they have to do your grace service. Written in the camp two miles from Wark, this Tuesday at night."

The Tuesday on which this letter was written was the third of November, and the next day Surrey received full assurance of the retreat of his opponents. The dispatches must have been carried with rapidity, for the condition of the age, for on the twelfth of November the king wrote a reply to all these dispatches, which is curious as giving Henry's view of his own policy, as communicated to a confidential counsellor. "We have received your letters," says the king, "bearing date the third and fourth days of this instant month, the first mentioning the siege laid by the duke of Albany unto the castle of Wark, with the assault given unto the same and the valiant defence thereof by sir William Lisle, captain of that place; and how, upon knowledge given to the said duke that ye with our whole army was coming to the rescue, he shamefully and cowardly removed his siege and fled, but to what place ye then knew not. By the second letter appeareth, upon the report of the prioress of Coldstream, that on Tuesday at night last past about midnight, the said duke being then at Eccles, informed that our army passed the river after him, removed from thence, took his ordnance away, and is clearly departed; the truth whereof ye doubted not to be advertized from divers ways by the next day, at which time, upon the more knowledge had, ye would assemble all the noblemen to devise and determine what ye and they should further do, desiring that after the duke's army skaled (*dispersed*), we, in consideration of your disease and sickness, would discharge you, giving you licence to return; and thinking the lord Dacre, as well for his strength as experience in those parts, most meet to take the charge of office of warden till such time as that we shall appoint some other thereunto; and finally requiring that both money and our letters of thanks may be sent, as in the said letter is contained more at large. As hereunto we signify unto you, like as thanked be Almighty God, these news be right good, comfortable, and honourable unto us and this our realm; so they be and shall be unto the said duke of Albany's perpetual reproach, shame, and loss of reputation both in France, Scotland, and elsewhere, and to the no little abashment and discourage of the French king, besides the alienation percase of the minds of the lords of Scotland more facily than afore from the faction of France unto our devotion. And for the great travail, labour, study, pain, and diligence by you with all effect right actively, valiantly, and with perfect courage, discretion, and good conduct taken and used by many substantial, discreet, and politic ways for resistance of the said duke of Albany, with deliberation and intent to have given him battle in case he durst have abiden the same, we give unto you our most cordial and hearty thanks; assuring you that amongst many your high and notable services done unto us, we shall have this in our continual and perfect remembrance to your weal, exaltation, honour, and profit, as your merits and deserts condignly and worthily do require. Praying you also to give on our behalf special thanks unto all the lords, captains, and others which to their great pain and travail have right

towardly, benevolently, and conformably served us under you in this journey, for whose more courage and comfort we at this time send such letters of thanks as ye desire. Over this, we having tender respect unto your health and comfort, have resolved and determined that upon advertisement received from you of skaling of the said duke's army, and answer thereunto given unto you, with order for establishing such garrisons and other direction to be taken there as for the surety and weal of that country shall be thought expedient, ye shall then have our letters of discharge of your office there and return unto us accordingly; being minded according to your advice and opinion, that our right trusty counsellor the lord Dacre, whom we think most meet and able therefore, shall exercise also the office of warden of our east and middle marches for a season, to whom we shall then with our letters send sufficient commission accordingly. Having no doubt but that by such direction as our most entirely well-beloved counsellor the lord legate cardinal archbishop of York, and our chancellor, hath advertised you, ye be before this time sufficiently furnished of money for defraying of that our army, as shall appertain. Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the twelfth day of November."

Albany's retreat was a severe blow to his influence in Scotland. Whatever foundation there may have been for the charge, it was not in England alone that he was accused of cowardice. One of Surrey's spies, who had been present in the Scottish camp when the regent departed at midnight from Eccles, stated that as he was taking horse, the gentlemen of the Merse and Teviotdale expostulated with him on his retreat. "My lord governor," they said, "ye have remained in our borders a long season, so that all that the earl of Surrey hath left undestroyed, ye and your company have clearly wasted and destroyed the same; and by the said earl our border is for ever undone; and ye promised us to give him battle, whereby we might recover us, and never by other means. Wherefore we beseech you to abide, and give him battle, as ye have promised." Upon this, "the said duke answered angrily, 'I will give him no battle, for I have no convenient company so to do;' and with that went towards his horse. With which words the said gentlemen being evil contented, said with one voice, 'By God's blood, we will never serve you more, nor will we ever bear your badges again!' And they tore them off their breasts, and threw them on the ground, saying, 'Would to God we were all sworn English!' and so departed from the duke in great anger." This, moreover, was not the only way in which they showed their hostility, for it appears that they plundered their own army, and robbed the "inland" men of a great number of their horses.

Albany, on his retreat, summoned a parliament to meet him immediately in Edinburgh; and there, in the midst of numerous and violent recriminations, a measure was adopted which showed a determination on the part of the duke to strengthen the French party. It was resolved that the king should be taken out of the queen's keeping, and that he should be committed to the custody of the earl of Murray, and four other noblemen, the earl of Cassillis, and the lords Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, each of the latter to take his turn as guardian during three months of the year. The queen was no longer to remain with the king, and was only to be permitted to pay him short visits, from time to time, under the control of the guardians. Margaret breathed forth her indignation in a letter to the earl of Surrey, which will give the best picture of her character and of the intrigues which were now going on. She says to the earl, "My lord of Surrey, when I had written all these letters that I send to you with this, there came a bill to me this Tuesday out of Edinburgh, that had ridden all night, warning me of the new rule that the governor and the lords hath made at this parliament, and hath concluded, that is to say, they have ordained that the earl of Cassillis, the lord Fleming, the lord Borthwick, and the lord Erskine, these four, to be quarterly with the king my son, and the earl of Murray to be daily with the king, and I to come and see my son and not remain with him. Thus, my lord, I see great appearance of evil and danger to the king my son's person, when that they that are true lords to the king my son be put from him, and them that love the governor put to him, and that I know perfectly would have my son destroyed for pleasure of the duke; and most suspicious of all, they would not that I remain with him, but to come and go. But as yet I am here with my son the king, and shall remain in

despite of the governor, without that he take me away perforce. And, therefore, my lord, for God's sake, look well upon this matter, for now is time, when such rules is begun for the utter destruction of my son, and that ye will see some remedy to this, and to advertise me what I shall do; and, if I and the governor discord, what shall be your part to me, and what help I shall get to bear me forth; for he and I shall not agree upon this. I set not by nothing in Scotland, if the king my son be not well. My lord, I pray you look well upon this matter, and haste me your mind with all diligence; and, if it happen that I be put from the king, as they have ordained in the parliament to do, what can my biding here do to the king my son nor to myself? For from that I be put from the king my son, there will none set by me here; and therefore, my lord, I pray you let me come to that realm, and devise the best way for me and the king my son, as my trust is in you. And be not blinded no more with the duke's falsehood, and make no truce nor abstinence, while this be remedied, for no sending, without that I send you a token. And haste me your counsel, I pray you, and cause the prioress of Coldstream to send surely the answer to me of this bill, and send her word that ye will do for her and keep her from trouble, so that she will be true to me. For there is none that may do it so well and surely as she may, to convey letters betwixt; and, if she fails to do it, that ye will cause her place to be burnt. And this I pray you not fail to do, and God keep you, and send you grace to help the king my son out of his enemies' hands; which he will daily be in now with these persons that they put to him. For the lord Fleming, for evil will that he had to his wife, caused to poison three sisters, and one of them was his wife; and this is known of truth in all Scotland. And if this be good to put to the king my son, God knoweth! And another thing I know perfectly, that he would have my son dead, for the governor, and the earl of Murray such like, for the governor hath his sister now to his paramours. All this is of truth that I write to you; and therefore I pray you, my lord, see the best remedy, as my trust is in you. Written in all haste possible, this St. Katherine's eve (Nov. 24), at Stirling."

Two days after the queen addressed a letter to the regent, much in the same spirit. She acknowledged the receipt of the new order by which she was deprived of the custody of the king, adding: "I think it right strange that this is your will, seeing the good and true part that I have kept to the king my son and to you and to this realm, and the displeasure that I have had of the king my brother and my friends for your part. Thinking firmly to have been assured of your good will towards me, as your letters do show by your fair words: the which that I have hope that such a prince as ye will not forget, nor cause me to lose my good will for your own honour, seeing that so many princes know how I have done for you, and have never failed to the king my son nor you. Wherefore, if this be your pleasure, let me wite (*know*) it, and I shall do the best I may for myself, while that I may find a better time. But I shall be continually in great fear for the king my son's person, as I shall gar (*make*) it be well known; and ye shall know, my lord and cosin, hereafter, that it is and shall be in my power to do good and honour to you and this realm, if I were well treated, and one truer than me ye shall never find, and have so evil a reward as I. I think also that for the good part that I have kept to the French king, that I should not be thus treated; as I will ask if it be his pleasure. For, my lord, ye said to me that he commanded you to do for me and to treat me well; which had been to his honour and yours. It is force that I speak for myself, when I am put from the thing that I love best in the world; as God knows, who give you better counsel for the good of the king, and your own honour!"

The parliament began at the same time to show a greater jealousy of Albany's leaning to France, and they were so eager to get rid of the French auxiliaries, that they insisted on their putting to sea at that inclement season. The consequence was that some of the transports were wrecked among the western isles, and that many of their crews perished. This was the more mortifying to Albany, as he was still at war with England, and he despised the Scottish soldiery. The English had made no hostile retaliation upon the Scots, yet, when a truce was demanded, it was refused for reasons which are very distinctly stated in a letter from the all powerful minister Wolsey to the earl of Surrey on this occasion. "First," says the cardinal, "it is to be considered and remembered by his

highness and his council, that in all writings and intimations made unto the Scots in this time of the wars, it hath been plainly declared and shown unto them for a final and resolute answer, that the king's grace, who maketh war into that country not for any displeasure of the young king, but to compel those which favour the duke and the French faction, suspect unto the life of the said young king, to abandon the same, would never grant unto them any truce or peace, unless the said duke were first expelled and removed from the governance of the said young king's person and realm. Which thing, by your answer now lately made unto the queen of Scots' former letters, was again largely confirmed; by means whereof, as it is thought, the said duke, who, having up his army, supposed with a visage to have had his truce at his pleasure, was clearly disappointed of his purpose, and, contrary to his hope, thinking the truce once attained, to have returned with glory, was compelled to recule and fly with shame. Wherefore, if the king's highness should now, contrary to the former plain answers made, consent unto a truce with Scotland, the said duke remaining in the same as governor, it might be thought that either his grace were fatigate and wearied by the Scots, or else not able longer to continue the wars in justifying his firm resolution and answer oft times made to them, as is aforesaid." Another reason stated by Wolsey for declining the truce was, "what commodity might be given unto the said duke, a truce so attained, to convey with him into France the young king, or to do some other notable act sounding to his danger or destruction, and to the king's dishonour; and semblably (*seemingly*) what hindrance may ensue unto him, lacking the truce, he being in universal hatred and indignation of the people of Scotland, is facile and easy to be considered. Wherefore, the premises with many other things concerning the same well pondered and remembered, the king's resolution and determination in nowise is, that by this means or fashion any truce or abstinence of war shall be granted or taken with Scotland, nor that it shall be thought, either by them or any other, that the king's highness would be glad or inclinable to send his lieutenant, or any other noblemen or commissioners, to meet by way of a diet to be kept in any place within his realm or without, for treaty to be made with the said Scots. But, in case they, expelling the duke of Albany from the said governance, shall fortune, in the name of the said king, being once established in his authority royal, and the queen, with consent of the lords of Scotland, to send unto the king's highness an honourable embassy, or at the least some good personage, to require or desire truce, peace, or abstinence of war, his highness, finding once his young nephew out of danger and peril of the said duke, and the Scots inclined and disposed to live in good rest, tranquillity, and love with England, shall make unto them such benign and gracious answer as shall be for their weal, and as they shall have cause to be contented therewith."

It is clear that, however little foundation there might be for such a belief, the English party in Scotland did believe that their king's life was not safe in the hands of the duke of Albany, and that they were strongly influenced by it in their actions. Surrey expresses his alarm on this occasion in a letter to Wolsey, dated on the 2nd of December:—"Undoubtedly, after my opinion," he says, "the said duke will shortly depart into France, and it is to be feared that he will take the young king with him; and, if he do not, I think he shall be, ere long, poisoned and destroyed; the which to be hindered and provided for hath been as much done as can be devised." It was indeed one of the chief reasons of the duke of Albany for calliug together the parliament then sitting, that he might obtain their licence to repair to France to consult with the French king. We learn from the active correspondence of the English ministers and their agents, which are our principal authority for the events of this time, the unwillingness of the Scots to let the regent depart. Dacre writes to Wolsey from Morpeth, on the morning of the 27th of December, that when "the duke of Albany was at the point of his departure from Scotland; so it was, the said duke's ships were already decked, lying at Dumbarton, and himself all in readiness, and his gear packed and trussed, to go away; and in his going he appointed with the lords of Scotland to have a council in Stirling for licence to depart, thinking that he should have no stop thereby; and so, when all the said lords were gathered and set in council there, he desired licence to pass into France for five months, and desired also that they would not condescend to take peace with England without comprehension of France.

And the said lords made the bishop of Aberdeen attorney to speak for them all. Which bishop, in open audience, made answer to the said duke, saying that they would give him no licence to pass, and if he would pass without their licence, he should be clearly exempted from all his authority in Scotland; and besides, that he should not depart until such time as he had delivered into the king's hands the castles of Dunbar and Dumbarton, wherein he had put Frenchmen, and all the ordnance and artillery of Scotland. Whereupon the said duke, being in a marvellous great anger and foam, sore against his will is stopped, and so at this time doth not depart, as I am credibly informed." Dacre adds, "I am surely ascertained, as well by divers my spies, as also by some great men of Scotland that know much of the said duke's counsel, that he will not remain in Scotland, for neither his heart nor his mind is there; and so he tarries for nothing, but only unto such time as he may, by his false and feigned persuasions, induce the lords of Scotland to give him licence to depart, which licence he trusts yet to obtain of them, for because that heretofore they have not been accustomed to stick long at one point. And for that purpose his ships, wherein he purposes to pass away, lie yet at Dumbarton, ready crossed for sailing, when as the said duke shall come to them."

At the beginning of January, the regent made more direct proposals for a truce, but was met with a scornful denial, and the English garrisons on the border were immediately employed in petty excursions into Scotland. Albany, meanwhile, was passing his time chiefly at Glasgow and Dumbarton, in readiness to sail suddenly, from which he appears to have been restrained by the urgent representations of Francis I., who no doubt foresaw in the departure of the regent at this moment, the overthrow of the French party in Scotland. Early in February the regent had again taken up his residence in Edinburgh, where he was pressing his demand on the Scottish estates for license to depart, but he met the same unwillingness on their part. It was not until the end of May that Albany at last obtained his leave, and his last transactions in Scotland are related with much minuteness in two letters from lord Dacre to cardinal Wolsey. In the first, written from Whittingham on the last day of May, 1524, Dacre gives the following account of the duke's last consultation with the Scottish lords. "My lord, please it your grace to know, that this present hour I am advertized by my secret espial out of Scotland, that the lords of the same continuing together all Whitsun week in Edinburgh, were in the Tolbooth of the same, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday last past, in council, and there the duke of Albany demanded of them by his writing certain things articularly (*in articles*), as your grace may perceive by them, with the lord's answers ensuing: that is to say—

"First, the said duke desired three months license of the king and lords, to the intent in that time he might depart into France and return into Scotland again for certain considerations moving the king and weal of Scotland, specially for the making of provision for the defence and sustaining for the wars anent and against the king's highness our sovereign lord and his realm, and to know what the French king's part should be to the supply of Scotland; and to that effect desired a commission with servants of the king to pass with him into France for his answer, good counsel, and supply to be had and known towards Scotland.

"The lords answered saying it was not time now for him to remove forth of the realm, remembering the great damages that the realm and poor subjects had sustained in his absence past, and considering that towards the king and realm were apparent great wars, and also, as they were advertised, the realm by all likelihood would in short time be preserved by our sovereign lord and his realm, and seeing the king now at nonage, and he having governance of his realm, it were not his honour to be absent from the defence of it. He answered and said he had such secret business to do with the French king concerning the same, that he must needs in his own person speak with him. The lords hearing the same, granted him the said license with a commission to one master David Beton, a clerk, and a herald, to depart with him into France; which three persons are delivered with power and departed with him accordingly.

"Secondly, the duke desired the band that was made in Rouen by the bishop of Dunkeld, the secretary, and the bishop of Ross, to be kept by the king and the lords to the French king, and no peace to be

taken with this realm of England during the time of his license, and further in his absence, without the advice of the French king and him.

"The lords answered that the band made in Rouen they were contented should be kept, so that the French king would in the mean season keep the band made to the king of Scots; and in likewise the lords of Scotland are contented to continue the war during his license, and further, until they had the French king's advice, except that the king's highness our sovereign lord by his main power in the mean season fortuned to invade and pursue Scotland, which Scotland were not able to resist, that then he being absent, of force they must need take peace with our said sovereign and his realm.

"Thirdly, the duke desired the queen and the lords to hold the king in the castle of Stirling and bounds devised for him before, till his return into Scotland again, binding the queen neither to confederate with the king's highness our said sovereign lord nor to consent to peace.

"To the which desires the queen denied him in a part, saying if he yode (*went*) away she must needs do for herself; and in likewise the lords said, promising to do their best to cause him keep in, so far as they might solicit him.

"Fourthly, the duke desired that Gresolles, a Frenchman, his servant, might remain in Scotland as treasurer of the same, having the authority of his office whilst his return again into Scotland, and nothing to be done or consented unto in any great matters until they had his advice.

"The lords answered saying, what servant soever he pleased to leave them should be welcome, but they thought not such a man meet for that office.

"Fifthly, the duke desired that the queen should be obeyed in all her rights.

"The lords answered and said, the pleasure and service that they might do should be at her commandment.

"Sixthly and last of all, the duke desired to have and borrow of the lords forty thousand crowns of the sun,* to furnish him certain wages, and for the furnishing of his ships, and he to deliver the same again to the merchants of Scotland in the town of Dieppe.

"The lords made answer hereunto, they could not make him any such sum of money; and said, if he would remain with them to the supplying of the wars, they should war with him their bodies and goods.

"Whereupon the said duke having all the lords afore him on Friday last past, took leave of them and rode that night to Linlithgow; on Saturday to Stirling, and there remained Sunday, taking his leave of the king and queen; and determined to be in Glasgow yesterday, and this Tuesday to Dumbarton, where as he will take ship, if the wind will serve him. Immediately after he be entered ship, and sailed out of sight from Dumbarton, I am promised to be surely and diligently advertised thereof; and if there be any return of him, your grace shall be certified accordingly."

Dacre's second letter was written from Hexham, on the eleventh of June. "My lord," he says, "please it your grace to be ascertained, according to my former advertisments made unto your grace, of the duke of Albany's departure out of Scotland, so it was at his said departure the lords of Scotland and he did not agree very well; for his intent and purpose was to have gone with a certain number unto the isle of Man, and had victualled his ships and made all other provisions for the same accordingly. And when it came to the point of his departing, all those that had promised to go with him sat down and refused the journey. Albeit, of truth, the lords of Scotland are straightly bound and sworn to stick still at the said duke's opinion and the league of France unto the last day of August next coming, at which day he hath promised to return into Scotland; and, if he fail thereof, he shall be clearly exempted from all his authority in Scotland. And I am surely informed that the said lords of Scotland will keep their promise to the said duke, and nothing do contrary to the same for the time, except it be by force and compulsion. Albeit I am in likewise informed, and verily trust, that if it so fortune that the said duke break his promise, and come not again at his appointed day, the said lords and council of Scotland will not only leave his ways, and exclude him clearly from all his authority which he hath in Scotland, but also semblably (*seemingly*) provide so that they may have peace with the king's highness by their own means; and give over all bands, leagues, and promises that are confirmed between

* Crowns of the sun, *ecus du soleil*, so named from the mint-mark of a sun, were first coined by Louis XI., and appear to have been current in Scotland as well as England by weight.

them and the French king. Wherefore, seeing that the said lords of Scotland will not make pursuit to the king's highness for peace or truce now in the duke's absence, without it be for a surcease of war to be taken betwixt the wardens upon the borders for a season (which is only for their and the duke's commodity), right necessary and requisite it is that the king's highness and your grace devise a substantial order what is best to be done for their annoyance now in the most commodious time of the year; for, according as I have declared to your grace in my former writings, it is but small exploit that I can do with the number of men that lie now here in garrison, remembering how the borders of Scotland have been continually destroyed since the wars began, so that there is no rode that can be made upon the said borders with so small a number to the king's honour. Howbeit I assure your grace, for it that we might do, I have holden them in quick occupation, making of excursions continually. And for proof that the frontiers of the borders of Scotland are in a manner destroyed, now lately the eighth day of this present month, sir William Eure, lieutenant of the middle marches, accompanied with one thousand men and more, made a journey into Scotland, and did very well, and seized and brought away above eight hundred neat, with many horses and other cattle, as sheep and goats to a great number, and much insight (*household furniture*), which I assure your grace they did fetch sixteen miles within the ground of Scotland. And in like wise my son, my brother sir Christopher Dacre (accompanied with a part of the west marches), the same time made another journey into Scotland, and there seized and got nigh upon a thousand neat, and much other cattle, which they did fetch twenty miles within the ground of Scotland. And so your grace may perceive that it is little that we can do but only keep the borders from excursions, though the king's highness be at great charge; seeing that little or nothing is left upon the frontiers of Scotland, without it be part of old houses, whereof the thatch and coverings are taken away, by reason whereof they cannot be burnt, as my lord treasurer can show your grace. And therefore, under correction of your grace, if it be the king's pleasure and yours (as I trust it is), that sharp war be made upon Scotland, provision must be made for the same now in time; and not only the number of five or six thousand men to be put in readiness as nigh hand the borders as may be conveniently, to come forward at divers times when they shall be called upon, for making of certain great rodes, and alway, after a great rode made, to have wages for that time only and to depart, and return to an order as they shall be called upon; but also ordnance and horses to draw the same, with all other necessaries thereunto belonging, to be made ready accordingly. For surely, to drive the time as we do, living in defense (*on the defensive*), and doing but small hurt to the king's enemies, it is nothing to the honour of his highness, and far less to his profit, as your grace may well perceive. And if the king's highness and your grace will not take this order, or other like order, for oppressing of the said Scots, then (under your grace's correction) best it is that a surcease of war be taken by the wardens for a season, which I am sure the lords of Scotland will specially desire, because it is for their own commodity, and after that, I trust, the chancellor of Scotland (with whom the duke hath left his whole authority) would be contented to meet at the borders any honourable person that the king's highness and your grace would appoint, for to commune and speak of peace and tranquillity to be had between these two realms, whereunto he hath always alleged that he is right well affectionate and minded. And if a surcease of war were taken, whereby that the borders of Scotland might be replenished, and the estates of the realm get profit (which they now lack), percase they should find it so sweet, that they would be well advised ere they brake again, either for the pleasure of the French king, the duke of Albany, or of any other."

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES V. ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT; RETURN OF THE EARL OF ANGUS; OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH FACTION; THE QUEEN'S DIVORCE.

The departure of the regent was the signal for a revolution which entirely changed the prospects of Scotland. The king had now entered his thirteenth year, and displayed intelligence and energy beyond his years, and the queen, alarmed at the late attempt to separate her from her son, seems, in conjunction with some of her more intimate friends, to have conceived the design of playing him off against the regent. On a fair examination of the evidence which has descended to us, we can have litttle doubt that this plot was planned before the departure of the regent, that it was begun and carried through with considerable rapidity, and that it was quite independent of the plans of the English monarch. The monks and friars appear in the ages of the papal supremacy to have been the great political intriguers, spies, and informers, and it was one of these who crossed the border and gave the first secret intimation of this plan to sir William Bulmer, one of the English captains of the marches, who was in command of Norham castle, on the 24th day of May, a week before the duke sailed for France. The same day Bulmer wrote to Wolsey, giving to the all-powerful minister the following account of this visit:—"There came an observant, the father of the observant friars of Jedworth, and desired of me that he might come over and say the word of God in your church of Norham; and so he came over, and preached, and made a good sermon. But yet I suppose it was not his errand, for he seemed desirous to have communication with me; and the effect thereof was, that if I thought that the king's highness would do for his nephew the king of Scots. And I answered him, as methought the king's highness had done very much for him, but whether the Scots king did consider it, or were of 'obedite' to consider it, or not, I know not. And the said observant said, the king did consider it, and could consider as much as was possible to be considered of any person being of his age; with many great praises that he gave unto his king, saying unto me that, if it pleased the king's highness to write a letter to his nephew the king of Scots, that, if he took upon him to rule himself and his realm, he would be good unto him and to them that took his part, the said observant trusts that he would upon the same take upon him to rule both himself and his realm. And I asked the said observant, if it pleased the king's highness to write a letter to his nephew the king of Scots, whether the Scots queen might know it, yea or nay. And he said, nay, for she and the duke was all one. And I asked him whether he durst take upon him to convey the said letter, or not. And he said, yea, he would take upon his conscience to do that thing which might be for the weal of his prince and his realm. And so, if it please the king's highness, and your grace, for to write to the young king, I trust he will convey it; for I suppose it was his errand." It appears by the sequel of the correspondence that the English king wrote a letter accordingly, which was dated from Greenwich, on the 12th of June, of which the observant friar undertook the conveyance, and by him, through the intermediation of another person, it was accordingly conveyed to the young king's hands.

It appears by this communication with the English court, that the project was first started independently of the queen, and there are reasons for believing that it originated, at least partly, with the earl of Arran. The queen was, however, soon made a party to it, and she embraced the design with the utmost eagerness. On the 26th of June, a messenger from the queen reached Norham with a letter from the queen to her brother, which it was earnestly requested might be sent forward with the utmost haste, and in dispatching them to Wolsey, Bulwer informed the minister that the queen was about "to meet certain lords in Galloway by the way of pilgrimage in secret manner, which lords she trusted would take the king her son's part and her's, and with the help of the king's highness would set her son at liberty." In a letter subsequent to this, the queen urges her brother for speedy assistance in the design. "Also, dearest brother the king," she said, "I beseech your grace to remember well upon my last writings sent to your grace, and to make

not long delay in helping of the king my son to put him to freedom and out of danger of his enemies; for now is the time; for your grace shall understand that there is many lords well minded to the same, and will be better, so that they may have your assistance and help, whereof your grace puts me in good belief, saying that the duke of Norfolk shall be here right shortly with your mind and pleasure, whom to you bid me give credence. Wherefore I beseech your grace to do substantially and kindly, so that this realm may have cause to do for you, and leave other ways; and do your grace the contrary, the king my son will be the longer from his liberty, and his person in danger."

It appears that when the young king received his uncle's letter, he was so overjoyed with the prospect of liberation from the restraint in which he had been held, that it was not without much persuasion that his mother prevailed upon him to wait patiently a few days. In the meanwhile, Margaret had taken into her confidence the chancellor, archbishop Beaton, and in a secret interview with this able but crafty minister, he had promised at least to connive at the execution of the plot, provided that she would agree to a further delay of a few days. The duke of Norfolk, who was at Lincoln, on his way to Scotland, wrote a letter from Lincoln on the 28th of July, to Wolsey, in which he expressed his apprehensions that the duplicity of the chancellor and the delay might overthrow the queen's plans. "After my poor mind," he said, "by this time either the king is at liberty, or else the chancellor with fair words hath blinded the queen, and hath put her from about the young king, and put sure custody about him, or else taken him away, and sent him further off from Edinburgh; which I doubt right much, for the said chancellor is very crafty and subtle." It is evident that the English government entirely approved of the queen's plan, for in the conclusion of the same letter, the duke of Norfolk says, "If it might stand with your grace's pleasure that I might incontinent (*immediately*) go to Newcastle without tarrying at York, I think such as would take part with the king's coming forth should be the more bolder, knowing me to be so near to help, if need were. And also I should be much nearer them, daily to advertize them what I thought best to be done. And now the iron is hot, it is time to strike." But a long letter from Wolsey to Norfolk, written on the 1st of August, shows us more fully the light in which the matter was viewed by the English monarch and his crafty minister. It was evident that the chancellor Beaton was hesitating, and calculating the prospect of success, and the extent of the advantages which he might derive from it, and it was his unwillingness to appear in it that had hindered the plot from being put in execution sooner. The English monarch still entertained doubts of his sincerity, and Norfolk, who seems to have been in communication with him on the subject, is told by Wolsey to "exhort the said chancellor, that if he mind the weal and surety of the king his master, and the good of peace, he in nowise use further delay or tract of time in the said erection; considering that now it may be done, and the king's effectual assistance with men and money to concur with them against all those that would attempt anything to the contrary. To which purpose also expedient it is, that both you and my lord Dacre, of new, write unto the queen of Scots, animating and encouraging her, without further delay or abiding time of any ceremonies, which be things devised only to put over the time till either the duke of Albany should arrive, or the said young king might be brought unto more sure and straight custody, to take forth the said king, and to put him to his own rule and governance. In doing whereof ye shall offer unto her all assistance possible, granting unto her or other such sums of money, as by your wisdom and discretion ye shall think good, to attest and win them unto her devotion for this purpose, though it amount in the whole to the sum of one or two thousand pound or more. And in declaration of the premises ye shall put the said queen in remembrance, what peril and extreme danger not only the king her son, but also she which so far hath laboured and enterprized this matter in the duke of Albany's absence, should stand in, in case by this her delay, which she might have remedied if she had suffered the said young king come out when he was minded so to do, the duke of Albany should arrive in that realm before the said erection was fully perfected and finished." Money was at the same time directed to be sent to the young king, to the queen, and to the earl of Arran, and, in reply to an application of the queen and her friends to that effect,

Norfolk was assured that the English king "liked very well the device of appointment of two hundred persons to be in a guard about the said young king's person, of such trusty and elect folks as he shall think good, by the advice of the queen his mother; and is pleased and contented that, of such money as ye have there, ye take order for the payment of them at the king's charges, deputing some trusty clerk for that purpose; being the thing which shall in such wise strengthen him, that having such a band about him, there shall not be in Scotland that dare attempt (the said king once erected) to enterprise anything to the contrary."

At the date of this letter, the revolution so anxiously looked forward to by the English court had been completed. On the 26th of July, queen Margaret, having gained over the lords who had the custody of the young king, suddenly left Stirling with her son and a small retinue, in which were the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and other nobles, and proceeding direct to Edinburgh, they were there received amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. They proceeded at once to the palace of Holyrood, where a council was held, at which the king was declared of age, and a proclamation was issued in his name. He then formally assumed the government, and the peers present took the oath of allegiance. On the 30th of July, the queen and many of the bishops and lords signed a paper binding themselves in allegiance to king James, revoking their promises to the duke of Albany, and renouncing his authority as regent. The news of this event was received in England with the utmost joy, and, in accordance with the queen's desire, a guard of two hundred men-at-arms was immediately sent for the security of the young king. Presents in money were sent to the queen, and to the earl of Angus, who, she acknowledged, had been her chief support in effecting this sudden revolution. A parliament was called, which met in August, and confirmed everything that had been done. Almost the only opposition came from the chancellor archbishop Beaton, and Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen, who refused to renounce their allegiance to the duke of Albany until after the 31st of August, when he had promised to return. But Albany's friends in Scotland were now few, and the two prelates, who found little support, were committed to prison, but they ultimately made their peace with the new government, and the archbishop added his signature to the bond of allegiance to king James.

When we peruse the documents relating to these events, we cannot help feeling astonished at the selfishness displayed by all the actors in them. The lords who supported Margaret were influenced by the least worthy of all motives, the prospect of gifts of money and pensions from England, and in a letter written not many days afterwards, she declared that she put no faith in any of them but the earl of Arran. The queen herself was equally insincere in her professions to her brother; who, on his side, only supported her because he believed that her plot would effect more directly than any other plan, the establishment of his political influence in Scotland; but he was embarrassed at the same time by a previous intrigue of his own, by which he aimed at the same ultimate result. When the earl of Angus retired into England on the return of the duke of Albany from France, he entered into a sort of compromise with the regent, by which he went into voluntary exile in France, on condition that his estates should not be confiscated. In that country he had been attentively watching the progress of events at home, and taking lessons in the art of intrigue, to be put in practice when the occasion should at length offer itself. After the return of Albany from his fruitless expedition to the English border, Henry's ministers, guided by constant reports of the decline of the regent's popularity, imagined that the Scottish earl might be brought forward against him with advantage, and intimations were made to him in France, that he would be well received at the English court. Angus accepted the invitation with eagerness, and the earl and his brother, William Douglas, arrived in England apparently towards the end of June, 1524, and were entertained at the expense of the king of England. Early in July the earl appears to have been sent on to the border, to watch his opportunity of entering Scotland. When queen Margaret received the first intelligence of the return of the earl, she was exceedingly troubled and indignant, and she concluded a warm remonstrance to the king her brother, dated on the 14th of July, with the strong declaration, "Dearest brother, please your grace, touching my lord of Angus coming here, I would beseech

your grace to be well advised in the same, as I have written of before; and as touching to my part, if he will put hand to my gown-ruff, I will not be contented therewith, for I have but right sober thing to find myself with, and have shown your grace that divers times, and got but little remedy. Wherefore, now, an I be troubled with my lord of Angus, it is your grace that doth it, and then I will be constrained to seek other help; for I will not let him trouble me in my living, as he hath done in times past." This high-spirited letter is signed somewhat inappropriately, "your humble sister, Margaret."

When Henry and his ministers were convinced of the determination of Margaret not to consent to the return of her husband, they saw that under the present circumstances it was their interest to conciliate and support her, and they resolved to retain the earl as long as they could in England, which was no easy matter, for he was anxious to proceed in all haste to Scotland. He, however, remained for some time with lord Dacre, corresponding secretly with his friends in Scotland, and continually urging for permission to join them. A long letter of instructions, written by cardinal Wolsey to the duke of Norfolk, on the 1st of August, when Angus was on the border, displays, in an extraordinary manner, the crooked and treacherous policy of that powerful minister. It appears that the chancellor Beaton had been invited to a meeting, or diet, as it was called, with Angus and Norfolk, which the Scots were led to suppose was for the purpose of treating of peace between the two kingdoms; but Wolsey states without scruple in this letter, that it was a mere bait to entrap the chancellor, who then appeared to be the main obstacle to the king's designs. "It was done," says Wolsey, "only to the intent under that colour to have intercepted the said chancellor by means of the earl of Angus, whereby he, with all his adherents, should the more easily have been induced or compelled to condescend to the erection of their king, and the extinction of the duke of Albany's government; being the principal things which the king's highness goeth about, touching the affairs of Scotland." It proved, however, "that the said chancellor, either percase suspecting the danger of such interception, or otherwise, was not minded to come himself unto the said diet." Thus the first unworthy plot in which Angus was to be employed came to nothing. "And thus, my lord," continues the minister, "I send you no safe-conducts for the chancellor or other; for if the chancellor will come, in which case the king's mind is that ye set forth the practise for his interception, it were not convenient he should have a safe conduct, but to be trained by other dulce and fair means thereunto."

Wolsey and his royal master distrusted the queen all this time, and suspected the sincerity of her professions of devotion to the English interest, and the wily minister's advice to the duke of Norfolk is singularly characteristic. "And, my lord," says he, "albeit the king and I think good that the queen of Scots is to be used, as most propice and convenient instrument in this matter, by all good ways possible, pretending that nothing shall be wrought but only by her means; nevertheless, so to be used that all shall depend upon her proceeding and doing, it were perilous and dangerous. Wherefore, expedient it shall be, that practise be set forth by her hands, and yet not neglected by others; to the intent that that thing which cannot be attained by her means, may be brought to effect by some other ways. For it is no folly for a good archer to have two strings to his bow, especially where as one is made of threads wrought by women's fingers. In which case I refer you to your instructions, and such other politic ways as by your wisdom, with the advice of the lord Dacre and the earl of Angus, shall be thought convenient; foreseeing always that haste and diligence be used in this behalf, lest that the duke of Albany shall arrive there before the execution thereof; immixing always your certificates and communications with dread of raising of the king's army, and in the mean time of treating this matter, causing some actual exploits to be done, which may be to their dread and terror; whereby it is thought ye shall the sooner induce them to the king's intended purpose. And whereas the queen in no wise would that the earl of Angus should have any intermeddle herein, or enter into Scotland, pretending thereby that such as now favour her party and be contented with the erection of the young king should fall from her and the said king, turning to other ways, which might be to the impeachment thereof; in this matter you ought to have a great circumspection, lest that those which favour the duke of Albany, not minding the

said erection, shall make semblance to the queen that they mind the same effectually, so that the earl of Angus do not enter Scotland, nor intermeddle therewith, by the means whereof keeping him out, they shall abuse the queen, be in the more strength, and treat the said erection at their pleasure, without any resistance; whereas, if the said earl of Angus should put his hand thereunto, with his friends, adherents, and partakers, the contrary party should be more afraid to gainsay or withstand the said erection. Wherefore a vigilant eye and regard is to be had hereunto accordingly, and the matter so to be handled, that the earl of Angus be not discouraged, or think that the king hath any mistrust in him." At the conclusion of the same letter, in reference to further and favourable communication from the queen of Scots, Wolsey adds, "Finally, touching the earl of Angus, ye may of new assure the said king and queen, that the king's grace will nothing attempt or do, by him or his means, but as the said queen will herself have done, nor his grace ever bare any favour to the said earl, but for their sakes. For his highness more esteemeth the least thing that may sound to the honour and contentation of the said young king and queen, than twenty times the earl of Angus. Wherefore she shall not need to doubt anything in that matter, but that it shall be ordered according to her own will, mind, and pleasure, and as she shall think or desire."

At this moment the revolution so anxiously desired had been effected by the queen and her friends, in such a manner, that it became more necessary to keep back the earl of Angus for a short time. This was done under various pretences, and at the same time an attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation between the queen and her husband, but this Margaret resolutely refused, and she became more anxious to keep Angus away. The English ministers, therefore, found it now necessary to appease her in this point, and she was assured that no further steps should be taken in the matter, and means were taken to keep Angus quiet.

No sooner had the new government in Scotland been established in apparent security, than the queen, in announcing her success to Wolsey, intimated her wish for establishing peace between the two kingdoms, with a proposal for a marriage between the young king and Henry's only daughter Mary. These proposals were favourably accepted, and a short truce was immediately agreed to for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations. Both the peace and the marriage seem to have been approved by the Scottish parliament, which met in the autumn, but the kingdom was still full of intrigues, and the queen's own imprudent conduct was rapidly destroying her personal influence. She had become enamoured of Henry Stuart, the second son of lord Evandale, and to him, an inexperienced young man, she had entrusted the important office of treasurer, and soon after that of chancellor. Her behaviour disgusted most of the nobles who had joined with her in liberating the king; while the English minister, who saw that her anxiety to keep Angus away from Scotland was in no small degree prompted by this new passion, began to be offended at her violent and peremptory language, and at her greedy demands for money. The queen and Arran had, moreover, already entered into communication with the king of France, who accepted the new state of things, and warned them against permitting the earl of Angus to return into Scotland. On the other hand, the lords of the English party began to fall off from the queen and the earl of Arran, and to wish for the return of the Douglases, whose name was still popular in Scotland; while the queen seemed inclined to join with the party who had hitherto supported the duke of Albany and the French interest.

Warned and provoked by these various symptoms, king Henry and his minister Wolsey determined to detain the earl of Angus no longer, and at the same time to hasten the departure of the two English ambassadors, Dr. Magnus, a man known for his diplomatic abilities, and a gentleman of the privy chamber named Roger Ratcliffe, whose mission had been announced soon after the "erection" of the king, as it was termed. In the middle of September, Wolsey wrote to the queen, again recommending a reconciliation with Angus, representing that he might be made of good service in Scotland, and that the king had no just reason to detain him in England, and that he was at a loss for further excuses to prolong his stay; and the same day he wrote to Norfolk, announcing that the two ambassadors were on their way to the border. In reply, Norfolk states that he had learnt from Scotland that "the grudge was universal against the queen, as well for that

she took so much upon herself, and was only ruled by the earl of Arran and Henry Stuart, and did little by the advice of the noblemen, as also for her ungodly living, and for keeping the earl of Angus out of the realm, unto whom more than the half of the realm would come incontinent to take his part, if he were once there." The English ministers still hesitated. On one hand they feared that, if Angus returned suddenly, the queen and the earl of Arran might liberate archbishop Beaton, who was still in custody, and join openly with the party of Albany and the French, which might thus become too strong for Angus to cope with, and Wolsey again attempted, before dismissing Angus, to get possession of the archbishop as a hostage, by persuading the queen to remove him to Berwick as a place of security. In this, however, he failed, and the queen became more and more estranged from the English interests.

Meanwhile the earl of Angus had returned from the border to the English court, where he had been retained under various pretexts. At length it was determined that he should be sent to Scotland, preparatory to which, on the 4th of October, he entered into a bond with the English king, and signed a series of articles of agreement, by which he bound himself entirely to the English interests. Some intimation of Angus's speedy return having been carried into Scotland, the queen and Arran joined in an energetic protest, threatening that they would neither send ambassadors to England, nor give safe conduct to Dr. Magnus and his colleague, who were waiting for them at Newcastle. The English ministers again temporized; Angus was retained by the duke of Norfolk at Newcastle; and it was determined that he should not be suffered to depart, until the English ambassadors had reached Edinburgh, and tried by their verbal explanations and persuasions to change the queen's resolution.

At length, on the 29th of October, the English ambassadors arrived in Edinburgh, and their letters give us an interesting picture of the Scottish court. The ambassadors were kept three days waiting, until some of the nobles who were absent returned to court, and during this unexpected delay the earl of Angus had entered Scotland before the ambassadors were allowed the opportunity of breaking the matter to the queen. At length, on the 1st of November, the feast of All-Hallows, they were invited to an audience. "The same day, afore mass," they say in their letter to Wolsey, "we came to the court at Holyrood House, and there we delivered our first letters both to the king's grace and the queen's grace, and according to our instructions showed our credence openly afore a great number of noblemen, both spiritual and temporal; amongst other the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Aberdeen being present, both at liberty now, as your grace knoweth, whereof we doubt not; and the earl of Arran absent, as is said, because he would not be here at our coming. The king our master's letters with our credence were right joyously accepted, as well of the young king as of the queen's grace his mother, and of all others, as far as we can perceive; and forthwith the trumpets and shamulles' did sound and blow up most pleasantly; and so the king and the queen his mother passed to mass to the abbey church, and we both ordered in our going with the best. In the mass time the young king, with his master, was a good season occupied, as it appeared, to his most singular comfort, in looking upon the king our master's letters, so lovingly and in so cheerful manner, that in our opinions, though he were the king our master's own son, we could not have thought he should have done more. And forasmuch as there was a great number, both of the lords spiritual and temporal, we devised that they were assembled into an oratory or chapel there; and delivered to them the king's most honourable letters, and showed unto them our credence, according to our instructions. Which they received and heard at large right thankfully, and forthwith showed the effect of the same to the queen's grace, which was much to her comfort.

"And," continue the ambassadors, "because we had privy word that the earl of Angus was come into Scotland, we devised, for the better obtaining of the queen's gracious favour, to present her grace with such things at the first as were most pleasant. And immediately after that we had dine at our own lodging, we brought to the king his coat of rich cloth of gold, and the sword sent by the king's highness our master. Whereof both the queen's grace his mother and his grace were so glad, that forthwith it was put upon his said grace, as meet as was possible, and so he did wear the same all that afternoon in the sight of the people; saying openly, 'Ye may see how

well my good uncle doth remember me with many things, and yet I was never able to do his grace any pleasure.' After this, finding the said queen's grace very pleasantly disposed, we first made your loving recommendations to her grace, showing how good, gracious, and how assuredly your grace is determined towards her and all her causes; and then touched three things contained in the last instructions sent unto us, that is to wit: first, the king our master's answer to the thanks that the queen's grace gave to his highness for his great charge, cost, and kindness shown to the young king her son and to her grace; secondly, the king's mind for the continuance of the guard; and thirdly, touching sending of the ambassadors; wherein her grace is and will be of as good mind as we can desire. And upon this point I, Thomas Magnus, secretly having her grace sworn unto me not to disclose the thing that I would show unto her said grace, declared what was the king's high pleasure and purpose touching marriage to be between the young king of Scots and my lady princess. This matter shown, with other circumstances to allect her grace to our purpose, and that her grace should not only be the authoress of the peace, but the highest advancer of the commonweal that ever was in Scotland, her grace was right joyous thereof, and thereupon did wholly put the young king her son and her grace to be at the king our master's order and high pleasure, showing that, as fast as she could, her grace would set forth the ambassadors."

In the midst of this private interview, while everything went to the satisfaction of the ambassadors, and they had not yet ventured to allude to the subject most difficult of arrangement, intelligence suddenly arrived which seriously disconcerted them. "Even upon this communication had between the said queen's grace and us, alone in her privy chamber, one came suddenly knocking at the chamber door, saying he must speak with her grace in all haste. And so he did; and as it appeared by her countenance, and as it was of truth, the hasty tidings were, that the earl of Angus was come into Scotland. At this time for awhile we had some business with her grace, and first her said grace disclosed the matter unto us, and forthwith we confessed the same, showing it was not possible to be the contrary, and that the king our master with honour could not nor might retain him against his mind; foreseeing he escaped from out of France, and came to the king's grace our said master for succour; and so, specially for her sake, he was received, and had much honour and pleasure done unto him, with great gifts, neither the king's highness nor your grace being privy nor having any manner knowledge of her displeasure towards the said earl of Angus, neither that there was a grudge between him and the earl of Arran; and that as soon as the king's highness and your grace had perceiving of these displeasures, albeit the said earl of Angus had his leave and license to depart, and was at Berwick homeward, the king's grace our master, by your discreet advice and counsel, to his charge, sent for the said earl again, to his great pain to go so far southwards; albeit also the king our master and your grace did find the said earl loyal, true, and faithful to the king his master, being also minded to do unto the said queen's grace the most humble service he can, with the pleasure and honour to be shown by him to the same possible; yet the said earl, for performance of these promises, and to make a whole party against the duke of Albany, if he attempt to arrive in Scotland, and that he shall not come into the queen's presence, nor intromit, nor meddle with anything appertaining to her grace, but at her pleasure, is so straightly bounden, that, if he alter or transgress any part of the said bond, it shall be too sore for him to bear or answer unto. And over this, as truth is, we showed to the queen, that if the said earl offend, upon monition given by us to the contrary, the queen should have the body and life of the said earl in her own hands at her pleasure. Wherewith, and with the showing of his goodly personage, and like demeanour, and how well the king's highness and your grace, and the noblemen of England, do commend his stature and manners, added thereunto that the said earl is far altered sithence his departure from out of Scotland; her grace began roundly to incline, saying these words, 'God forbid that my lord of Angus, being so noble a man of this realm as he is, should be in any such danger for my sake!' showing to us also that, inasmuch as the said earl of Arran did take a good part with her grace in the erecting of the young king, her said grace therefore would full fain there should be some good

way of agreement taken between them. Wherein she said, though yet she could not be familiar with the said earl of Angus, remembering the displeasures that he hath done to her said grace, yet she would follow our counsels in that matter; and hath promised to send for the said earl of Arran to come hither unto us; and in like manner we will send to the earl of Angus to stay him upon his own lands, till he shall know further of our minds."

It would seem by the report of the ambassadors, that the queen was at this time ruled by the counsel of Arran and others who were personally hostile to Angus, and although in this interview she had shown an inclination to yield to the representations of the English envoys, the latter had scarcely finished their letter, when they were summoned to another audience, and they found that her temper had undergone a complete change. She declared, threateningly, that "now she would make her friends, and would see for herself, trusting the king her son should be sufficient to maintain her and her causes against the earl of Angus." Immediately afterwards, having refused to read Angus's letter, containing the humblest promises of allegiance and obedience, she ordered letters to be directed to him and his brother William, forbidding the former to ride abroad with more than forty horses in his company, and ordering the latter to quit immediately the abbey of Coldingham. Dr. Magnus wrote in haste to Angus, advising him to pay obedience to the queen's commands, but the earl knew now that the greater part of the Scottish nobility, disgusted with Margaret's government, were ready to join with him, and if he did profess moderation and forbearance, it was only as a cover to his ultimate designs. A complication of mysterious intrigues was now carried on, in the midst of which the queen's bearing was often imperious in an extraordinary degree, while she never continued for any length of time in the same mind, except in her hostility to the earl of Angus, and with the utmost greediness in obtaining money under any pretext from her brother, she was evidently throwing herself into the arms of the remains of the extreme French party. Ambassadors were to have been sent to England to treat of peace, at the time that Magnus and Ratcliffe went to Scotland, but these were now held back, and at times Margaret threatened that they should not be sent at all, and she even tried to force away Magnus and his colleague. These, however, remained at their post, confounded by the spirit of turbulence and anarchy which prevailed around them, and intent, as far as we can gather from their correspondence, upon one object, that of establishing the English party in Scotland by procuring a reconciliation between the queen and the lords, who were disgusted at the influence of her favourites. "Without doubt," writes Magnus on the third of November, "the most part of Scotland, as far as we can understand, be glad of the coming in of the earl of Angus, and right few do speak against the same, but only a small sort about the said queen's grace, as the said Harry Stuart, and some other his companions."

The extreme selfishness of the queen, as well as her dissolute life, had indeed alienated from her the greater part of the kingdom, and she was only hindered from seeing the powerful coalition which was forming against her by wilful blindness. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Aberdeen had been set at liberty, a grace which they were said to have obtained by bribing Henry Stuart, and these two crafty politicians held themselves apart, watching the course of events. The archbishop suddenly professed a great attachment to the English interests, and entered into an apparently confidential communication with Henry's ambassadors, while, in the middle of November, the queen, after having for some time treated them with coldness, suddenly became more friendly towards them. "Now," they say in a dispatch written on the 15th of that month, "all things proceed more pleasantly than they did afore, by reason of our poor suits most humbly made to the queen's grace, little touching any matter for this time contrarious to her pleasure; insomuch that the queen's said grace hath had us forth to solace with the king's grace, here, at Leith, and in the fields, and to see his said grace stir his horses, and run with a spear, amongst his other lords and servants, at a glove. And also, by the queen's procuring, we have seen his said grace use himself otherwise pleasantly, both in singing and dancing, and showing familiarity amongst his lords. All which his princely acts and doings be so excellent for his age, not yet of thirteen years till Easter next, that in our opinions it is not possible they should be amended. And much more it is to our comfort to see and conceive that, in person-

age, favour, and countenance, and in all other his proceedings, his grace resembleth very much to the king's highness our master. And over this his said grace hath, with the most pleasant and most loving countenance, showed unto us both, that much it pleaseth his grace to see and hear of the good manners of England, and much it displeaseth him to see his subjects to exercise or use the fashions and manners of France; and we being present saw and heard his said grace reprove one of his own servants for the same cause." The queen had at this time two causes for conciliating her brother; she wanted money, and was more and more terrified at the threatening coalition of the Scottish lords; and she accordingly hurried forward the departure of her ambassadors, and talked again of a permanent peace and of the marriage of the Scottish king with an English princess.

But a few days after the date last mentioned, the lords of Angus's party made what appears to have been an unexpected demonstration. About four o'clock in the morning, Angus, with the earl of Lennox, the master of Kilmaus, and the laird of Buccleugh, accompanied with divers other gentlemen, scaled the walls of Edinburgh, and then opened the gates of the town and let in their followers to the number of four hundred. The citizens appear not to have offered the slightest opposition. When they came to the cross by St. Giles's church, they caused a proclamation to be read, stating that they were come as the king's faithful subjects to serve his grace, intending no hurt or displeasure to any person, and commanding that all their company should pay well and truly for everything they took. The two earls and their friends then proceeded to the lords who were met in council, who were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Argyle, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Holyrood, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, and others, several of whom were known to be favourable to Angus. It has been supposed that the crafty archbishop Beaton was not ignorant of this attempt, but that he had secretly promoted it as a trial of Angus's abilities and prudence. The two earls then stated to the lords of the council that divers precepts had been directed unto them in the king's name, containing divers commandments on pain of treason, which were contrary to their deserts, and proceeded from the personal hatred of those who had possession of the king's person. They said further, that as long as such counsellors should have any rule, they would go about to destroy and put down the nobility of the realm, and they therefore required the said lords of the council that they would take into their own hands the rule and guiding of the said young king, "for the weal of the realm and of all the noblemen of the same." They concluded by asserting that they were true and faithful servants to their king, and desired no authority, but to be received as barons of the realm, as their ancestors had been before them; and that the cause of their coming was to declare this their mind to the noblemen of the council, without doing any further displeasure to any one.

It was thereupon determined in the council that the bishop of Aberdeen and the abbot of Cambuskenneth should proceed to the abbey of Holyrood to communicate with the queen. "And we," say the English ambassadors, "were specially instanced *(pressed)* by the lords, because we were Englishmen, and supposed therefore to be better heard than Scotchmen, that we would go with them to move her, that, where her grace had straightly commanded guns to be shot from out of the castle into the town, for beating forth of the said noblemen and their company, that a sparing thereof might be had for a season, to the intent that in the mean time some good order might be devised in avoiding such danger and hurts as might ensue, as well to the town and the inhabitants thereof, as to the said noblemen and their company. At our coming to the abbey, there were divers lords with four or five hundred men in harness, and did set forth before the outer gates such small guns as they had, hagbuts and others, showing that they would set upon the said two earls and their company. And, as soon as we were come thither, the queen sent for the said bishop of Aberdeen and the said abbot of Cambuskenneth, and commanded us twain by message right roundly to depart home to our lodging, and not to meddle with any Scottish matters; and so we did. And in the mean time a gun was shot out of the castle, and killed two merchant-men, a priest, and a woman. All this day the said two earls, having many friends in the town, did take their pleasures in the same, and would not suffer anything to come, go, or pass, but at their wills. And albeit, there were divers noblemen between

whom and these there was deadly feuds, yet the said earls and their company did no displeasure unto them. Thus they continued till four of the clock at afternoon, and then upon the king's commandment given unto them to avoid, they departed to Dalkeith. Immediately after that they were gone, the queen's grace, taking with her the young king her son, departed in the evening by torch-light from the abbey to the castle, and there continueth; all the lords being also departed from hence, but only the earl of Murray, fully of the French faction, and newly come into favour of the queen's said grace."

Such is the minute account of this affair given by the English ambassadors. It appears that archbishop Beaton was satisfied with the earl's conduct, as he began from this moment to side more openly with his party. The queen, shut up with a few unpopular friends in the castle of Edinburgh, was obstinate in resisting the demands of the lords, and, although she was at the same time receiving money from France as well as from England, and was talking of the marriage of her son to both, now attempted to gain further advances from her brother, by flattering him with proposals for peace, and professions of anxiety that the marriage with England should be pressed forward. But she was no longer trusted by any party, and the English ministers became more and more convinced that it was their interest to support the party of the lords. Even the earl of Arran began to show an inclination to join the other lords against her. On the 22nd of September, Magnus wrote to Wolsey, "immediately upon the making of this letter, I have had communication with divers sad, wise, and expert personages, by whom I understand, and some part otherwise I hear and see, that the lords, both spiritual and temporal, for want of justice and good order in this realm, be likely to join all together for the most part in one opinion, for the better ordering of the king's grace here, and of this his realm. The queen's grace hath had, and daily hath, monitions of these matters, but her grace hath some special way by herself that she trusteth singularly unto, and else I doubt, in conclusion, her grace will be disappointed." Margaret still pressed the English ministers for money, urged them to assist her against the lords who were joining against her, and tried still to flatter them by expressions of anxiety for the conclusion of the peace, and for the marriage of the king of Scots with the princess of England.

On the 9th of January the English ambassador announced that "the said earl of Arran, calling to remembrance the good service that he hath done to the erection of the young king, and that he seeth now by the means of Harry Stuart, that the earl of Murray, all of the French faction, with his adherents, is more accepted into favour and counsel than he is, grudgeth and is not content, and said unto me of late, that rather than the young king should come into the danger of Frenchmen, he would pass with him into England; and, if in anywise he should see the queen's grace incline to any like matter, he would give up all kindness and promises by him made to her grace." Magnus then goes on to say, "This realm is marvellously divided, so as hard it is to know to whom the king's highness and your grace should most assuredly trust. The queen is counselled by such as are more inclined to the devotion of France than of England, and continually without reason she will be calling upon the king's highness for money. The archbishop of St. Andrews, with his band, is not a little suspect, by occasion of the repairing of Frenchmen unto him, and for their long continuing at St. Andrews, and the good cheer he made unto them, with other considerations afore specified. And as to the lords temporal, there is much division amongst them; and unless it be the earl of Arran, they are all poor and of little substance in goods. Here is no justice in this realm, but continual murders, theft, and robbery." In the sequel, Magnus recommends to Wolsey, "that my lord of Arran should have a loving letter from the king's highness, of thanks for his good persevering with his faithful service and assistance to the king his master, and for the good mind he beareth to keep the said king from out of the Frenchmen's danger, and especially that he is so well inclined to a perpetual peace to be had between England and Scotland. Surely there is in the said earl neither high cruelty nor great malice, and yet he is strong of men and of good substance in goods, and liveth in order and policy, above all other here, most like to the English manner. He is noted some deal variant, especially as he shall be moved by sir James Hamilton, his son, one of the best undertakers that I mark here; and

yet the said earl doth not vary from the matter afore rehearsed, but, both between him and me, and in open presence, keepeth the same opinion; and so doth the said sir James." It appears that Arran, with all his power and wealth, was no more inaccessible to a bribe than his fellow peers. "Under the correction of your grace," the ambassador concludes, "I think it should do well, that the same earl should have a reward. He had nothing since my coming hither. And if he were remembered both with a letter and some money, it would cause him to do the better service."

The storm was now rapidly gathering. In the course of January, 1525, the lords of the council were summoned to Edinburgh to hear the report of the earl of Cassillis on his return from his embassy to the court of Henry VIII. But they met at St. Andrews under the direction of archbishop Beaton, and put in writing a demand to the queen that an assurance should be made for two months between the earls of Arran, Eglintoun, Angus, and Lennox; that a writing should be subscribed by the king and queen promising that no one coming to Edinburgh should be arrested, attached, or otherwise molested, and that the prelates of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, with the earls of Arran and Argyle, should be appointed to assist the queen; that the king should be removed from the castle to the abbey; that no footmen should be hired or had in wages, and that no artillery should be shot from the castle; and, lastly, that pledges should be given for the performance of all these points. These demands met with a refusal, and the lords agreed to meet at Stirling on the sixth of February, "well furnished with spears and fensible gear as appertaineth," to use the words of their summonses.

The meeting at Stirling was immediately forbidden by a proclamation in the king's name, charging the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, and the prior of St. Andrews, with treasonable designs and practices, "with Archibald earl of Angus, John earl of Lennox, Walter Scott of Banxhame, knight, and other broken men, their complices, favourers, and assisters," and with having "lately drawn and persuaded to their evil, perverse, and treasonable opinion, our trusty cousin and counsellor Colin earl of Argyle, with divers other great men our true lieges," and denouncing against them the heaviest penalties. The lords immediately issued a counter-proclamation, declaring the miserable state of the realm through the ill-government of a small party who held the king's person in their hands, and their intention of proceeding at once to effect a reformation; they announced their determination to hold the meeting at Stirling in spite of all opposition, called upon all true lieges to assist and concur with them, and declared that they would pay attention to no letters given under the signet or privy seal during the king's minority, unless they were authorized by the council appointed by the three estates. At this time Dr. Magnus stated the general opinion "that no great number of men would hold fast and surely to the queen's party, albeit the king's person were present; but that the taking away of the young king from the queen's grace would be in jeopardy, and more likely to be done than otherwise. For there are right few men that will fight against the said lords on the other party, as is said, but rather it is thought that much more people will favour and fall to the said lords than to the queen's party."

On the sixth of February, according to their announcement, the lords assembled in great force at Stirling. There were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, "with sundry other bishops," the earls of Angus, Argyle, Lennox, and others, and a large body of inferior barons. After various messages had passed between them and the court, without any satisfactory result, the lords marched with their whole strength to Dalkeith on the ninth, under pretence that their proximity to the capital would facilitate their intercommunications. Margaret showed her usual spirit, and wished the nobles who were in attendance on her person, including the earls of Arran, Murray, Eglintoun, and Cassillis, to march out and give battle to the others; but they refused, unless the king went out with them in person. In this the queen no doubt suspected treachery, and she declared that the king should not leave the castle. Surrounded with difficulties, Margaret agreed to refer all disputes with the earl of Angus to the arbitration of the lords of both parties. "Whereupon," says Magnus, to whom we owe the most minute account of these transactions, "her grace sent for me; and, after much communication, some part pleasant, and some part to the contrary, it was not possible she should be better

minded and inclined, than she was at that time, to accept the earl of Angus to her gracious favour, for the better relief of her causes in controversy. Notwithstanding, the morrow after, all was turned to the contrary, both concerning the promise made to the said lords, and the communication had between the queen's grace and me, as is aforesaid, with such manner and words as I think not convenient to be written."

After further wrangling between the two parties, a deputation from each met to arrange some terms of agreement, but when the lords of the queen's party returned to the castle, Margaret had changed her mind again, and refused to ratify what they had done. In the midst of these attempts at negotiation, the citizens of Edinburgh suddenly turned against the queen, and, to use the words of Magnus, an eye-witness, they "sent word to the lords that they should come thither and be welcome unto them, and forthwith set their gates open, being afore sparred, and nightly kept with watch and ward. And soon after midnight (on Sunday the twelfth of February) the earl of Angus and the earl of Lennox came into their town with six or seven hundred men, all at their pleasures, and so did take their lodgings, and went to their rest. The residue of their men, as is said to the number of two thousand, remained with the bishops, earls, and others the lords at Dalkeith, the same men being for the most part, as is reported, landed men of good honesty, and household men, well chosen and well horsed. Yesterday [Monday] against night, the said lords and other their company aforesaid came hither, and lodged themselves in this town [Edinburgh], and nigh thereunto as they may without the danger of gun shot from out of the castle, and intend to keep the parliament [which had been called for the fifteenth of February], for the weal of the young king and of this his realm, and as far as in any way I can conceive, for a peace to be between England and Scotland."

The queen had now but a small force in the castle, and those were mostly well-affected towards the lords, and she felt that her only hope lay in effecting a compromise. Under these circumstances she applied again to Dr. Magnus. "In the mean time," writes that diplomatist to Wolsey, "the queen's grace sent unto me a right good and an honest priest, her steward, and by him desired me to speak with the earl of Angus, showing, as her grace had done afore, if she might be put in surety to enjoy the authority granted unto her said grace in the parliament last holden here, without diminution thereof, she would accept him into her gracious favour. Whereupon I had communication with the said earl, and found him right reducible, and well inclined to the queen's pleasure; and right so I advertized the queen's said grace by her said steward; by whom after again the said queen sent unto me a ring, requiring me by the said token to proceed in the message afore sent unto me. And so I did, and at large commenced therein with the said earl of Angus, who by the advices of the archbishop of St. Andrew's and the bishop of Aberdeen, besought the said queen's grace to put her pleasure in writing, and she should have a reasonable answer by the consent of the lords. With this message I went to the queen's grace at the castle; and, as well as I could, I gave her said grace my poor advice in these troublous and cumbersome causes. After this her said grace sent unto me a letter by her said steward, directed to the lords, containing her mind to be shown unto them; which letter, in the best manner I could, I delivered to the said lords the 17th day of this month, and received an answer thereunto from the said lords. Thus I, without help but myself, continued in suit between these great parties, from the 12th day of this month to the 17th day of the same; which day, about noon, I received the king's most honourable letters, with your gracious letters also, and other directed to the queen's grace, and the king's letters addressed to the archbishop of St. Andrews and to other the lords; which I delivered with some business (*trouble*), by occasion that the coming hither of sir Christopher Dacre's servant with the same letters was known by the watch kept daily and nightly both about the town and castle, and that also both the said parties were suspicious one upon another, especially for such tidings and news as should come from the king's highness and your grace. Yet nevertheless I passed through with good manner, first to the queen's grace, and then to the lords. The queen's said grace accepteth in reasonable good part the king's said letters and yours; but the lords received the king's letters in the most joyous manner, with lowly thanks to his highness, that so graciously, so indifferently (*impartially*), and

in so pleasant a manner, had them in his blessed remembrance; which I assure your grace is highly esteemed, to the comfort of the greatest part of all the noble, wise, richest and hardiest men of this realm. The said 17th day the earls of Cassillis and Eglintoun came from out of the castle, upon assurance, to speak and commune with the lords in the town, and by their means and such other further suit, assurance was granted to all the lords in the castle to come also into the town to commune of all causes without any assurance required or demanded on the other party. Thus, by means of the king's most gracious letters and yours, the good minds of the lords well-inclined to good unity and concord, and some part of my poor soliciting and labouring, there is a concord and agreement between the queen's grace and other the lords, concluded yesterday the 21st day of this said month."

The final proposals of the lords, to which Margaret found herself under the necessity of acceding, placed the custody of the king's person in the hands of the queen and a certain number of the lords, to be chosen by the three estates, who formed a council of which the queen was the head. This council was virtually vested with the government of the realm. The king was to be removed from the castle, and to reside at Holyrood house. The earl of Angus bound himself in a separate article not to interfere under colour of being her husband in any way with the queen's person, goods, or lands. This bond, however, was limited to a certain period, because it was understood that within that time the queen was to obtain a divorce.

The English party had now obtained the whole power of the kingdom, and all difficulties that had been thrown in the way of a peace between the two kingdoms seemed removed. But in the very letter in which Magnus announced the conclusion of this treaty, he expressed his doubts of the queen's sincerity, and mentioned that Margaret had already shown some symptoms of the instability of temper and purpose which had already produced so many evils. Indeed, while she was professing her satisfaction at the new arrangements, she had dispatched a secret messenger to the duke of Albany, to announce her devotion to him and the French.

According to the agreement with the lords, the queen brought the king out of the castle on the 23rd of February, and having first presented him to the parliament, proceeded thence, in procession, to Holyrood house, the earl of Angus carrying the crown, the earl of Arran the sceptre, and the earl of Argyle the sword, "and so after, one with another, fell in further favour and good familiarity; and by means of friends, with little suit, the said earls of Angus and Arran were right well accorded and agreed, in such wise and manner as I suppose they will not break again; albeit the queen's grace be not greatly pleased therewith." The parliament then proceeded to choose the lords who were to form the government, and their choice fell upon the archbishop of St. Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Dumblane, and the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. The matters of most importance which now occupied the attention of the Scottish parliament were the peace with England, and the marriage of the young king with the princess Mary, and in spite of the professions of the men now in power, of friendship for England and hostility to France, the English ambassador Magnus confesses that he found more obstacles to contend with than he could possibly have foreseen. The ambassador's own position in Scotland began also to be unpleasant, for, while some looked upon him as a mere mischief-maker, and as one who rejoiced in their dissensions, those to whose favour he more particularly addressed himself became more self-important from the circumstance that they were the object of solicitude to so powerful a monarch as the king of England. Magnus, therefore, pressed for his recall, "for," says he, "oft I am in suspicion and some danger, and spend the king's money and mine own in right large manner, and do none otherwise prevail in the cause of my coming hither, but as your said grace doth conceive. Some persons say, 'This Englishman doth no good amongst us, and hath no care though one of us beat down another; for we would be of the same mind and opinion if we were in England.' Other there are also, that by occasion of my long continuance here making reasonable suit, be therefore more haughty and high in their opinions, thinking and also speaking many simple words, as if the king's highness were right nude and bare of friends, and glad therefore to set so much by their favours."

All these appearances gave great offence to king Henry and his minister, and pro-

duced one of those angry letters from the king to his sister, in which the "bluff" monarch was not very choice of the phraseology in which he expressed his anger. Magnus gives us a striking account of the interview in which he delivered this dispatch, at which also he gave the first intelligence of the defeat of the French army at Pavia. "After communication openly had of these premises, I required the queen's grace that I might speak with her apart; and so I did, in a privy chamber, all folks avoided but only her said grace and myself. And there I delivered to her said grace the king's most honourable letters, which her grace received in full honourable manner. And after her grace had overseen and read five or six lines of the same, she altered her countenance in such manner, that it was an hour after ere her grace could sober herself from weeping; and long it was, and with much pain ere that her grace could bring the said letter to an end. In the meantime some words were between us; and, as it appertained for my party, I armed me with patience, some deal combred to make answers. Howbeit, when I saw the queen's countenance proceeding either for sorrow or displeasure, and rather in mine opinion for displeasure, insomuch as her grace said such a letter was never written to any noble woman, I required her grace with patience to note every part of the said letter, and to be as well content with the same as the king's highness, my master, was with her letter, and a letter written also from the earl of Arran by her advice and commandment, to the king's said highness, containing sundry menacings, with many haughty and high words, little regarding the king's high honour, declaring none ambassadors to be sent into England, if that the earl of Angus should be suffered to come into Scotland; which letters the king's highness did lightly overpass without any displeasure or making matter or question for the same. I showed also the effect of the king's said letter past not without sundry other occasions; that is, to wit; the king's highness, at the putting to large and liberty of the young king, for his erection to his estate and dignity royal, was content to spend his goods and money for the weal and surety of the said young king, and for the maintenance of her grace in her authority, and to be in much higher estimation than she was afore; trusting therefore to have had her most benevolent mind and favour for the conjoining and knitting together of these two realms in perfect peace, favour, and amity, upon many and sundry most loving advertisements, as well shown to her grace by many writings, as by the report both of me and of Mr. Ratcliffe; sounding ever to the most singular weal, surety, profit, and great advancement of the said young king, and for the common weal of this his realm of Scotland; yet her grace, without any special remembrance had of the premises, and of many other sundry great kindnesses shown by the king's highness, when she had the whole authority within the realm, neither would follow the good advice and counsel of the king's said highness, for the better fortifying and maintaining of her said authority, nor send the ambassadors of this realm into England with any favourable commission for the good entertaining of firm peace and amity to be between these two realms, but as was in the most light and most slender manner; so that hitherto no good resolution nor effectual matter succeeded thereby. Over this I touched the intelligence supposed to be between her grace and France, and her favour borne and had to the same, and the mind she beareth to have a divorce between her grace and the earl of Angus. All which matters I besought her grace to consider, and to remember; and, if her said grace had not been so favourable nor circumspect in the said matters, as her grace could or ought to have been, that yet it might like her grace to have good respect to the same, specially for the weal and surety of the young king her son, and of this his realm, and for the pleasure of her most assured friend and most loving brother, the king's highness."

The remainder of Dr. Magnus's report is equally characteristic. "Her grace," he continues, "excuseth herself that she beareth no favour neither to France nor to the duke of Albany, and reporteth her grace to the young king her son; whose grace will say as shall stand with her pleasure, and I doubt he followeth her instructions and commandment too much, as doth appear after. If any thing will reform her grace, and induce her to some better order, the king's most honourable letters, now delivered to her grace, are most effectual to that purpose, though at the first motion everything work not as I trust it shall do hereafter. For undoubtedly were it not for dread of the king's highness, Scotland would favour her grace in right sober manner; and therefore her said grace, conceiv-

ing the same, and that the king's highness would withdraw from her his gracious favour if she apply her no better to his high pleasure, will in mine opinion reform herself, and consider the most wholesome advertisement and counsel given to her grace by the king's highness and your grace at many times past. Howbeit, I conceive her grace beareth her bold upon the young king her son in such wise, as if he were at full age she would procure his grace to as much business (*trouble*) as he should be able to fortify or maintain; so as it is thought to the lords of the council, if the young king be not otherwise educated and brought up than yet his grace is, it will turn to business (*trouble*) when he shall come to age. For it is doubted (*feared*) his disposition will be much inclined to cruelty; for when the queen's grace taketh displeasure with any the lords or other, then her grace procureth the said young king to be sad, heavy, and pensive, to look down and 'glowme' upon them, and to have unto them some sore and sharp words. The earl of Angus contenteth his grace right well by means of pleasure done by his hawks and hounds; and yet of late the said young king, upon information given by the queen, moved right specially the said earl to be divorced from her grace, and required him to agree thereunto for the pleasure of his grace, promising to do many things for him, accomplishing this his desire. This motion the said earl hath avoided, and will do, not concluding upon anything without the king's high pleasure and consent be had to the same. The queen's grace was not a little moved at me for bringing unto her of the king's most reasonable letters, showing in manner that much of the matter proceeded of the information of me, and of such other to whom better credence was given than unto her grace. Her grace said also she would make no answer to the king's letters, because her grace doubted (*feared*), if she should do so, some part thereof should be too sharp; neither would she receive any letters from the king's highness, but if she knew before the contents should better please her grace; for such another letter would be her death."

The queen, in spite of her declaration to Magnus, did write a reply to her brother, in which she assumed a far more submissive tone than that she had threatened. One desire lay at this time nearest to the queen's heart, that of obtaining a divorce from her husband, that she might marry her paramour, Henry Stuart. In her eagerness to effect this object, she is even said to have snatched at an absurd report that James IV. had outlived the fatal battle of Flodden three years, to put forward a plea that as she had married the earl of Angus during the lifetime of her first husband, their union was illegal. Angus, on the other hand, was anxious to be reconciled to the queen, that he might enjoy her large estates; and king Henry promoted his designs in the belief that a reconciliation between him and the queen would establish the English influence in Scotland. The matter, however, dragged on slowly, and it appears not to have been till 1527, when Angus was tired of opposing it, that the divorce was finally obtained. Negotiations for a peace between the two kingdoms dragged on in the same slow and unsatisfactory manner; for French influence was still exerted in Scotland, and queen Margaret continued to intrigue with both parties, throwing difficulties in the way of peace, in the hope of forcing her brother to consent to the divorce. In the midst of these intrigues, the position of Henry's ambassador appears to have become more and more disagreeable, until he could hardly pass along the streets of Edinburgh without being mobbed. On one occasion a scene occurred which, as told by Magnus himself, gives a remarkable picture of the ignorance and superstition of the populace in Scotland at this period. "Since my last writing unto your grace," he says, to Wolsey, "here hath been right ragious winds, with exceeding rain, wet weather, and great waters, to the dangerous getting and inning of their corns in these parts. Whereupon there is an open slander and murmur raised upon me, not only in this the town of Edinburgh, but through a great part of the realm, surmising (*charging*) that I should be the occasion thereof; and that, as I have done in France, Flanders, and other countries, where I never was, nor without the realm of England, but here in Scotland, I will not depart from hence till I shall procure all this realm to a destruction both in their corns, fruits, and otherwise, as is said chanced by my means one year of the vines in France. Insomuch that I, nor my servants, could nor might pass of late in the streets, neither to nor from the court, but openly many women banned, cursed, waried (*cursed*), and gave me and mine the most grievous maledictions that could be, to our faces. Whereupon

there are nigh about half a score persons, all women, taken and put in prison, and as yet do remain there for condign punition, and to be example to other like offenders. And also the friars observants have preached sore against them that first procured and continue this false, untrue, and detestable saying and opinion. This ungracious demeanour hath been put in execution here, for the most part, all by women. The beginners hereof cannot be known, but it is supposed to be by Frenchmen, or by some other favouring their causes, not being content with this peace and the manner thereof to be concluded; nor that Englishmen do come at all times, at their pleasures, and when they lust, to the young king's presence, and seeing the Frenchmen not entertained as they have been of late."

CHAPTER V.

ANGUS'S USURPATION OF THE SUPREME POWER; BATTLE OF LINLITHGOW, AND DEATH OF THE EARL OF LENNOX; THE HIGHLANDS; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

Queen Margaret had now lost the confidence and respect of all parties, and as she saw her friends and supporters falling off, she became suspicious of those who surrounded her, and sought to protect herself by planning new intrigues. A parliament was called in Edinburgh, one of the most important objects of which was to establish a truce with England; but it required the presence of the queen, as president of the council of state. Under pretence that her person was in danger, the queen refused to proceed to Edinburgh for this purpose, and it was resolved to omit this formality. This proceeding threw the power into the hands of the council of state, over whom the influence of the earl of Angus was very great. Margaret felt that this proceeding implied that she was deserted by the English party, and, resolving at once to throw herself into the arms of France, she attempted to open a negotiation with the queen-mother, who, after the captivity of the French king at Pavia, had assumed the regency of that kingdom. But at this moment a peace was suddenly concluded between England and France, which paralyzed the French faction in Scotland, and overthrew all Margaret's hopes.

The queen, who was no longer respected, now only retained a nominal authority, while the whole power of the kingdom fell into the hands of Angus and the chancellor, archbishop Beaton. Under their influence the negotiations with England proceeded more rapidly, and a truce of three years was concluded. An unsuccessful attempt at resistance was made by the earl of Arran, who raised a body of five thousand men, and advanced to Linlithgow; but they retreated and dispersed before the troops led against them by Angus, who carried the young king to the field. The success of the earl of Angus still further stimulated his ambition. He soon afterwards strengthened himself by effecting a union with the earl of Argyle and his party; and by establishing a close alliance with the earl of Lennox, and holding the high office of warden of the marches along with his place on the council of state, he now exercised an authority which had no rival but the secret council, the power of which centred in the chancellor Beaton. Of this rival he soon contrived to rid himself.

In the month of April the king completed his fourteenth year, when, by the law of Scotland, he had attained his majority, and might take the sovereign power into his own hands. As soon as the parliament declared this, the secret council concluded its existence. It was near the period when, by the law which had placed the custody of the king's person in the hands of certain lords by rotation, it became the turn of the earl of Angus and the archbishop of Glasgow to assume the guardianship of the king; and Angus artfully fixed the period of the meeting of parliament so that it should fall after he had assumed this office. The consequence natu-

rally was, that, when parliament assembled, and, in the month of June, pronounced that the king had attained his majority, the consequent dissolution of the secret council threw the whole power and authority of government into the hands of Angus, who at that moment had the custody of the king's person. To mask his intentions, he caused a new secret council to be appointed, and it was arranged that the custody of the king's person should be alternately entrusted to the care of the three earls, Angus, Argyle, and Lennox. But the secret council was composed entirely of the friends of Angus, and the latter, who came first in turn of rotation to be the king's guardian, soon showed that he had no intention of relinquishing the advantage which the possession of that office gave him.

One of the first uses that Angus and his friends made of their power, was to obtain for themselves a remission for all crimes, robberies, or treasons which they might have committed during the last nineteen years. They then began to portion out the offices of state. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy was made high treasurer; Erskine of Halton, secretary; Crichton, abbot of Holyrood, privy seal; and Angus, having taken the great seal from Beaton, himself assumed the office of lord chancellor. Within a short time there was scarcely an office in the kingdom, the emolument or influence of which made it a prize worth grasping at, which was not conferred on a relative or adherent of the house of Douglas; and the country was soon filled with the same disorders which had always followed the ambition of that house. Argyle and Lennox were soon disgusted with the selfishness and pride of their colleague, and the former withdrew from his alliance. The first animosities among those who, nominally at least, shared the government, are said to have arisen from disputes about the division of ecclesiastical preferment. The bishopric of Dunkeld having become vacant, was given to Crichton, abbot of Holyrood. But all honest men were disgusted, when Angus's brother, William Douglas, who had forcibly intruded himself five years before into the abbey of Coldingham, made vacant for him by the murder of its last abbot, Robert Blackadder, and had held it ever since, was promoted to the lucrative abbacy of Holyrood. Patrick Blackadder, a cousin of the murdered man, had also been unjustly persecuted and deprived of his patrimony by the Douglases and their adherents the Humes, and, having commenced an action at law against John Hume, a steady friend and adherent of the earl of Angus, he had found it necessary to seek safety from their vengeance among some of his distant relatives. Angus, now in the plenitude of power, caused proposals of reconciliation to be made to Patrick Blackadder, by which the latter was to relinquish part of his claims; and, confiding in the earl's promises, he proceeded to Edinburgh with only a few attendants. At a short distance from the gates of the capital, he was waylaid by John Hume with a strong body of followers, who put him to death. The alarm was given in Edinburgh, and the assassins were vigorously pursued; but when the pursuers came in sight of the perpetrators of this outrage, and saw among them the earl of Angus's brother George, and others of the Douglases, they turned their horses and made the best of their way back. Nevertheless, the treacherous murder of Patrick Blackadder was a subject of great scandal, and stood foremost among the crimes and outrages which soon cast a shade over the earl of Angus's government.

Before he seized the government, Angus had gradually gained an influence over the affections of the youthful king by administering to his favourite amusement of hunting; and he now sought to secure his hold, not only by ministering to his amusements, but by pampering his vices, encouraging him in the premature indulgence in pleasures which tended, by rendering him weak and effeminate, to draw him still more under his control. But James soon became tired of the watchful and irksome restraint in which he was now held, and he found friends in the court who lent no unwilling ear to his griefs. Among these was the earl of Lennox, who still remained outwardly in alliance with Angus, in spite of his secret disapprobation of his conduct. It was no sooner perceived that the king was discontented, than many of his attendants, who, by some unaccountable oversight, were enemies to the Douglases, urged him into absolute hatred of his keepers by bringing him reports of their tyranny and of the outrages committed by their adherents and followers. Lawless violence was indeed raising its head in every part of the kingdom; and the borders especially were the scene of unrestrained turbulence.

After many threats of executing justice on the borders, at length, in the middle of the summer of 1526, Angus marched thither, provoked by some new outbreaks of the Armstrongs, and he took the young king with him. While the court was held at Jedburgh, James had contrived to send a private message through the earl of Lennox, to one of his powerful adherents, the laird of Buccleugh, Walter Scott, complaining bitterly of the tyranny of his keepers, and intimating a wish that he might be rescued from captivity. Scott at once undertook to make the attempt; but it is said some intimation of the design had been carried to Angus, who immediately broke up the court and hurried back to Edinburgh by way of Melrose. As they approached the latter place, they came in sight of the laird of Buccleugh, who, at the head of a thousand of his followers, had thrown himself in their way so as to intercept them in their march to the capital. Angus had not a very numerous escort, but it was formed of some of his best troops, led by men like Fleming, Home, and Ker of Cessford, who were reckoned among the best knights of the day. He drew up his force, and immediately sent a message to Scott, ordering him, in the king's name, to dismiss his followers. The border chief replied, that he knew the king's mind better than the proudest baron among them, and that he should remain as he was, and do obedience to his sovereign, who had honoured the borders with his presence. Angus, who naturally took this as a defiance, placed the king under the charge of his brother, George Douglas, with the earls of Maxwell and Lennox, and, while they stood aside on an elevated spot near at hand, dismounted, and with levelled spears bore down upon the borderers. The latter soon gave way, and the laird of Buccleugh was glad to make his retreat, with the loss of eighty of his followers, who were slain in this short struggle. Angus had to lament the death of one of his best and bravest knights, Ker of Cessford, which gave rise to a long feud between the Kers and the Scotts.

The earl of Lennox is said to have behaved so ambiguously on this occasion as to lead to the belief that he was acquainted with the laird of Buccleugh's designs, and becoming more and more an object of suspicion, he found it prudent to absent himself from court. While Angus strengthened himself by a strict league with the earl of Arran and the Hamiltons, Lennox allied himself with the queen and the chancellor (Beaton), and having secret encouragement from the king, he soon raised a considerable force, with which he declared his intention of delivering him from the faction who now held him in captivity. Angus had also collected a powerful army, and when he heard that Lennox was at Stirling at the head of an army of ten thousand men, he immediately sent the earl of Arran, with a superior force, to occupy Linlithgow, and so intercept his march to the capital. Arran is said to have had a conciliatory mission, but it was in vain, and Lennox declared that he would go to Edinburgh and rescue his king, or die in the attempt. When he arrived at Linlithgow, he found that Arran had seized the bridge across the river Avon, about a mile to the west of the town, and he was obliged to pass the river at a difficult ford opposite the nunnery of Manuel. Meanwhile Arran, when he was assured of the determination of Lennox to advance, immediately sent word to Angus, who marched from Edinburgh with the king and the rest of the army to strengthen him. It is said that the young king, aware of what was going on, and anxious for Lennox's success, proceeded so slowly and unwillingly, that Angus, impatient of the delay, hurried forward, leaving his brother, George Douglas, to bring James along with him. The prince and his keeper had reached Corstorphine, when the distant sound of the artillery announced that the battle had begun, upon which George Douglas, in a tone of brutal threat, warned the king against hoping to escape from them, for, said he, "if the enemy should be too powerful for us, rather than give thee up, thou shalt be torn to pieces, and we will at least keep a part." The threat sunk deep into the king's heart, and the behaviour of George Douglas, on this occasion, was never forgiven.

Lennox, meanwhile, was anxious to engage the troops of the earl of Arran before Angus came to their assistance, and he ordered his men to pass the river and drive them from the high ground they occupied on the other side. The men dashed bravely through the water, but they moved forward with difficulty, galled by the severe fire to which they were exposed, which threw them into so much disorder, that they had

already begun to give way, when the terrible war-cry of "Douglas" announced the arrival of the army from Edinburgh. The troops of the earl of Lennox now fled in every direction, and were slaughtered without mercy by the victorious Hamiltons and Douglases. Lennox himself was slain, it is said, by James Hamilton, bastard son of the earl of Arran, who murdered him after he had surrendered. Arran himself wept over the dead body of his uncle, whom he lamented as the bravest and wisest knight in Scotland; and even Angus is said to have regretted his death; although he treated with contempt the message of sir Andrew Wood, who had been sent by the king to beg that the life of the earl, who was reported to have been captured, might be spared.

In the moment of his triumph, Angus determined entirely to crush his enemies, and, regarding the queen and the chancellor as the main promoters of this attempt, he made a rapid march to Stirling, in the hope of taking them by surprise. But both had fled, and sought safety in concealment. Archbishop Beaton was pursued so closely, that he was obliged to take refuge in the mountains, where for some time he concealed himself under the disguise of a shepherd. Angus soon after assumed a tone of greater indulgence towards the queen-mother, it was said, at the entreaties of her son. She was invited to Edinburgh, where her son came to meet her with a splendid retinue, and she was courteously received by Angus. But Beaton found more difficulty in making his peace with the victorious Douglases, who in revenge had already taken and dismantled his castle at St. Andrew's. He only purchased his pardon with large gifts and the surrender of the rich abbey of Kilwining, and he found it necessary to live at a distance from court. Other barons who had joined the banner of Lennox were proceeded against as traitors. Among these was Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis. Perhaps Angus was apprehensive of the result of the trial of this nobleman, for we are told by Buchanan, that James Hamilton the bastard urged him to seek safety by putting himself under the protection of the Hamiltons, on which the high-spirited chief is said to have replied indignantly, that in the ancient league entered into by their ancestors, his grandfather, as the most honourable, was always named first, and that he would not now so far forget the dignity of his family, or so far degenerate from his forefathers, as to place himself voluntarily under the patronage of those, whose chief, when entering into a bond on equal terms, was accustomed to take the second place. Hugh Kennedy, one of the earl's relatives, appeared for him on the day of trial, and made answer to the charge, that the earl had not appeared in the battle against the king, but in obedience to his commands; and he offered to produce the royal letters ordering him to join with Lennox in the league for setting him at liberty. This bold plea seems to have disconcerted the judges, and Cassillis was allowed to escape; but it was only to fall a few days afterwards by the hand of an assassin, Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, who was said to have been employed to commit the murder by the bastard Hamilton. The earl's son saved himself and his family by seeking the protection of the treasurer, Archibald Douglas, whose daughter he was to marry, and Hugh Campbell was obliged to fly the kingdom to avoid a judicial inquiry. But the earl's lands, as well as those of lord Evandale, were seized and given to the earl of Arran. Sir George Douglas received, for his share of the spoils, the lands of Stirling of Keir, who was slain in the battle. Angus took for himself the extensive estates of lord Lindsay, with the lands of all the eastern and northern barons who had supported the earl of Lennox.

King Henry still looked upon the triumph of the earl of Angus as that of the English party, and he wrote to congratulate him on his success at Linlithgow, and to advise him to strengthen himself, while he had it in his power, by the destruction of his enemies, advice which he showed every inclination to act upon. He was now left with undivided power in the state; for the earl of Arran, seized with remorse for the death of his uncle Lennox, had retired from court to shut himself up in one of his castles. The pride and tyranny of the Douglases were now exhibited in their worst colours. Every act of violence and injustice was committed with impunity under their name. In the very centre of the capital, during the sitting of parliament, one of them, the laird of Lochinvar, murdered the laird of Bomby at the door of the church of St. Giles, and no one dared to bring him to justice. It was but a poor atonement for the lawlessness of his fol-

lowers, when Angus marched to the border, and hanged some of the Armstrongs for their robberies.

The death of the earl of Lennox did not pass by without an attempt at vengeance, which was made just as Angus was preparing for his progress to the border. There was, Buchanan tells us, in the stables of John Stuart, (the earl of Lennox), a man of very mean extraction, who was retained among the lowest for taking care of the horses. After his lord was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered about for some time in a loose unsettled state, till his mind became roused to a determination of executing a deed far above his rank or station, and he resolved to revenge the death of his master. With this intention he set out for Edinburgh, where by chance meeting an acquaintance of the same rank, and who had belonged to the same family, he asked him whether he had seen James Hamilton the bastard in the city? And when he confessed that he had seen him, "Thou most ungrateful of men!" said he, "and didst thou suffer the villain to live, who murdered our best of masters?—away, thou deservest to be hanged!" Having thus spoken, he continued on his way to the court. There were at that time in the palace-yard, in front of Holyrood-house, two thousand of the Douglas and Hamilton clans, armed, and prepared for the expedition to the border. Here the avenger of his master, overlooking all the rest, fixed his eyes and his mind upon Hamilton alone, then coming out of the area unarmed, with only a short cloak; and having watched him into the dark archway above the gate, rushed upon him and stabbed him in six different places, some of the wounds nearly reaching his vitals, while the others, more or less severe, had been warded off by the bend of his body and by the cloak. Having, as he believed, effected his purpose, the assassin immediately mixed with the crowd. A tumult instantly arose, and some of the Hamiltons, suspecting that this act had been perpetrated by the Douglases, who had not yet forgotten the ancient feud between the two clans, a battle had nearly taken place between the two factions. At last, order being sufficiently restored, all who were present were ordered to draw up in single file along the wall, and the assassin was thus discovered, and seized with his knife, still bloody, in his hand. Being asked whence he came and for what purpose, and not giving any satisfactory answer, he was committed to prison, and on being put to the torture, he confessed that he had undertaken the act to revenge the murder of his master, and only lamented that the wounds he had inflicted had not proved mortal. Although subjected to long tortures, he made no further confession. At last, having been tried and condemned, he was led round the city naked, and every part of his body was pinched with red hot iron instruments, but he neither changed countenance nor uttered a murmur; and when his right hand was torn off, he only said that the punishment was less than it deserved, because it had failed in carrying out the intentions of a brave mind.

The turbulence of the borderers was at this time by no means the only cause of disorder in the kingdom. The districts of Mar, Garioch, and Aberdeen, were the scene of a sanguinary feud between the families of Lesley and Forbes, which it required the whole influence of the government to appease. The highlands had been in a state of increasing disorder ever since the battle of Flodden, and while the Scottish government was paralyzed by the struggle of factions, the clans of the north had resumed their turbulent independence, and had returned to the practice of private war. The establishment of courts of law and justice among these wild clans had only been made the means of perpetrating greater crimes under the protection of legal cunning, and had as yet no permanent effect in bettering their condition. Lachlan Macintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, had, it is true, exerted himself to hinder the excesses of his retainers, in return for which he was basely murdered by his near relative Malcolmson. The assassin fled to an island in the lake of Rothiemurchy in Strathspey, where he hoped to elude pursuit, but he was discovered by the clansmen and put to death. The heir of Lachlan Macintosh was a mere infant, who, for safety, was delivered to the keeping of the earl of Moray, while Lachlan's bastard brother Hector was allowed to assume the temporary command of his clan. The earl of Moray committed the young Macintosh to the care of his kinsmen the Ogilvies. Hector Macintosh had no sooner assumed the command of the clan Chattan, than he began to display the ferocity of his character. He began by insist-

ing that the earl of Moray should deliver up into his hands the young heir of the Macintoshes, and when that was denied, he collected his barbarous followers, invaded and ravaged the earl's lands, took and plundered the town of Dyke, and destroyed the earl's castle of Tarnaway, or Darnaway, on the river Findhorn. He then attacked the Ogilvies, and having stormed their castle of Pettie, slew twenty-four of their house, and marched away in savage triumph. This triumph, however, was of short duration; for the earl of Moray, having procured a royal commission, assembled an army, and attacking the Macintoshes just as they were going to renew their outrages, defeated them with great slaughter. Two hundred prisoners were executed; Hector's own brother was taken and hanged; and the chief himself, who fled and concealed himself, only owed his safety to the fidelity of the clansmen. He subsequently reached Edinburgh, and obtained the king's pardon for his crimes, but he was soon after murdered at St. Andrews by a monk, to revenge some feud with which we are not acquainted.

New intrigues were now working in the lowlands, but so secretly that we can hardly trace their progress. Margaret, as we have already seen, had returned to court, where she was apparently treated with the utmost consideration; and, after a temporary retirement, archbishop Beaton also entered into an outward show, at least, of reconciliation with Angus. It is said that sir George Douglas, who was a deeper intriguer than his brother, warned him in vain against the dangerous designs which might lay under the pretended friendship of a man like the archbishop. No suspicions, however, seem to have existed in the minds of the English ministers, who only saw in all this an addition of force to the government of the earl of Angus, who had hitherto shown himself devoted to the English party. Magnus, who was now in Yorkshire, but still watching affairs in Scotland, had said, in a letter to Wolsey, on the 14th of February (1527), that he had "specially written to the archbishop of St. Andrews, much like as I have done to the queen's grace, showing me to be right glad and joyous, both of the queen's repairing to the young king her son's presence, and of the coming in of the said archbishop; declaring that by the queen's good counsel and faithful assistance to be given to the same by the said archbishop, good likelihood is that the great discords, debates, dissensions, and variances, that have of late been among the lords in those parts, shall be repressed, appeased, and reduced to good unity and concord, to the universal weal, rest, and quietness of that realm, and most specially for the weal, surety, and prosperous preservation of the king's person, their sovereign lord."

One of the first fruits of the revival of the archbishop's influence, was a case of religious persecution. Amid the scenes of political turbulence and intrigue which late years had witnessed, it appears that the doctrines of the reformation had been secretly and gradually spreading in Scotland. The parliament of 1525 had found it necessary to pass an act forbidding all merchants and foreigners bringing into Scotland any books or treatises put forth by Luther or the other reformers, on the pain of imprisonment and the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes; and all persons who publicly professed their doctrines were threatened with similar punishment. Among the latter was a young and noble ecclesiastic, Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, the son of sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, and of Catherine Stuart, sister to the duke of Albany. He had studied philosophy at St. Andrews under John Mair, the preceptor of Knox and Buchanan, and the freedom of his opinions and his known predilection to the doctrines of Luther, had caused him to be summoned before an ecclesiastical council; but he escaped the danger by flying to Germany, and at Wittemberg he obtained the personal friendship of Luther and Melancthon. He afterwards perfected himself in the doctrines of protestantism under Lambert, the head of the university of Marburg, and soon afterwards determined to return to Scotland to preach the true faith to his countrymen. With this design, he arrived at St. Andrews in 1527, where he preached openly the new doctrines, and exerted himself zealously to make converts. He was soon seized and thrown into prison, but his youth, and his high connexions, excited sympathy, and the most earnest exertions were made, but without effect, to persuade him to renounce his doctrines. A catholic priest, named Aless, who was employed to argue with him in his cell, became a convert himself, and perished at the stake. A scheme was organised for the rescue of Patrick Hamilton, but it was discovered and defeated, and he was soon afterwards condemned and put to death with excruciating tortures. The meek-

ness and courage with which he bore his sufferings produced a deep impression on the beholders, and did much towards spreading the faith for which he was a martyr. Buchanan tells us that another priest, a Dominican named Alexander Campbell, had listened to Patrick Hamilton's doctrines, and been partly converted to them, but his courage forsook him, and he was induced to seek safety and perhaps gain by becoming on this occasion the public accuser. Provoked at the vehemence of this man's accusations, Hamilton is said to have cited him in a tone of prophetic eloquence to another bar:—"I summon thee, thou most aggravated sinner, who knowest the things which thou condemnest are true, and didst confess so to me only a few days ago, to take thy trial before the tribunal of the living God!" Campbell's mind was so disturbed by this appeal, that he became melancholy and moody, and not long afterwards died mad.

CHAPTER VI.

ESCAPE OF THE KING, AND FALL OF THE DOUGLASES; HOSTILITY OF FEELING BETWEEN JAMES AND HIS NOBLES; FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THE power of the Douglases seemed to be now so firmly established, that their feeling of security threw them off their guard. They were masters of the king's person, and could thus affix his signature to any act they pleased, while the offices of state which gave control over the revenue of the kingdom, and the law, the chancellorship and treasurership, were in their own hands. They had thus the irresponsible and unchecked power of rewarding their friends, and of crushing their enemies under the charge of treason against the sovereign, whenever they offered open resistance to his keepers. The queen had now married Henry Stuart, a man who possessed neither talent nor popularity to make him respected, and who appears to have been thrown into prison whenever it was thought necessary to act upon Margaret's fears. Angus, in contempt of both, made an attempt to gain possession of the queen's dowery lands, which alarmed her so much, that she took her husband with her into the castle of Edinburgh, and closed the gates. Angus immediately unfurled the royal banner, and the king was obliged to accompany him to lay siege to the fortress in which his mother had thus taken shelter. Margaret knew that resistance was in vain, and she surrendered at once, and, delivering the keys of the castle on her knees, implored pardon for herself and her husband. The vengeance of Angus only fell on the latter who was subjected to a new imprisonment.

But the moment was now at hand when the power of the earl of Angus was to be overthrown. James appears to have been secretly a promoter of all the attempts which had been made to deliver him, and while each successive failure had rendered his chains more irksome to him, he gradually learnt to be more cunning, while he became more resolute to shake them off. He had completed his sixteenth year, and he had already begun to show a capacity which, if it had been rightly trained, might have made him a great monarch. Since archbishop Beaton had returned to court, the king had privately taken him into his confidence, and it appears to have been with him alone that he concerted the steps for making his escape. The crafty prelate had succeeded in making the Douglases believe that he was entirely indifferent to affairs of state, and deceived into false security by their easy triumph over the queen-mother, they began to relax a little the confinement in which they kept the king. The important castle of Stirling belonged to the queen-mother, and James persuaded her to exchange it with him for the lands of Methven in Strathern, under the promise that they should be erected into a peerage for her new husband. The exchange was no sooner completed, than the king contrived to place in the fortress a captain who was devoted to his person. He then prevailed upon the earl of Angus to remove the court to the palace of Falkland, which was a

favourite hunting place, and whence, from its moderate distance from St. Andrews, it was easy to hold communication with Beaton without exciting suspicion. The latter acted his part with the utmost skill. He also had entered into some transactions with sir George Douglas relating to their estates, on pretence of which, while the earl of Angus was occupied with his private affairs in Lothian, and his uncle, Archibald, was gone to Dundee, he invited him to pay him a visit at St. Andrews. The king was thus left at Falkland with no other keeper but the captain of the royal guard, Douglas of Parkhead.

It was the latter part of May, in the year 1528, when these things occurred. On the night of the 22nd or 23rd of that month, James announced his intention of hunting early the next morning, and having sent for the keeper of Falkland forest, he gave him strict orders to have everything ready at an early hour. He then supped, and, dismissing his attendants, retired to his bed early, in apparent anticipation of the fatigues of the next day. The captain of the guard also retired, and no one entertained the slightest suspicion of the king's designs. In the middle of the night, when the whole palace was in profound slumber, James, having assumed the disguise of a yeoman of the guard, stole out of his chamber, locked the door, and having proceeded to the stable with two faithful servants, selected a fleet horse, and putting it at its full speed, succeeded in reaching the bridge of Stirling before daybreak. As he passed the bridge, which was secured by a gate and tower, he ordered the warden, at the peril of his life, to keep it shut against any who should follow him, and then proceeding to the castle he was received into it by the captain and garrison with the utmost joy. At Falkland, no one had observed the king's flight, and there was so little apprehension of any such design, that when sir George Douglas returned from St. Andrews, unexpectedly, as it appears, and was informed that the king had retired, he also proceeded to his own chamber without further inquiries. Early next morning, however, he was aroused by a loud knocking at his chamber door, and Carmichael, the baillie of Abernethy, rushed in and inquired if he knew where the king was? He replied that he believed he was yet in bed. Carmichael then told him that the king had been seen passing the bridge of Stirling. In the utmost alarm, sir George dressed himself and hurried to the royal apartment, the door of which he found locked; and, when he had burst it open with his foot, he was overwhelmed with consternation on finding the chamber empty, and the royal robes thrown over the bed, in which nobody had slept. The household was immediately roused, and messengers dispatched to the earl of Angus and sir Archibald Douglas, and on their arrival, they collected as many of their followers as were at hand, and all three rode on towards Stirling, still believing that the power and authority with which they were invested might enable them to recover possession of their captive.

Meanwhile James had acted with the utmost vigour and resolution. Worn out with fatigue and anxiety, when he reached Stirling, he retired to sleep, while messengers were sent to bring together such of his nobles not of the party of the Douglases as were within call. When the king awoke, he was surrounded by a body of influential barons devoted to his will, including the earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglintoun, and Moray, and the lords Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell, and Montgomery; and with these he held a council, and a proclamation was issued in the king's name forbidding any lord or follower of the house of Douglas to approach within six miles of the court under pain of treason. A herald, bearing this proclamation, was instantly despatched towards Falkland, and meeting the Douglases on the way, he drew up his horse and read it to them. For a moment they hesitated, but on further reflection they thought it better to obey, and turning their horses' heads, they rode back, overwhelmed with rage and disappointment, and stopped only when they reached Linlithgow. Angus went thence to fortify himself in his castle of Tantallon, while the Douglases and their partizans in all parts hastened to collect their forces.

While the kingdom seemed thus threatened with a formidable civil war, James acted with mingled vigour and prudence. He was joined at Stirling by the queen-mother, with her husband Henry Stuart, and he appears to have remained there during the month of June to mature his plans. On Monday the sixth of July, the king proceeded to Edinburgh, accompanied by his mother, and attended by the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Galloway, &c., the earls of Argyle, Arran, Eglintoun, Rothes, and Bothwell, and the lords Max-

well, Avendale, Seaton, Forbes, Home, and others. He took up his lodging in the house of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and issued thence a proclamation denouncing the pain of death against any Douglas found in the capital, or any others who should be found guilty of holding communication with them. The king's lodgings were strictly guarded every night, by the peers and their armed followers, and James himself is said to have taken his turn in commanding the guard, covered in complete armour. Nor was this precaution unnecessary, for sir George Douglas and his uncle sir Archibald Douglas, collecting a strong body of their followers, made several demonstrations against the capital, but they were defeated by the vigilance of lord Maxwell, who had been appointed as provost to the command there. One of the king's first cares after his arrival in Edinburgh was to supply the offices of state which had been held by Angus and his friends. The archbishop of Glasgow, Gawin Dunbar, the king's "schoolmaster," was made chancellor; the abbot of Holyrood was appointed to the treasurership; and the privy seal was given to the bishop of Dunkeld. Lord Maxwell was made provost of Edinburgh. A proclamation was next issued, summoning a parliament to meet at Edinburgh in the beginning of September; and the earl of Angus was commanded to keep himself beyond the Spey, and to deliver his brother and uncle as hostages for his appearance in parliament to answer to the charge of treason; both which orders the Douglases treated with the utmost contempt. The king after a few days dismissed his nobles, and returned with the court to Stirling. An ambassador was at the same time dispatched to Henry VIII. to acquaint him with this sudden and extraordinary change; but the light in which these events were viewed in England is shown by the remarks of the young lord Dacre, in a letter in which he communicated a part of them to Wolsey.—"The king," says he, "is ruled and advised by the queen, Henry Stuart, now her husband, the lord Maxwell, and the laird of Buccleuch, chief maintainors of all misguided men on the borders of Scotland, together with the sheriff of Ayr, that slew the earl of Cassillis, and now bed-fellow to the said king; with such like other murderers and misguided persons, which are now best cherished, and most in favour with the said king and queen. I see no likelihood or appearance of any stay or good order to be had within Scotland for the causes aforesaid."

The state of Scotland at this time promised, indeed, little peace to the country; and though the king showed in the emergency both vigour and prudence, there were strong traits in his character, which had been fostered by his imperfect education, tending continually to counteract his better qualities. He appears to have suffered personal indignities from the Douglases, during the period he remained under their control, which were never forgiven, and his unremitting hatred towards them and their partizans eventually weakened, rather than strengthened the authority which he had gained by their overthrow; for it led him into a contest with the feudal nobility, whom he had not the talent to conciliate, or the steady force of character to control.

During the autumn of 1528, the Douglases were actively engaged in collecting their strength, and they soon assumed a formal attitude of defiance. In August, sir Archibald Douglas and sir George, with their relative whom Angus had made abbot of Holyrood, and a strong body of retainers, had taken possession of Edinburgh, with the intention of hindering the meeting of parliament, but towards the end of the month they were surprised by lord Maxwell. It was noon, and sir Archibald and the other chiefs were at dinner, while their followers were scattered over the town, when their lodgings were suddenly invaded by a small party of lord Maxwell's troops. It was with the utmost difficulty that they succeeded in escaping out of the town, and they all made the best of their way to the castle of Tantallon, where their prospects at this moment seemed so discouraging, that a messenger was dispatched to the border to prepare the way for their flight into England. Two or three days afterwards, the king and the lords who now supported him entered the capital, and the parliament met in considerable force on the day appointed, the 2nd of September. As the Douglases refused to appear to answer to the charges brought against them, an act of attainder was passed without further delay, and the lands of the earl of Angus were divided amongst the lords who were now foremost in supporting the crown, the earls of Argyle and Arran, the lords Bothwell and Maxwell, the laird of

Buccleuch, and Hamilton the bastard of Arran, the king reserving to himself the powerful fortress of Tantallon. The lord Home was said to have refused the bribe of a share of the earl's lands to join against him; and Angus's friends complained that, instead of being proceeded against fairly in open parliament, the proceedings were carried on by a committee of lords, chosen for their zealous devotion to the young monarch's will.

The first step towards putting this act into effect, was to obtain possession of the estates which had been confiscated, and, having now collected at Edinburgh a well-appointed force of eight thousand men, he determined to march against his enemies, and lay siege to Tantallon, Douglas, and Coldingham. Angus, alarmed at these preparations, again meditated a retreat into England; but James already found the uncertainty of his authority over the aristocracy, which he was destined soon to feel in its full force. Under the pretence that they were unwilling at this time of the year to destroy the corn in the fields, the lords of the council refused to march, but, disbanding their men, promised to reassemble them as soon as the corn should be gotten in. The Douglases looked upon the backwardness of their enemies as a sign of fear, and assuming new courage themselves, they sent a party of their followers to burn two villages in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, proclaiming that they did it to give the king a light in case he chose again to arise and depart before day-break in the morning. This scornful taunt on his flight from Falkland, joined with his disappointment at the disbanding of the army, still further embittered his hatred towards Angus and his house. A letter from one of the English officers of the border, Roger Lascelles, captain of Norham castle, gives an anecdote which, if true, shows us not only the resolute character of the king, but the feeling which appears at this early period of his independent reign to have existed between him and the lords. "Upon our Lady-day, (September 8th,) all those that had the earl of Angus's lands, then came in with their patents to have them sealed and signed, and so the king did; and when he had so done, he delivered them to a page of his chamber, and commanded him to keep them; and so, at afternoon, the lords that had the patents given came to the king, and desired to know his pleasure why that he would not deliver their patents according as he had given them. And he asked his council whether he might revoke all that he had done or not? and his lords said, yes; and then he called for a notary, and revoked all that he had done, and bade them go and chase the earl of Angus forth of Scotland, and they should have their patents. And so they are not content with their part, for as yet they have gotten none of the earl's lands, and have lost the earl's favour."

Although evidently distrustful of the zeal and sincerity with which his nobles acted against the rebellious Douglases, James resolved to persevere in his design. Placing his hopes now in the earl of Argyle, he raised the country belonging to that nobleman about Douglas-dale, and, proceeding thither in person, undertook the siege of Douglas castle. While he was thus occupied in the vain attempt to capture this fortress, Angus and his followers burnt and plundered the country from Tantallon almost to the gates of Edinburgh. Compelled by its strength to abandon the siege of Douglas castle, the king returned to Stirling, to concert measures for carrying on the war against the Douglases with more vigour, and he announced his intention of marching towards the border, where their strength lay, with a formidable army in the following month. At the beginning of October we find James at Dunbar, from whence, on the second of that month, he made a hasty march at the head of five hundred men to Coldingham, in the hopes of surprising and capturing the earl, who seems to have been there at the burial of his brother, the ecclesiastic. But Angus had received timely information of the king's design, and held himself at a distance with two hundred of his followers, while the king occupied Coldingham; the latter, having placed the lord Home and his brother, the abbot of Jedworth, in command of that strong house, returned without accomplishing his purpose. No sooner had the king turned his back, than Angus, whose force had quickly swelled to five hundred men, entered the abbey, drove out lord Home and his brother, and pursued the king nearly to the walls of Dunbar. At the same time he sent the lady Margaret, his daughter by the queen, to Norham castle, and prepared to follow her over the border on the approach of the king's army, which was summoned for the 18th.

The relations between Scotland and Eng-

land were at this moment in a very precarious condition. James had sent Patrick Sinclair as his ambassador to the English court, to explain the change which had taken place in the Scottish government. Sinclair appears to have been a man who was in some degree under English influence, and he certainly did not succeed in counteracting the impression made in England by the agents of the Douglases. King Henry, who always assumed an authoritative tone towards his nephew, replied to his various communications by requiring him to pardon the earl of Angus, a request to which he refused to listen, and by complaining of the hostility of the borderers. The demand of favour for the Douglases was not long pertinaciously persevered in, but the Scottish borders, since the commencement of the troubles, had fallen into the utmost disorder, and these, with the known favour shown by Henry to the faction of Angus, furnished at any time a sufficient pretext for war. It was not, therefore, without alarm that the English government heard that a Scottish army was approaching to the border, and orders were sent to the duke of Northumberland to summon the forces of the northern counties to be ready to assemble at the shortest notice to resist any attempt at invasion by the Scots.

On the 18th of October James assembled an army of twelve thousand men at Dunbar, and carrying with him the artillery of that fortress, as well as that he had brought with him, marched direct to Tantallon, and from that time till the 4th of November he ceased not to use every means in his power to reduce that formidable fortress, but in vain. The walls, almost impregnable in themselves, and on this occasion defended with desperate bravery, set at defiance his whole train of artillery, and the king, baffled in his attempt, retired on the day last mentioned, with the bulk of his forces, to Edinburgh, a distance of about sixteen miles, leaving a band of footmen and a company of horse, under David Falconer, a very distinguished officer, to convey home the artillery. As this last body moved off towards Edinburgh, Angus issued forth with eight score of his men, and attacking them furiously at night, defeated them and slew their commander. The whole train of the Scottish artillery fell into the hands of Angus, who, with a singular affectation of generosity, carried it himself till, as he expressed it, it was "out of danger," and then sent it on to the king. It was on this occasion that James, mortified at his failure before Tantallon, stung to the quick by Angus's taunt in sending home the artillery, and especially grieved at the loss of his favourite officer, Falconer, declared, with an oath, that no Douglas should ever, so long as he lived in Scotland, find a resting-place in his kingdom.

A circumstance occurred, not long after the retreat from Tantallon, which gave further aggravation to the king. A royal ship called the Martine, laden with a very valuable cargo, was driven ashore on the coast of Lothian, and was taken possession of by some of Angus's plunderers, who carried off a part of the cargo. When they left it, the countrymen rose tumultuously, and completely stripped the wreck, and they are said in their ignorance to have carried off large quantities of cinnamon for fire-wood. Turbulent people in all parts of the country rose up to plunder under the name of Douglas, and the lowlands were soon thrown into a deplorable condition.

The loud demand of the English for redress of border outrages and the wish of James for peace on one side, and Henry's anxiety not to enter into a war at this moment on the other, led now to pacific negotiations between the two kingdoms. Dr. Magnus, joined with two other commissioners, was sent to Berwick to meet commissioners on the part of Scotland. They were directed in the first place to obtain redress for some outrages committed by the Scottish borderers on the English territory, to urge certain arguments in favour of the earl of Angus, and to furnish him a safe-conduct to England. These instructions were partly superseded in consequence of new intelligence, and before they reached Berwick they received fresh instructions, offering further arguments in his favour, directing that he should remain in Scotland, and ordering them to give him secret encouragement to do all the annoyance in his power until a treaty could be concluded to his advantage. They reached Berwick on the eighth of November, and found there the two Scottish commissioners, the abbot of Kelso and Adam Otterburn, one of the king's confidential ministers. Their commission, it appeared, extended only to asking for a peace for three years, in continuation of the truce which had already existed, while the English went to debate on the state of the borders and on the

affairs of the earl of Angus. This led to misunderstandings from the beginning. The Scots expressed their regret for the outrages committed by the Armstrongs of Liddesdale, but they said that that district was in a state of insurrection against the Scottish government, and that it was thus not in the king's power to give immediate redress. Magnus and his colleagues then urged that, if the Scottish king were not able to reduce the Armstrongs to order, he should allow the English king to proceed against them by force, without considering it a breach of the peace. The Scottish commissioners replied that they had no authority to treat on this subject, but they thought it reasonable that the "thieves" of Liddesdale "should be repressed by the power and consent of both kings." The English negotiators next demanded that the Englishmen who had been captured by the Liddesdale men and carried over the border, should be set at liberty, to which the same reply was made, that the king of Scots had not then power over the borderers to enforce this article. Magnus and his colleagues then proceeded to state Henry's wishes with regard to the earl of Angus, on which the Scots said that the earl's affairs were altogether out of their commission. "Nevertheless, knowing some part as they said, of their master's counsel, they inferred that it was no little marvel to his grace that the king's highness, his dearest uncle, should so largely labour or give any favour to that person, whom his said grace did take and repute as his rebel, supposing in such a case that his highness would rather persecute him for his sake, than in any wise to admit him so highly unto his favour; so that thereby, as they alleged, it appeareth that the king's said highness rather pretendeth superiority of Scotland, than otherwise."

"Conceiving these reasons and opinions," Magnus proceeds, in his dispatch to Wolsey, "thinking the same not to pass without reasonable answer to be made by us, it was alleged again (*in reply,*) that it became right well the king's highness to write, move, and to be means for the said earl of Angus to the king of Scots, his dearest nephew, considering that, if he so rigorously in his youth should persecute his noblemen and peers of his realm, for none higher cause nor transgression that yet appeareth, finally by all likelihood it should tend and make to his own destruction, considering he is, totally and at the least, much more ruled and advised by thieves and murderers, than by the noblemen of his realm. And at this point we remembered (*put them in mind of*) some of the said young king's counsellors, that is to wit, sir James Hamilton, who did slay the earl of Lennox; the sheriff of Ayr, who also did slay the earl of Cassillis; the laird of Buccleuch, who was cause of the death of Dan Kerr, warden of the east marches of Scotland; and the lord Maxwell, chief maintainer of all offenders, murderers, thieves, and others, daily procuring and seeking ways and occasions to the breach and rupture of the peace between both the realms; by means of which misruled persons, and of Harry Stuart, now married to the queen of Scots, the said earl of Angus is attainted, as consequently by all likelihood shall be other the noblemen of Scotland, for want of good counsellors about the said young king, to his own no little danger, jeopardy, and peril in conclusion, if that the counsel of his dearest uncle the king's grace be not better followed, proceeding more for the weal, surety, and favour that his highness beareth to his said dearest nephew, than for any other cause had towards the said earl of Angus. With these answers and others, we perplexed the said commissioners, so that they said they were desirous of peace; which if the king's highness would deny to his young nephew, it was not honourable, and contrary to the law of God and nature, the king their master being so nigh conjoined to the king's highness by proximity of blood; saying further, that if the king's highness should estrange himself so far from their prince and master, regarding more a stranger than his own blood, he was then enforced to seek and be means for further friends. To this it was alleged that the king's highness never intended nor thought any favour or bearing against the young king his dearest nephew, but only to give unto him his best advice and counsel for his prosperous weal and surety, and is content to continue with him in peace, and never thought the contrary, though many great occasions have been given to the same. Howbeit, we showed it was not convenient we should suddenly enter into the said peace, none other order nor direction taken for the heinous attempts done and committed to the king our sovereign lord's subjects, not yet redressed, nor authority committed to the said commissioners to treat, commune, and conclude for the same,

and specially till we shall know further the king our sovereign lord's high pleasure in this cause and others; declaring further, his said highness did mind none other thing, but as was reasonable, goodly, and natural, albeit his said highness made means, like a virtuouse prince, for a nobleman being in adversity, none other wise but as all good reason requireth. And, if hereafter any breach of peace shall fortune or chance, it shall not be by any occasion given by the king's highness, but in the default of the young king and his council, that will see none otherwise for the due order of justice to be ministered to the subjects of the realm of England, sore hurted and damnified by the lieges of Scotland."

The negotiation was now adjourned to the 9th of December, that each party might communicate with their several governments. Both sides seem to have felt the difficulty which was placed in the way of a treaty, by including the earl of Angus in it; and Magnus and his fellow-commissioners, in the dispatch from which the above account is taken, expressed their opinion candidly on the subject:—"And finally, we think, saving your gracious pleasure and reformation, it were not good to refuse peace for the earl of Angus, considering the war of Scotland is never to the profit of England; neither that peace should be refused, though the Scots will see no remedy for reformation of the thieves of Liddesdale. In which two causes some other remedy may be studied and devised, with far less charge than either to maintain war with garrisons or otherwise; the king's high honour saved in every behalf, the same notwithstanding." The same sentiment is expressed still more strongly in another dispatch to Wolsey, written the same day, after having received a communication from Angus himself. After reverting to this communication, which was merely a request for further support, Magnus proceeds to remark, "He and his brother George have moved me and my companions to rest still in calling for redress, and not to enter into any further peace with Scotland, alleging that thereby the said king of Scots and his council shall be enforced to grant and consent to anything that we will require or desire of them; the contrary thereof I esteem to be true, and so hither-toward I and my said companions have proved the same, by due experience, at this the time of our meeting with the commissioners of Scotland, who have demanded of us what redress we had at any time made by the said earl of Angus, when he was warden of the east and middle marshes of Scotland by these three years past. Whereunto we could make no perfect answer; neither do the borderers of England laud, praise, nor commend the said earl in anywise for doing of justice in that behalf, the said commissioners imputing totally the default and blame therein to the said earl of Angus."

While the negotiation was at this point, the king of Scots had summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on St. Andrew's day (the 30th of November), and it was generally understood that one object of importance that was to be brought before it was a proposed marriage between James and a sister of the emperor. This continental alliance roused the alarm of the English monarch, and further instructions were sent to the commissioners at Berwick; while communications had been made between the commissioners of both monarchs and king James, which seem to have somewhat pacified the latter. The Scottish government had been further strengthened by the reappearance of archbishop Beaton at court, who, although he had no doubt been a principal means of bringing about the late revolution, had kept aloof ever since, perhaps wishing to see which party proved strongest before he committed himself too far.

At length, on the 14th of December, 1528, a treaty of peace between the two countries was concluded and signed by the commissioners. James agreed to remit the sentence of death against Angus, and to allow him to remain in England, but he insisted upon the confiscation of the estates of the Douglases; accordingly Tantallon and their other castles were surrendered into his hands. Separate articles were agreed upon for repressing the disorders on the border.

As soon as the treaty of peace had been concluded, Dr. Magnus received new instructions, and was directed to proceed to the Scottish court on an embassy, the main objects of which appear to have been to ascertain the state of the proceedings with regard to king James's marriage, and to make a personal appeal in favour of the earl of Angus. His account of his proceedings, given in a long dispatch of the 13th of February, furnishes us with an interesting view of the state of politics at this time. Magnus arrived in Edinburgh on the 5th of January, twelfth-day-eve, and found that the

king was keeping his Christmas at Stirling. A fortnight passed before James arrived in his capital, but he had sent orders that the English ambassador should be treated with the utmost respect; and, as far as we can judge, the presence of an English envoy was not unsatisfactory to the bulk of the people. "The 19th day of January," says Magnus, "the said king of Scots came to Edinburgh, and the next day after I had presence, and was accompanied unto his grace by the bishop of Galloway, and the abbot of Arbroath, being privy seal. And after due salutation, and showing that, forasmuch as I was at the borders, and not far from Edinburgh, the pleasure of the king's highness my sovereign lord was, that, before I should return southwards, I should visit and see the prosperous estate of the said young king, to the intent that thereupon at my repair and coming into England I might make due report unto the king's highness his dearest uncle, not only touching the waxing *(growing)* and furnishing of his noble personage, but also of other his qualities and virtuous proceedings; and thereupon delivered the king's most honourable letters and your's (Wolsey's), which the said young king received right joyously, and with good countenance, demanding and inquiring for the prosperous estate and welfare of his dearest uncle the king's highness, and of your grace. After the said letters were read, and some deal considered, by the said king and his council, his grace, saying that I was right heartily welcome, desired me to have patience for a day or twain, to the intent that he might be the better advised of the effect, purport, and contents of the said letters; and then his grace showed he would be glad to hear my credence at large. Two days after, accompanied as before, I was sent for to come unto the king's presence, at which time his grace said to all his lords that, forasmuch as I was his old acquaintance, he would use me familiarly; and so caused me to pass with his grace into his privy chamber, none other being present but we twain."

A confidential conversation took place between the ambassador and the king, and Magnus began by touching on one of the most delicate questions that were entrusted to his management. "I showed," he says, "it was the mind and pleasure of the king's highness, my sovereign lord, his dearest uncle, that I should move him in anywise to follow the good advice and counsel of his most honourable and most discreet, sad, and sage councillors; and with much circumstance showed what surety the same should be to his grace, and what great honour and profit thereby might ensue, both to himself and to all and every the good subjects of his realm and maintenance of the same. Also, I showed how it was reported and said in England, that a private and light young counsel doth more rule about his grace than do the ancient and honourable lords of his council; and inferred thereupon, what great and high dangers might ensue in sundry wises. And at this point the young king said, he was much bounden to his uncle for these his good advertisements and counsel, and showed unto me of his own mind that young counsel was the destruction of the king of Denmark,* and that therefore he would have the better regard unto himself to be advised, counselled, and ruled by wise, sage, and sad councillors. And being glad to hear this to proceed of himself, I did laud, praise, and commend his grace, and showed unto him, that man was happy whom other men's dangers and perils make wise; and thereunto added the fall and destruction of king James III., his grandfather, in that time totally advised, ruled, and governed by a light and young counsel."

The next question discussed was the state of the border, of which the ambassador gives a melancholy picture. "Also, hearing that the Armstrongs of Liddesdale reported presumptuously that they would not be ordered, neither by the king of Scots, their sovereign lord, nor by the king of England, but after such manner as their fathers have used before them, I moved this to the said king of Scots, shewing that without justice and due correction to be had within his own realm, he could not continue and reign like a king, and thereupon inferred, how that the said Armstrongs avaunted themselves to be the destruction of two-and-fifty parish churches in Scotland, besides the unlawful and ungracious attempts by them committed within England, wherefore the said king of Scots stood, and was bounden to make answer. I therefore moved the said young king to appoint and have good officers upon his borders, as be given to justice, making of redress, and repressing of theft; and thereupon declared how much more it was 'valuable' for Scotland than for England. I showed also it was not

* Christiern II. king of Denmark had been dethroned in 1523.

possible that these two realms could or should continue together in due order, unless gratitude and kindness, with justice, were shown accordingly; and so induced, how oft the king's highness had made intercession for the earl of Angus, supposing that, if the matter had been of so great weight as is reported, the same should have been remitted at his request and contemplation. Howbeit, I said, it appeared that after the king's highness had written in the favour of the said earl, the more extremity had been shown against him. I also declared that, if the said earl had in anywise offended so largely as was laid unto his charge, or not; yet nevertheless the king's highness had exhorted, moved, and procured him, by special letters, to order himself in such wise, as he might obtain mercy and grace of his sovereign, and to take the same when he could attain thereunto. And upon this point, I moved the said king of Scots for some gentle and reasonable way to be taken with the said earl of Angus, at the request of the king's highness, his dearest uncle. As for having of justice within the realm of Scotland, making of due redress, and repressing of theft, as is afore said, the young king said, that all these things were fortified and maintained in such wise by the earl of Angus, and that it is not in his power to reform the same; inasmuch as the said earl did give so many remissions and pardons to offenders, and then did bind the same, being of all sorts, better and worse, to do unto him service, when he should call upon them; whereof warning was given unto him at divers times for his reformation in that behalf, and that yet in anywise he would not follow the same; so that thereby the said young king affirmeth, his subjects were so far, and yet are out of dread of him as their sovereign lord, that it is not possible, without help of his dearest uncle, to see reformation in that behalf. Howbeit, his grace and his council show themselves clearly determined to have better order, and have bound the officers of the borders of Scotland to see the king their sovereign to be discharged against the king's highness, our sovereign lord and master; and in like manner hath bound the earl of Bothwell, being lord of Liddesdale, to subdue that country to justice, and for making of redress, upon pain of forfeiture of all his lands there; the same to be done with all speed and diligence. Notwithstanding, the young king saith, that such bruits, rumours, and avaunts are made in Scotland, that the said earl of Angus and his friends shall be borne and maintained against him by the favour of England, to the encouraging so far of the malefactors his subjects, that right hard and difficult it is, hastily to reduce them to due obedience, unless the said earl be otherwise subdued and corrected; as by the said king's letters, written at this time to the king's highness and your grace, more at large it doth appear." The king then went on to detail his griefs against the earl of Angus, on which Magnus observes, "perceiving the king of Scots to persevere and continue after this manner, I was at divers and sundry times with the archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor; the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran, the earl of Argyle, sir William Scott, and Mr. Adam Otterbourne, with sundry others, both spiritual and temporal; and by all the ways and means I could devise or persuade, I could find no remedy for the said earl of Angus, not so much as to have any his friends to come in and to make offer for his reconciliation. And, as I was required and moved from the said earl of Angus, I offered to the said king, to be given to his grace for reconciliation of the said earl and his friends, two thousand pounds; which in anywise would not be regarded, accepted, nor taken."

The next question was the marriage. "Upon this communication," continues Magnus, "I required the said young king of Scots, inasmuch as I was that poor man that did bear good love and favour for the firm entertaining of peace and perfect amity to be between both the realms, and had oft and many times for the same taken upon me pain and travel, that therefore it would please his grace to be content to permit me to be plain unto his grace in disclosing to the same some part of mine own mind, proceeding without any other authority. And thereupon I inferred and said, I could not a little marvel, how prone and ready his grace was, as is said in England, to hearken and hear unto new intelligences with such as perchance may be the king his dearest uncle's enemies, or at the least his suspect and feigned friends. And so I touched his suits, devices, ways, and means, procured to the lady Margaret in Flanders, as was said, to have in marriage the dowager of Hungary, being the emperor's sister; and declared further that, if it were his own mind so to do, I did not also a little marvel of the same, seeing

that in such a case his grace would proceed or attempt without the advice, counsel, or consent of his dearest uncle; considering that the said queen is far older and hath many more years than his grace hath, with small profits and dependences, but trouble, danger, and business, with hope of help and relief to be given by the emperor, being a far friend to trust unto, having many more things on hand and in charge than he is able to rule and govern. I induced also, what hurts, dangers, and damages might ensue to the said young king's grace, if in anywise he declined from the pleasure and favour of his dearest uncle; and, according to mine instructions, showed it was a ready way and mean to send into Scotland the duke of Albany, to take upon him the rule and governance, not only of the king's person till he shall come to more years of perfection, but also of his realm for the better ordering of the same. And also I showed unto the said king that, albeit there might chance some business *(trouble)* to be between the king's highness my sovereign lord and the French king on the one party, and the emperor on the other; yet I considered right well that the same could not continue for any season, but that there should in brief time good rest and peace be had amongst them, and that then by all likelihood, if the said young king of Scots should decline or take any such way as is afore said with the emperor, the wise counsel of England and France would not fail to provide that he should be utterly put apart and left alone, to his extreme danger and peril, if it so should chance. After these promises were purposed, with much more circumstance, it was hard for the said young king to make answer to the same. Nevertheless he said he was not minded in any wise to seek any new friends, but, as nature required, would clearly give him to have his whole trust and hope in his dearest uncle, in whom he did put his whole confidence, and never intended any other; albeit special motions had been made and moved unto him, not upon his own searching, but by the procuring of others. And upon this point conceiving the said young king to be perplexed, and desiring him to have some other thing to reason in his mind and conjecture upon, I showed unto his grace I marvelled most specially that his said grace, by the advice of his council, did none otherwise follow upon the marriage of my lady princess, remembering as far as ever I conceived, his grace had no desperate answer in that behalf, either by his ambassadors or otherwise. Upon showing of this matter, his grace said unto me, that his council had informed him that the lady princess was promised to the duke of Orleans, son to the French king, which was the occasion that he called no more quickly upon that matter. Howbeit his grace said, he would by the advice of his council use and order himself otherwise to his dearest uncle, specially by sending more familiarly than he had done to his highness; alleging there is no marriage in the world that he is so desirous upon, as of the same. Saying also, there should be nothing in his realm, either men or other, but the same should be at the request of his dearest uncle, and desired me of my poor favour and good report. Wherein I can do none other, but show that the same should be to the greatest comfort that could come to Scotland; which I do not conceive only by the said king's grace, but also by the queen of Scots his mother, and by his most honourable and most discreet councillors, with whom I have had conference and communication at large, and am sure that neither the said young king nor his council be minded to lean to any other party, either for marriage, or any other intelligence, unless it be by the advice of the king's most gracious highness. And for the further surety in that behalf, the said queen's grace, the archbishop of St. Andrews, sir William Scott, laird of Balwery, and Mr. Adam Otterbourne, have firmly promised unto me, that no communication shall be had with no outward realms, till that the king's highness and your grace shall be made privy to the same; and most assuredly I trust to the words and promise made unto me by the said king of Scots, and doubt not that in anywise they will decline to the contrary; so that for this cause there is no doubt to be made for the party of Scotland."

James seemed at this time inclined to act up to the professions he had made to king Henry's ambassador. Henry and Francis I. were leagued together against the emperor, and the French king favoured the marriage between James and the English princess, while the emperor was anxious to prevent it. A proposal for a marriage into the royal family of France was met with discouragement; but the emperor was anxious to secure the Scottish alliance to himself, and pressed upon James a marriage, first with his sister the queen of Hungary,

and next, when this was not acceded to, with his niece, the daughter of Christiern king of Denmark; and so earnest was he to promote this match, that the king of Scots was encouraged to expect as a dower the whole principality of Norway. But none of these matches appear to have been popular among the Scottish nobility, who seem at this time to have been generally in favour of a closer alliance with England.

One of the most important questions that came before the parliament of 1529, was the turbulence of the borderers, which formed an equal obstacle to tranquillity at home, or continued amity with England. The youthful king had made up his mind that a strong example of rigour was necessary, and he determined to proceed to the border in person. Before he set out, he ordered such of the border chiefs as were attending at court to be arrested, and the earl of Bothwell (lord of Teviotdale,) with Home, Maxwell, Ker of Fernyhirst, Mark Ker, Buccleuch, Polwarth, and Johnston, were all thrown into prison. Two others, Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tushylaw, the latter of whom was popularly called the king of the border, were publicly executed. The king then marched with an army of eight thousand men through Ettrick forest and Ewsdale, and, guided by some of the borderers, who thus obtained a pardon for themselves, he penetrated into the wildest districts of Eskdale and Teviotdale. Among those who suffered the royal vengeance on this occasion was the most famous freebooter on the border, Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who, in an evil hour, trusting to the terror of his own influence, or, as it was said by some, allured by the false promises of James's courtiers, appeared before the king with an ostentatious display of thirty-six horsemen, arrayed in all the pomp of border chivalry. He expected to be received with marks of favour, instead of which the king looked upon him sternly, and, turning to his attendants, said, "What wants that knave that a king should hear?" ordering him, in the same breath, to instant execution. Armstrong made great offers to the king for his life, promising to sustain himself with forty gentlemen ever at the king's service, and engaging to be always ready to bring in, alive or dead, any Englishman the king should require, be he duke, earl, or baron. At last, seeing there was no hope of favour, assuming a prouder tone, he exclaimed, "It is folly to seek grace of a graceless face; but had I known this, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of king Harry or you; for I know king Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold, to know that I were condemned to die this day." He and his companions were all hanged on a grove of trees, at a place now called Carlenrig chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, on the high road to Langholm. The fate of this notorious marauder produced no little sensation, and it was commemorated in after times by popular ballads on both sides the border. The Scottish borderers looked upon the Armstrongs as murdered men, and it was believed that, in testimony of the injustice of their sentence, the trees on which they were hanged withered away.*

These acts of severe justice procured some degree of tranquillity in the south, but in the extreme north a new rebellion had broken out. The ambition of the earl of Caithness had led him to speculate on the embarrassments with which the young prince was surrounded, and to attempt to establish himself in the Orkney Islands as an independent prince. His strength consisted in his ships, but the population of the island in general remained steady in their loyalty, and the career of the pretender was soon cut short in a naval battle in which he was defeated and slain by James Sinclair, king James's governor of the islands. A new insurrection in the Hebrides originated in a private feud between Maclean of Dowart and the earl of Argyle. Maclean had married a daughter of the earl's, the lady Elizabeth Campbell, with whom he lived at variance, and in one of his fierce moods he caused her to be exposed on a desolate rock near the isle of Lismore which was covered by the sea at high water. The life of the lady was saved by a boat accidentally passing near, and she carried her complaint to her father. Maclean, meanwhile, procured letters of protection, with which he proceeded to Edinburgh, but he was there murdered in his bed by the earl of Argyle's brother, sir

* One of the best known of the ballads alluded to is that printed by Scott in his Border Minstrelsy, and included in most collections of ancient Scottish ballads. The last stanza but one expresses the strong popular feeling on Johnnie Armstrong's death:—

"John murder'd was at Carlinrigg,
And all his gallant companie;
But Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae,
To see so mony brave men die."

John Campbell of Calder. The clan of the Macleans thought of nothing but vengeance, and joined with other clans, they ravaged the extensive territory of the Campbells, who were not backward in retaliating, and the north-western districts of Scotland were thrown into the utmost confusion. The earl of Argyle applied to the king for assistance against the men of the isles, as rebels to the crown, but the king seems to have distrusted his representations, and expressed his determination to proceed against the insurgents himself. But he first offered pardon to all such of the island chiefs as would repair to his court and renew their allegiance, and nine of the principal, with Hector Maclean, the chief of Dowart, came forward and accepted these terms. The lord of the isles, Alexander of Isla, soon after followed their example, and, repairing to the court at Stirling, made his peace with the crown. Thus the north also seemed for a while pacified.

While the king seemed thus to be gradually reducing the turbulence of his subjects, his nobles were becoming more and more hostile to him. The unrelenting hatred with which he pursued the Douglases offended many who were secretly attached to them by sympathies or interest, or who looked upon it as the beginning of a persecution of the old feudal aristocracy; while those who had helped to relieve him from their sway, had been disappointed at not receiving the profits and favour to which they thought themselves entitled. Many of the occurrences at this time are extremely obscure from want of information, and we cannot fully explain why several of the noblemen who had appeared in favour at court are found suddenly in disgrace. The earl of Argyle was placed under arrest, and committed to prison; the earl of Crawford was deprived of a great portion of his estates; and the earl of Moray, lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton, were also objects of the royal displeasure. Their offences were probably resistance to those measures of reform which the king appears to have been now pursuing, with a view of strengthening the crown and diminishing the power of the nobility. He had been latterly leaguing himself more and more with the clergy, from whom he found a much steadier support than from the chiefs who had been corrupted by the misgovernment during his minority. It was partly for the purpose of taking power out of the hands of the nobility, and placing it in the hands of the church, that James instituted in 1552 a new court called the college of justice. This court was to consist of fourteen judges, one half to be selected from the spiritual, and the other from the temporal estate, with a president who was always to be an ecclesiastic; it was provided that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and the king reserved the right of influencing the decisions of the court by sending in three or four members of his privy council to vote when he pleased. Thus the king, as it has been observed, only changed the means of oppression out of the hands of one party into those of another.

For the last few years the foreign relations of Scotland had been in the utmost uncertainty, but they were becoming now more settled, in consequence of the establishment of peace on the continent. Henry, relieved from his continental enemies, now acted in a less conciliatory manner towards his northern neighbours, and was not backward in profiting by the discontent of the Scottish nobles. From various circumstances which have come to light, the English monarch seems to have been preparing to reassert the supremacy of the English crown over Scotland, and he was, perhaps, only hindered from doing so by affairs of greater moment which were now beginning to occupy him in his own dominions. Various attempts had been made to obtain a settlement of the disputes relating to the borders, but the negotiations were broken off in the October of 1531, in consequence of a dispute about a tract of land called Canoby, claimed by both parties. It was at this moment that the Scottish nobles began to offer their services to England. We have a difficulty in tracing the exact causes of their disaffection, but we find that several of them had been subjected to imprisonment and confiscation, and that some considered that their lives were in danger. Among these was the earl of Bothwell, who, in a paper dated the 21st of December, 1531, threw himself upon the protection of the king of England, by whose assistance he hoped that "the realm of Scotland should be brought into good state again, and not the nobles thereof be kept down as they are in thraldom, but to be set up as they have been before." On the 27th of December, in consequence of direction from the king of England, the earl of Northumberland held a private conference

with the earl of Bothwell and some of his friends on the border, for the purpose of ascertaining his intentions and prospects. The earl's report of this conference gives us a curious picture of the Scottish politics of the day, and seems to show that the king had been ripping up old sores to find excuses for breaking the power of his barons. Northumberland began by asking Bothwell the cause of his displeasure against his sovereign; "to which the said earl answered, that the giving of his lands unto the Kers of Teviotdale, from him and his heirs for ever by the said king, who would in no wise suffer him have his laws for recovering the same again according unto right; and also keeping him half-a-year in prison within the castle of Edinburgh, there purposing without cause to have put him to death, if his friends had not been bound in twenty thousand pounds to enter the said earl, whensoever the said Scottish king should command him; and moreover, that he is fully and credibly informed by the lords of the council of Scotland (being his friends), that if he may have the said earl and his colleagues together in Edinburgh, he will not fail to put them all to execution, and doth suffer the said earl but only unto the time that he may apprehend him and his adherents." The next question was, how far Bothwell was willing to go in his hostility to his sovereign, to which "the said earl doth firmly promise (your highness being his good and gracious prince, and helping him to his right, setting him forward and advancing him, as his service may deserve hereafter to be done in the realm of Scotland), he shall not only serve your most noble grace in your wars against Scotland truly, with a thousand gentlemen and six thousand commons, but also become your highness's true subject and liegeman. And, to know what likelihood of good effect shall ensue hereof, the said earl doth say, remembering the banishment of the earl of Angus, the wrongful disinheriting of the earl of Crawford, the sore imprisonment of the earl of Argyle, the little estimation of the earl of Moray and the lord Maxwell, the simple *(slight)* regarding of sir James Hamilton for his good and powerful service, he puts no doubts, with his own power and the earl of Angus (seeing all these noble hearts afore rehearsed be withdrawn from the king of Scots), to crown your grace in the town of Edinburgh within brief time." We learn further from this report, that the pretext for stripping the earl of Crawford of his lands was, that he had entered upon his estates, "coming out of his nonage without the consent of the king his father, he being bound to the contrary." We learn also from the records of this period, that the earl of Angus had bound himself in allegiance to king Henry, and promised to acknowledge him as sovereign of Scotland. The secret of this conference appears to have been betrayed to king James, and in the middle of January, 1532, Bothwell was again arrested, and committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle.

During the whole of the year 1532, the relations between the two countries were extremely precarious, and the borders appear to have been in a continual state of warfare. The population of the debatable lands appear to have harassed the English borderers with continual incursions, aided probably by their Scottish neighbours, and James was perhaps not unwilling to let his "dearest uncle" feel his power of giving annoyance, while he is said to have acted in a more direct hostility, by sending a large body of men from the islands to assist the Irish chief O'Donnel, in his attempt to shake off the English yoke. The earl of Argyle had been deprived of his power in the north, and that nobleman, with a great part of the islanders, as well as the earl of Crawford, now offered to follow the example of Angus and Bothwell in transferring their allegiance to the crown of England. During the autumn, and towards the approach of winter, the letters of the earl of Northumberland, who had the command of the English border, are filled with accounts of inroads and forays upon the English border, to revenge which, early in December, the earl assembled a strong body of English fighting men, and, in conjunction with the Douglases, made a destructive inroad into Lothian, burnt a number of villages and hamlets, and returned to Berwick laden with the plunder of that rich district, which they had taken by surprise. The Scots retaliated by a renewal of their predatory inroads, and the border warfare became every day more savage in its character. At the beginning of February, 1533, a foray was made with a strong body of the English borderers on the estates of the laird of Buccleuch. A letter from sir Thomas Clifford to Henry VIII., dated from Berwick, on the 9th of February, furnishes an account of other similar invasions, which

gives us an extraordinary notion of their savage and destructive character. "During the darkness of the moon last bye-past," he says, "I put forth your garrison of this your town, horsemen, by parcels, some one night and some another, by twenty, thirty, and forty, as the purpose required, so often as horse and men might well travel, into Scotland within the Merse; where they burnt, at divers times, in time of the said darkness, these towns and granges, with the corn pertaining to the same; that is to wit, Chyernside; the East Mains, a great grange of the lord Home's; Cawklaw, a grange of corn of the laird of Spottes; and the Crakewawes. And similarly on Saturday, the first day of this month, set forth my deputy of this your said town, with as well your said garrison, as parcel of this your late garrison remaining within this your town, sending to sir Richard Tempest for a part of his company; who forayed the said Saturday in Scotland within the Merse, at two of the clock at afternoon, and burnt three towns, called Whitsom, Newton, and Ramrige, with all the corns pertaining to the same, to a great quantity; got much goods, and took many prisoners. Certifying your highness that the draughts and purposes of the service done by me with your garrison unto your grace, in the setting forth of these your affairs, was principally by the means of my lord of Angus, his uncle, and brother; who always, with all their policy, wit, and power, are ready to the advancement of all your affairs in these parts, with full dilligence, to the uttermost of their powers.

"And on Friday the seventh day of this instant month of February, I with others your grace's councillors, the earl of Angus, his uncle, and brother, the inhabitants of Tyndale, Riddisdale, Northumberland, and Norhamshire; and the gentlemen of the same, met my lord of Northumberland your highness's warden here, upon former appointment made betwixt him and other your councillors in these parts, at midnight at Crewkamee; where as my said lord warden alleged, he was advertised of the repairing of three earls of Scotland with a great number unto the earl of Moray, and that they with their companies should at that instant time be with the same. And the earl of Angus, his brother, and uncle, alleging the contrary, sent forth immediately four of their servants into Scotland for due knowledge of the truth in that behalf, which met us afore our entering into Scotland ground, verifying the former opinion of the said earl of Angus, his uncle, and brother. And so we set forward into Scotland into Teviotdale, casting off the forays, at the break of day, within Scotland ground, where we burnt these towns, that is to wite, Sesfurth, Dandlaw, Berites, Nether Whitton, Sesfurth Mains, Mows Mains, Cowboge, Otterburn, Caverton, Caverton Mill, Caverton Mains, Hootehouse, Mainhouse, the Newtown, Trokden, Dunnerlaws, Sharperige, Lynton, Lynton Park, Widdendenburnfoot, Crooket Shaws, and the Stanke ford; with many other by-steadings *(farms)*, and demesne places. And, as well all the corn within the said towns and steadings *(farms)*, as a great substance which by the Scots inhabitants there had been removed forth of the towns for the more safeguard thereof, and made in the fields and fells thereabouts in stakes; and took the laird of Grawden and other Scotchmen prisoners. And so, burning and spoiling the country there, remained in Scotland the Saturday unto four of the clock at afternoon, and then returned homeward without any loss of your subjects, but only by reason of the sore handling of us at divers chases, the Scots acquitting themselves very sharply, that one of my lord of Angus's servants was slain, and one of mine taken. Nevertheless the Scots were always overthrown and put to flight, and we their masters at all times."

These inroads became so formidable, that it was necessary for James to take some decisive measures of resistance; and, having again taken the earl of Moray into favour, he appointed him to the high office of lord lieutenant of the kingdom, and sent him to take the command in person on the borders of England. He further directed that the whole body of fighting men of Scotland should be divided into four parts, and that each in rotation should undertake the defence of the marches. The king himself, on several occasions, went in person to encourage them, and thus the negotiations for peace seemed every day more difficult, and for months the borders of the two countries were the scene of the most cruel devastations, without any advantage to either party. The king of France, who again at variance with the emperor, was anxious to strengthen his alliance with England, attempted to interfere, and sent an ambassador to Scotland to mediate

between the two princes, but he was received with coldness, for James seemed for some time past to have been leaning towards the interests of the emperor, and carried back with him as the fruits of his mission, only reproaches to Francis for deserting the ancient alliance of Scotland. Another ambassador, M. de Beauvais, was subsequently dispatched on the same errand, and apparently with better success, for it was followed by a truce between the two countries, which was to be followed by new negotiations for peace, but which did not hinder repeated acts of hostility.

During the summer James made an excursion into the highlands, and was there received by the powerful earl of Athol in a style of unusual splendour. A timber palace of great magnificence, with a lofty tower at each angle, was raised in a meadow for the occasion. Its various chambers were hung with tapestry of silk and gold, and its windows were glazed with costly stained glass. The whole was surrounded by a moat, like a feudal castle. The bedrooms and sitting-rooms were richly, even voluptuously furnished, and every stimulant to luxurious enjoyment was provided in abundance. Here the king passed some days in the pleasures of the chase, and other amusements, and when he left, Athol declared that no subject should ever profane this gorgeous residence of royalty by using it for other purposes, and caused the building, with all its rich furniture, to be committed to the flames.

On his return from this excursion in the north, James gave his attention again to the state of the border, and he became convinced that the interests of his kingdom required peace with England. He made some expostulations on acts of hostility which had been committed during his absence, which seem to have been replied to by countercharges, and then he determined to appoint commissioners to negotiate. Their negotiations commenced under the mediation of the French ambassador, M. de Beauvais, but it was not till after some time and many difficulties, that the commissioners could come to any agreement. On the 1st of October, 1533, a truce between the two kingdoms for one year was concluded. The negotiations between the two courts did not end here. The bishop of Aberdeen and sir Adam Otterburne were sent as ambassadors to the English court, and at length a final treaty of peace, to last during the lives of the two monarchs, and one year after the death of him who deceased first, was concluded on the 12th of May, 1534. It was agreed that the Douglases should surrender the castle of Edrington, of which they had gained possession during the recent troubles, for the Scottish king persisted in his determination that they should have no footing in his dominions; but he consented that the earl of Angus, his uncle sir Archibald Douglas, and his brother sir George, should be allowed to remain quietly in England as king's Henry's subjects, provided reparation were made according to the border laws for any enterprise that should be undertaken by either of them against Scotland. The ratification of this peace was celebrated with great rejoicing, and the friendship between the two countries seemed to be finally cemented, when Henry dispatched the lord William Howard to the Scottish court to carry his nephew the order of the garter. The foreign relations of Scotland seemed at this moment to be of the most cordial description, for he received almost at the same time the order of St. Michael from Francis I. of France, and that of the golden fleece from the emperor Charles V.

James thus seemed to be relieved from all the foreign embarrassments which had hindered him from giving his undivided attention to the internal condition of Scotland, and he showed the inclination to effect reforms of an important character, calculated chiefly for the benefit of the middle classes, by raising the crown and breaking the power of the nobles. But at the moment of which we are now speaking his thoughts were almost entirely occupied with the question of his marriage.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND; PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND; JAMES'S TWO MARRIAGES.

Events were now in progress which, in the sequel, produced a great change over the position of parties in Scotland. Henry's resolution to be divorced from Catherine of Arragon had already caused the disgrace of Wolsey, and the separation of England from the authority of the pope. The secession was confirmed by the English parliament in the April of 1534. James was ruled by his popish clergy, and his attachment to Rome was strengthened by the flattering marks of attention he received at this time from the emperor and the pope, who were anxious to save Scotland from the contagion of England. The Scottish monarch was well affected to their cause, and, while Henry was hanging Romish priests who resisted his ecclesiastical plans, the king of Scotland was persecuting to death, with equal cruelty, the followers of Luther, for the seeds of the reformation were gradually taking root among his subjects. Many persons, charged with holding heretical opinions, were cited to appear before an ecclesiastical court held in the abbey of Holyrood, at which the king was present, clothed in scarlet robes as one of the judges. Some fled and made their escape to England or to the continent. Among these were the brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been condemned and executed for his opinions on a former occasion. Some of those who could not escape were so terrified by the fate with which they were threatened, that they consented to abjure their opinions, and made a public recantation. A few stood firm in the faith, and boldly defended the tenets of the reformation against their judges. One of these, David Straiton, was a gentleman of good family, brother of the laird of Laurieston, near Stirling; and another was a priest named Norman Gourlay. Straiton's conversion originated in a quarrel with the bishop of Moray, who had exacted, somewhat tyrannically, the tithe of his fisheries. To show his contempt of the bishop, he ordered his fishermen, when the tithe-gatherers came to collect the tax, to throw every tenth fish into the sea, and tell them to seek their tithe there. He began from this moment to be an anxious inquirer in religious matters, and frequented the company of Erskine of Dun, one of the most eminent of the early Scottish reformers. Once, we are told, as David Straiton was listening to the Scripture, which was read to him by the laird of Laurieston, he came upon the passage where our Saviour declares he will deny before his Father and the holy angels any one who hath denied him before men; upon which, deeply moved, he fell upon his knees, and implored God that, although he had been a great sinner, he would never permit him, from the fear of any bodily torment, to deny him or his truth. When the day of trial came, Straiton showed an admirable example of courage and constancy. He refused utterly to retract a single tenet of his opinions, and was led to the stake encouraging his fellow-sufferer, Gourlay, to persevere in the same spirit. They were burnt on the Calton-hill at Edinburgh, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1534.

A rather frequent interchange of ambassadors now took place between the two countries, accompanied with an unusual show of cordiality between the two monarchs. Henry had knighted Adam Otterburne and the other ambassadors who had been sent to his court, and the English ambassador lord William Howard, a son of the duke of Norfolk, met with a distinguished reception in Scotland in the month of August, 1534, although it was a part of his instructions to intercede with James for the banished earl of Angus and his brother sir George Douglas. Their uncle Archibald seems to have deserted their confederacy, and he soon afterwards returned to Scotland, threw himself on the king's mercy, and was allowed to retire to France, where he died. The principal object of lord William Howard's mission appears, however, to have been to invite the king of Scots to hold a friendly meeting with the English monarch at some place in the north of England, and Henry hoped in this personal interview to persuade his nephew to follow his example in throwing off the yoke of Rome. To promote this object, another English

ambassador, Dr. Barlow, afterwards bishop of St. David's, an active agent in the suppression of the monasteries, was sent in the beginning of October to join the lord William Howard. Barlow was an able and eloquent preacher, and it was no doubt expected that he would be instrumental in propagating the new doctrines; at least so it seems to have been understood by the Scots themselves. In one of his letters to the minister Cromwell, Barlow tells him, "that in these parts is no right preaching of God's word, nor scant any knowledge at all of Christ's gospel, without the which neither justice nor good order may prosper; for, notwithstanding here be plenty of priests, sundry sorts of religious (*i.e.* monastic orders), multitudes of monks, flocking companies of friars, yet among them all so many, is there not a few, no not one, that sincerely preacheth Christ; which so continuing, with God's high displeasure, cannot escape his terrible vengeance."

James seems to have been from the first well inclined to the meeting, and his friendly sentiments were increased when at the beginning of the February of 1535, lord William Howard, who had returned to England after Barlow's arrival, repaired again to Edinburgh, carrying with him the order of the garter to be conferred on the young Scottish monarch. On the twenty-first of February, James received the order with great solemnity in the abbey of Holyrood. During the year which was now opening, England marched on more boldly than ever in its secession from Rome, and the new pope, Paul III., used every exertion to form a continental alliance against king Henry. He was anxious above all to bind Scotland to the interests of Rome, and he flattered king James by sending the cardinal Antonio Campeggio as his legate to the Scottish court, who employed all his art to prejudice the Scottish king against his uncle of England, in which he was effectually assisted by the Scottish clergy, who had now gained entire possession of the royal ear. Campeggio brought as a present to James a cap and sword, which had been consecrated by the pope at Christmas, and he was authorized to confer upon him the high-sounding title of defender of the faith, which had been formerly given to the English monarch. The latter protested against this proceeding as an insult to himself, and it no doubt placed James in a hostile position as the implied defender of Rome against the apostacy of England. Under such influences, James began to hesitate in his policy towards England, and the year 1535 passed over in uncertainty, without any important transactions between the two countries. Barlow was again sent to Scotland in the latter end of the year, and the light in which his mission was looked upon by the clergy is shown by a passage in the diary of an apparently contemporary Scottish writer, a zealous catholic, who tells us that, "in the month of November there came an English ambassador, with sixteen horses in train, to infect this realm with heresy, which was in England amongst them, but through the grace of God he came no speed, but departed with repulse." He was followed, towards the middle of February, by the lord William Howard with a more splendid train; and in March a council of the Scottish prelates was held in Edinburgh, to declare their firm allegiance to Rome. A letter from Barlow to Cromwell, written apparently early in 1536, gives us his views of the state of the Scottish court. "As far as I can perceive," he says, "by all apparent likelihood, and thereof privily ascertained by secret information of a few credible friends, the intent of the whole council, which are none else but the papistical clergy, purposeth to stay our tarriance (*i. e.* to keep us waiting here), and to retard our awaiting without any dispatch, till they hear certain word out of France from their ambassadors, which is daily looked for; and, according to their certificate, to perform us some crafty conceived answer." After mentioning the report that the French king was hostile to Henry's religious reforms, and that the Scottish court was leaning to his councils, Barlow goes on to say, "Of what loving appetite the king here is toward our sovereign, I hope more than I have knowledge of, albeit not much mistrusting, because he is *bonæ indolis*. But as for the antichristian company, his spiritual ungodly counsellors, I dare boldly affirm that if they might destroy us with a word, their devilish endeavour should nothing fail. It is to be marvelled at, the suspicious surmises that they have about our coming. Some conjecture that I am sent to preach. Some suppose that we come to fetch away the queen. Some other reckon that we be purposely sent for fear of our popish enemies, to desire their puissant aid; wherein to satisfy their pride, I tell them they may do us small relief (their good wills excepted),

save with miserable beggars and moneyless soldiers, of which though they have plenty to be spared, yet have we little need of them." "Also," he adds in the conclusion of his letter, "I am sure the council, which are only the clergy, would not willingly give such advertisement to the king, for due execution upon thieves and robbers; for then ought he first of all to begin with them, in the midst of his realm, whose abominable abased fashion, so far out of frame, a christian heart abhorreth to behold. They show themselves in all points to be the pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the devil, whose popish power violently to maintain, their lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us, which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their destestable lies, if I may obtain the king's licence (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach, I will not spare, for no bodily peril, boldly to publish the truth of God's word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give hearing. And, until the word of God be planted among them, I suppose their feigned promises shall be finally found frustrate without any faithful effect." The Scottish historian Buchanan, who looked upon the events of his time with the feeling of a protestant, gives a view of the policy of the Scottish court at this moment not differing much from that of the English ambassadors. James, he tells us, "appointed a day for meeting with Henry, but two parties resolved to prevent his journey to England. The Hamiltons, secretly, as the next heirs, endeavoured to prevent the king from marrying, that he might not leave children who would exclude them from the succession. The priests more openly opposed it, under very specious pretexts. First, the danger of the king's putting himself in the power of his ememy, with only a few attendants, where, whether he chose it or not, he must be subservient to the will of another; and they enumerated a great number of examples among his ancestors, who either by their own credulity, or the perfidy of their enemy, had been led into extreme danger, and had reaped, as the fruit of the magnificent promises made to them, only loss and ignominy. They instanced the fatal error of James I., who, induced by an existing truce, landed, as he supposed, upon a friendly coast, yet was detained a prisoner by the English eighteen years, and was at last avariciously sold to his subjects, under conditions which he neither could nor ought to accept. Tney then adduced king Malcolm I., and next his brother William, seduced to London by Henry II., and afterwards carried over to France, in order to appear as if engaged in war against their ancient ally. But, continued they, Henry VIII., it may be said, will not act in this manner. To this we reply, first, what assurance have we of that? then, what imprudence is it, while free, to commit our life, fortune, and honour, into the power of another; and as a last resource, the clergy, who believed that they contended for all that was dear to them—their altars and their revenues—brought to court James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, infirm old men, to weep over their religion, now about to be betrayed by that conference. Protected so long by our ancestors, our religion, said they, always preserved its protectors, but its ruin must soon be followed by the ruin of the kingdom. To desert it on slight grounds, especially at a moment when the whole world offer their vows and put on their armour for its security, would be attended not only with peril at present, and infamy for ever, but would be inexpressibly impious and criminal. When they had by such arguments made an impression on the king, who was naturally prone to superstition, they then bribed the courtiers who possessed the greatest influence over him, and promising him by them a large sum of money, completely persuaded him from attending the interview. The king of England was justly indignant at the disappointment, and thus the seeds of dissension were again sown between them."

It had been agreed that the place of meeting should be York, but a letter from William Howard to Henry VIII., dated on the 25th of April, 1536, showed that objections had already been raised by the ecclesiastics of James's council. James now proposed that the place of meeting should be changed from York to Newcastle, to which the English monarch agreed, though offended at the suspicions which this proposal implied. On the 25th of April, lord William Howard wrote to inform the king and his minister Cromwell that he had had an interview with James at Stirling. "By my faith, sir," he wrote to Cromwell, "I found

his grace so turned from the mind I left him, that I would never have thought it. I have certified the king's highness of all the circumstances in writing, which is so rudely done, that I might desire you, whom I take one of my most especial friends, to set it forth with your good words, for it hath great need. I had no man to help me with his advice and council. I had leaver than that little I have, that my lord of St. David's (Barlow) had been with me when I spake with the council. The king's grace hath denied that he promised me to come to York, which the bishop could well have borne record of, if he had been there." It was now, however, understood on both sides that the meeting was to take place at Newcastle, but James requested that the day might be postponed, and on the 13th of May the ambassadors, lord William Howard and bishop Barlow, stated to Henry, "We have perceived in him (the king of Scots) much unsteadfast alteration and mutability, as of late your highness was advertised, by a post; and now since the dispatch of his departure, we have more evidently tried out the hidden dissimulation of the Scottish king, minding nothing less than to perform his former promise of the meeting agreed between your grace and him; so that the delay of the time, and the new appointment of the place, is for none other purpose than to provoke that your grace by such occasion should break off without any default to be suspected of his part. And, lest this colour might fail, he hath sent a clerk, master John Thornton, who passed through your realm, to procure of the bishop of Rome a brief, to encharge him by commandment that he agree to no meeting with your grace. The queen, your grace's sister, because she hath so earnestly solicited in the cause of meeting, is in high displeasure with the king her son, he bearing her in hand, that she received gifts of your highness to betray him, with many other unkind suspicious words, by reason whereof she, greatly discomfited, is weary of Scotland, and fully determined to come into England, so that it be your grace's pleasure."

Soon after this, James seems to have laid aside all further thoughts of the meeting, and to have been absorbed in another object, his intended marriage with a foreign princess. Different projects of marriage had offered themselves from time to time, and had been as often abandoned. Since the peace with England, the Scottish prince had again entertained the proposal to marry the princess Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine of Aragon, and the emperor favoured this alliance, in the belief that it would increase the influence of the catholic church in this island. Subsequent events, however, had caused this proposal to be laid aside, and James fixed his choice on the French princess, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme. Sir Thomas Erskine and the abbot of Kinloss had been sent to France as ambassadors to negotiate this match in the December of 1535, and the treaty of marriage was concluded by them at Crémieu, on the 6th of March, 1536. James's fickleness of disposition seems to have nearly caused the breaking off of this match; for we are told, within two months after the treaty had been concluded, that he had suddenly determined to marry one of his mistresses, a daughter of lord Erskine, for whom he had obtained a divorce from her husband, after she had borne him (the king) a child. This unworthy project of marriage is said to have given great disgust to the Scottish nobles, and was the cause of the disgrace of the earl of Moray, who was deprived of his office of warden of the marches. It was not long, however, before the king changed his mind again, and he adopted the somewhat romantic design of proceeding to France and visiting the court of the duke of Vendôme in disguise. He accordingly set sail from Leith, with five ships, on the 24th of July, 1536, taking with him sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and a retinue of a hundred gentlemen. But meeting with stormy weather, this small fleet appears to have been driven northwards, and the king was finally landed at Whithorn in Galloway, to his great disappointment. It is pretended that the king laid the blame of this mishap on sir James Hamilton, who was suspected of a wish to hinder the marriage, and was said to have ordered the fleet to be turned homeward while James was asleep, for which he never forgave him. Yet James was resolved to pursue his purpose, and he now prepared to visit France undisguisedly, and with a retinue suited to his rank. A regency was appointed to govern the kingdom during his absence, consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Eglintoun, Montrose, and Huntley, and the lord Maxwell. The king then proceeded to the shrine of our lady of Loretto near Musselburgh, where

he offered up his vows for a happy voyage, and on the 1st of September he sailed from Leith with a squadron of seven ships. He was accompanied by the earls of Argyle, Arran, and Rothes, the lord Fleming, the lairds of Lochinvar and Drumlanrig, the abbot of Arbroath, the prior of Pittenweem, and others. The weather was more favourable than on the former occasion, and James landed at Dieppe on the 10th of September. The dauphin had been sent by the French king to meet the illustrious visitor, and conducted him to Paris, where he immediately proceeded in disguise, according to his original intention, to the palace of the duke of Vendôme. It is said that the princess Marie recognised him at once, from his resemblance to a miniature which he had sent her, and that she became at first sight violently enamoured of him. But the young monarch was destined to give another proof of his changeable disposition. Heedless of the lady to whom he had been betrothed, he fell in love with the princess Magdalene, the daughter of the French king, and as the attachment was mutual, he determined to make her his queen, although she was already stricken with consumption. The marriage was accordingly solemnized with great pomp in the church of Nôtre Dame, on the 1st of January, 1537, in the presence of the kings of France and Navarre, and no less than seven cardinals.

While James was thus throwing himself into the arms of France, the queen-mother had again joined the English party, and was using what influence she possessed in supporting the policy of her brother. She was now tired of her husband, Henry Stuart, who had been created lord Methven; and she wrote to her brother querulous letters, complaining that she was no longer treated with due consideration even by her son. A letter from king Henry to his sister, written on the 7th of January, 1537, and marked by a tone of moderation which does honour to the royal writer, shows us how fully he understood her fickleness of character. "Right excellent and noble princess, our dearest sister," king Henry says, "we commend ourselves unto you in our most hearty and affectuous manner; advertising you that we have as well received your letters credential addressed unto us by sir John Campbell, knight, as your other letters lately sent unto us from Edenburgh by our servant Berwick, and have at good length heard the credence which you referred to the declaration of our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and councillor the duke of Norfolk. For answer whereunto, dearest sister, you shall understand that, like as we would be right sorry to see that our good brother and nephew, your son, should not use you in all things as it beseemeth a natural and kind son to use his mother; so you may certainly persuade yourself that in case we should certainly perceive the contrary, whereby it should appear you should be treated otherwise than your honour and the treaty of your marriage doth require, there shall on our behalf want no loving and kind office, which we shall think may tend to your relief, comfort, and satisfaction. But, dearest sister, because by the report and credence of the said sir John Campbell, whom you recommended unto us as your special friend, it appeareth unto us, that you be there very well handled, and be grown to much wealth, quiet, and riches, and on the other side, by the credence committed to our said servant Berwick it appeareth otherwise, having the same declared unto us the mere contrary, we perceive their tales be so contrarious and repugnant one to another, that we may well remain doubtful which of them we may believe. And perceiving also by sundry other advertisements received heretofore from you concerning your trouble and evil handling there, both by our nephew your son and by the lord Methvin, that either your state often varieth, or else things have not been well understood and declared, for that we have after found them variable, and you of other disposition than hath been of your behalf pretended unto us; having occasion at this time to send this bearer into those parts for other our affairs and business, we thought meet by these our letters to desire and pray you, not only to signify unto us more plainly the points wherein you note yourself evil handled, but also whether you desire that we should directly and particularly entreat such your griefs with our good brother and nephew your son, as you will specially signify unto us, or else generally recommend your state, condition, and good entertainment unto him. For, as we would be very loath either to propose such matter unto him for you as yourself should not after justify, or otherwise to entreat it than might most redound to your repose, com-

modity, and quiet; so, knowing certainly your mind herein, with the particularities of your griefs, such as you will avow and justify, we shall not fail to devise in such wise for the redress of the same as both to our honour and yours shall appertain; like as this bearer can further declare unto you, to whom we require you, dearest sister, to give firm credence."

The bearer alluded to was sir Ralph Sadler, one of the ablest diplomatists of his day, who was sent to Scotland in the beginning of February to observe the state of affairs there. His instructions were, that he should ascertain the justice of Margaret's complaints, and, in consequence of his report, he was subsequently dispatched to France to confer with king James on the subject. From this time there was an active correspondence carried on secretly between the queen-mother and the English king and his ministers, while it was evident that the violent catholics, who now ruled in Scotland, were actuated by the bitterest animosity against England. James, in France, was now acting under the influence of his father-in-law, Francis I., and he joined in the great catholic league which was forming against England. He had made an application indirectly to Henry VIII. to allow him to pass through England on his way to Scotland, but Henry refused it on the plea that the application had not been made by James himself, in the forms of courtesy between monarchs. The English seem, at the same time, to have been unwilling that a king who was entering into a hostile league against them should be allowed to pass through their country, and thus observe its weak points. England seems indeed to have looked upon the Scottish government at this time with the greatest suspicion and apprehension, and it is evident from the correspondence of the day that the Scottish catholics were more or less mixed up with the rising in the north of England which is known as the pilgrimage of grace. In the month of April, Ray, the Berwick pursuivant, was sent to Scotland to confer with the ministers of that country, and his mission appears to have been by no means satisfactory. In a report of his proceedings, Ray tells us, that as he left the council of government, he met accidentally with one of the household of the queen-mother, a friend of his, and he "desired him to show the queen that I was there; and so he departed to her, and brought me word again that I should change mine apparel, and put upon me a cloak and a hat after the Scottish fashion, and should come to her with the said her servant, secretly, at her own lodging, at nine of the clock at night. Which I so did, and there met with her alone in a gallery, no person of knowledge but only the said her servant. And first said, I was welcome, and marvelled that she heard no word of her letters that she send by Ralph Sadler, and said further, 'I trow my friends forget me; I pray you to speak to my lord of Norfolk to be good cousin and friend, and remember the king my brother to be a kind and loving brother unto me, and to see some way for me, as I shall be a kind sister unto him, and at his commandment in all causes.' I answered, 'I shall not fail to do the same;' and further I said that my lord of Norfolk desired her to show him some news. Then she said as followeth: 'There is not one lord in Scotland that will give the king my son any good counsel towards England, nor he hath none, unless he take it of himself. All the lords and council here do verily believe that your ships be gone forth on the west seas to the intent to take the king my son; and now the lords have sitten in council, for what purpose I know not; but upon the same they have sent away Rothesay herald into France to the king, thinking to be there before his arrival here, and to oversee the country of England as he goeth, and to advertise the king my son of the same.' I said I should show the same to my lord of Norfolk; and so departed." The night following he had another interview with the queen. "And the next night after that, of her own mind, at the same hour, and after the same fashion, she sent by the same person for me to come to her again; which I so did, and she, rehearsing all the premises again in effect, added unto the same, and said as followeth: 'There shall be nothing done in this realm, but the king my brother and my lord of Norfolk shall have knowledge of it. The lords and all the whole commonalty of Scotland do suspect that ye will make war against Scotland; and if it be so, let my lord of Norfolk be sure of the commons.' Then I said, 'Hath your grace any suspect or knowledge that they are not sure enough?' She answered, 'Nay, but I pray you show this unto him; and that also, if ye do intend war, say

that I pray my lord of Norfolk that he make no war until Henry Stuart and I be divorced, which shall be within a month. For if the war should be before the said divorce were made, the lords of Scotland would suffer him to occupy my living.' And so," continues the pursuivant, "I departed from her to my lodging. Then the morrow I came to the bishop of Aberdeen (Beaton), and said, 'My lord of Norfolk heartily thanketh you for your hawks sent to him long time past, and all other pleasures; and at my return from you last into England, my lord of Norfolk demanded me what news, and I showed him according to your saying, which was, that ye would pray for the king of England and the whole realm, that they might be good men. Whereupon the said lord of Norfolk bade me say unto you now, that there are no better men living than there, nor no place that God is better served in. And, where ye say that the Englishmen will not apply to the bishop of Rome, my said lord of Norfolk bade me show you, that he knew not that the bishop of Rome had any more authority or power than you or any other bishop had without his diocese; and bade me demand of you, whether ye thought it not better yourself to keep that money within your realm which ye have been accustomed to give to the bishop of Rome.' He answered nothing thereunto, but that my lord of Norfolk and he had been in communication of the same in times past. Then I said, 'My lord, why for this cause should ye have any grudge towards us?' He answered, 'Nay, not for that, but for the cruelness of you, that put down your own poor commons.' And so I departed, and came into England."

At length, after remaining nine months in France, James brought back his queen to Scotland, escorted by a French fleet. The royal pair landed at Leith on the 19th of May, and it is said that Magdalene, when she first put her foot on English ground, knelt on the beach and taking up a handful of sand, kissed it and invoked a blessing on her new country and on her husband. James's visit to France had, however, in many respects not been auspicious for Scotland. Francis had gained an extraordinary influence over the mind of his son-in-law, which he had used to incite him against England, and the Scottish monarch returned with the most bigoted hostility towards the protestantism of the south, and ready to join in any league against it. He appears to have encouraged the discontented catholics who formed so large a population of the northern counties of England, and who were at this time kept in continual agitation by catholic emissaries; and it was this circumstance no doubt to which Margaret alluded in her warning to the duke of Norfolk.* Thus the

* "Pleaseth it your majesty further, your highness's said servant (the Berwick pursuivant) being in Edinburgh, as is afore rehearsed, chanced to meet with an Englishman, being a gentleman, and much of counsel with the said vice-admiral of France, called James Crayne; who, perceiving by the arms of your majesty in the box upon his breast, that he was an Englishman, took acquaintance unto your highness's said servant. And after by familiar kindness and agreement betwixt the said James and your highness's said servant, the said James did manifest and show unto him certain credence to be by him declared unto Ralph Sadler, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber unto your majesty, upon a token that, when the said Ralph Sadler was in France, he did inquire for the said James at his own house in Rouen. The effect of which credence is this: that when the king of Scots, in his repair homewards, being in the seas near unto the coast of this your highness's realm, the said James Crayne, with divers others of the king's company, came on land at a village unto the same James unknown, near unto Scarborough, to buy victuals and other necessaries for their company; whereon certain of the commons of the said village and of the country thereabout, to the number of twelve persons, Englishmen, your highness's subjects, did come on board in the king's ship, and being on their knees before him, thanked God of his healthful and sound repair, showing how that they had long looked for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered, desiring him for God's sake to come in, and he should have all. And, after that the said persons were departed, a gentleman of the same country, who was also unto the same James unknown, came and desired to speak with the king; and, as the said James did declare unto your highness's said servant, he, considering the evil minds and purposes of the persons aforesaid, fearing the said gentleman to be of like evil purpose and opinion, did find such means, as that the said king of Scots departed without having any communication with the said gentleman, as he says. And in like manner at another town upon the same coast, distant from the village aforesaid a great space southward, the said James Crayne with other of his company in like case, whereon other ten persons, your highness's subjects, came on board unto the king, and made like promise and complaint as the other persons aforesaid did; promising plainly that, if the said king of Scots would take upon him to come in, all should be his. Which town, in like case, is unto the said James unknown, saying, as he does perceive, there is in the same a church, whereof the patron is St. Andrew, and the parson or vicar of the same chaplain unto your majesty. And also the said James did show unto your highness's

French and English parties were revived in Scotland with an animosity increased by making it a religious quarrel. King Henry was well informed of the proceedings of the Scottish catholics; and in this respect he received good service from the Douglases, whose influence in Scotland was by no means destroyed, and whose secret agents and spies followed James's court wherever he went, and made themselves acquainted with its secrets. It was no sooner known that James had returned to Scotland, than sir Ralph Sadler was dispatched on a new mission thither, and he appears to have reached the Scottish court early in June. His instructions related chiefly to the great religious division which was then threatening the peace of the two kingdoms, and he was to explain to the Scottish king the object of the defensive measures which Henry had considered it necessary to take. "To the intent that his said nephew might perchance conceive, upon sundry reports and suggestions that may be made unto him, some suspicion or doubt of sincerity on his uncle's behalf, by reason of certain appearances, fortifications, preparations, and provisions of war lately begun to be made by his majesty within his grace's realm and dominions of England, as a thing that should tend to offend his said nephew or his friends; his majesty hath willed therefore the said Sadler to affirm and for certainty to declare unto his good nephew, that assuredly and without doubt his grace's said preparations be only made for his defence, and for the surety and safeguard of his good subjects and realm, upon certain conspirations practised against his noble majesty and realm by the bishop of Rome and certain his adherents and allies, intending his grace's destruction by hook or by crook, by *fas* or *nefas*, and the subversion of his whole commonwealth. For avoidance whereof, and for the defence of the whole, his majesty hath caused such preparations to be made as, he trusteth, with the help of God, (whose cause he taketh and defendeth), shall be able to withstand all the malice and conspiracy of the said bishop, his adherents and consorts. And whatsoever way they shall take to offend his majesty and realm, his highness doubteth not but they shall find his highness, and all his subjects, so ready to defend themselves, and so to withstand their violence, that after his said enemies shall have once tasted thereof, and taken their assay, his grace trusteth, with the help of God, they shall have little lust to go any further in their attempts."

After some strong professions of friendship, Henry proceeds in his instructions to his ambassador to state that "albeit his majesty, knowing that his said nephew (by his simplicity truly meaning and persuaded not to attribute to himself any learning or knowledge in matters of religion, but to leave the judgement and determination thereof to his clergy) continueth still in his persuasion of the bishop of Rome's (his cardinals,' adherents,' and clergy of that sort's,) holinesses, and that he is vicar of Christ on earth; whereupon seeing the difficulty his highness thinketh it should be, to dissuade a thing already so persuaded and beaten into his said nephew's head, therefore is very loath to move anything concerning the said bishop that should offend his said nephew; yet nevertheless, both because of the glory of God, and that the matter toucheth the highnesses of both kings, the uncle and nephew, and is of good importance to them both, his majesty is in manner compelled and constrained so, that (for to warn his good nephew) he cannot but somewhat touch and open the craft, illusion, and deceitful practices of the said bishop, to both their great disadvantage, if the said bishop could compass his purpose, to the evil end that is by him intended. Whereby, for the causes aforesaid, his majesty prayeth his good nephew, that continuing in such good simplicity columbine (as he doth), not attributing too much to his wit, knowledge, or learning, but submitting the same utterly to the word and doctrine of God, he will nevertheless join to that simplicity, as Christ commanded his disciples, the prudence of a serpent; that is, not to think himself, as perchance sundry of his clergy would have him to be, as brute as a stock, or to mistrust that his wits, which he hath received of God, be not able to conceive Christ's word, which his grace hath left to us, common to be understanden by all christian men, as well by such as be learned in the Latin tongue and heathen authors and scripture (*writings*), as also by the unlearned,

said servant, that the king, being on the seas for against your highness's town of Berwick, or little past the same, did say amongst his gentlemen that, if he lived one year, he should himself break a spear on an Englishman's breast."—*Clyfford to Henry VIII.; Berwick, May* 26, 1537: *State Papers, Vol. V., p.* 79.

as the apostles were. Not doubting but his good nephew, endued with such reason and wit, may as well understand the effect of the true doctrine, and know the truth of things, as the most of the clergy, commonly led by the affection they have to their maintenance out of their prince's hand and of their authority in pomp and pride. Second, the king's majesty his uncle requireth his good nephew that, for his better and most assured knowledge as well of the bishop of Rome and his clergy as of other, he will no less mark and give credence to their works and deeds than to their fair painted words, the which may be only judged feigned or unfeigned by works and deeds; and, observing the same, his highness doubteth not but he shall find much ease and perfection of knowledge of the very truth, by the same. For that shall induce him to lean unto the pure word of God, and to pass light upon dreams of men abused by superstition, to blind princes, and other persons of much simplicity."

Having thus stated his views of the course to be pursued by his nephew in religious matters, Henry proceeded to warn him against listening to the evil reports spread abroad by the papists against himself and his English subjects, referring especially to the "slanders" of cardinal Pole. For, observes the king, "the practices of prelates and clerks be wondrous, and their jugling so crafty, as unless a man be ware thereof and as oculate as Argus, he may be lightly led by the nose, and bear the yoke, yea, and yet for blindness not to know what he doth." It was added in the instructions, "that assuredly his majesty tendereth so much that his good brother and nephew should conceive no evil opinion of him, that he would not stick, for that purpose and entertainment of their amity and alliance and increase of love, not only to send unto the king his nephew, secretly, some good, honest, and true learned men to enform him thereof, if he were disposed to give unto them (he himself, without the presence of his clergy, or their partial favourers,) favourable audience, and permission so to do; but also, in his majesty's own person, take pains to approach nearer those parts in some commodious place, and take a time, with his own mouth and very word, to declare himself and other many things to the king his nephew, if his grace, receiving good and sufficient hostages (if need were, or if he mistrusted anything), would vouchsafe to meet and assemble in any commodious part northward with his majesty; not doubting but his said nephew should afterward think the same so commodious unto him, as he would for no good have forborne it. The costs and charges were not great for both parties, intending his majesty, as he is advised, for this summer to take his progress northward, and his good nephew, not far distant from the same, might take his progress thitherward. Yet nevertheless he remitteth the same to his nephew's discretion, perceiving that, by the means of his clergy, by all likelihood he shall be (as he was sometime afore) dissuaded of the same, and persuaded to the contrary."

"Finally, the king's highness, hearing by true intelligences and advertisements that the bishop of Rome and his faction of cardinals and adherents have conspired in anywise to compass his majesty's and true subjects' destructions (as, with God's grace, it shall never be in their powers, and assuredly his highness doubteth not thereof); and, for to bring their mischievous purpose, that they do intend to irritate and seduce both the emperor and the French king, and his said nephew also, against his uncle's majesty; and, as some of his grace's intelligences do purport, the said bishop intendeth, under fair words, to allure the king of Scots, by the means of other princes, if he can get them (as his grace trusteth he shall not, and that they be too wise and circumspect to condescend to such his cruel and tyrannic purposes), to make his said nephew, because his realm adjoineth unto England (and as a prince and king on whose peril and danger they have not much regard, but only for their own purposes), to be a ringleader and chief setter forth of hostility against his uncle, not caring whether both uncle and nephew should consume each other, so that the holy father and his apostles of Rome (God knoweth how far unlike to Christ and his apostles) might have their purpose; therefore his majesty requireth his said nephew to weigh what fair words, promises, and amities be at this day amongst many men, who for the most part do love for their own profit." This was followed by a warning against the French alliance—"Wherefore his majesty adviseth him, as a very uncle should his loving nephew, to consider and weigh well what the amities of sundry princes to him be and have been, why and wherefore, and to foresee what

might chance if he should fortune for other men's pleasure attempt any enterprise, specially where the matter that his highness defendeth is God's and his word's own cause, and the conservation of the right of kings and princes usurped by the said bishop. The king's majesty exhorteth his nephew not to depart from his amity that he hath with France and elsewhere, (for they be his majesty's friends also), rather willing to conciliate amity between them, if there were any enmity; but his meaning is, that his nephew shall beware what enterprises he taketh for any other princes' pleasure, and to have regard that in such things that sort of circumspection be had, as *crassa ignorantia*, which excuseth not the conscience, may be avoided."

These instructions are important, as showing the policy which now regulated Henry's proceedings with regard to Scotland.

James had not long returned to his kingdom, when an event occurred for which he was probably prepared, as it had been foretold before his marriage. His youthful queen died on the 7th of July, to the great sorrow of his subjects. He was at this moment again gratifying his vengeance against the connexions of the house of Douglas. Two state trials of this period have become famous in Scottish history. The first was that of the master of Forbes, a turbulent chieftain, who had been deeply mixed up in the intrigues under the regency of the duke of Albany. He had married a sister of the earl of Angus, and was well known to be one of the least scrupulous of the partisans of the banished family that remained in Scotland. In the summer of 1536, Forbes was accused by the earl of Huntley of treasonable designs against the person of the Scottish king, and both he and his father the lord Forbes were arrested and thrown into prison. It was not till the summer of 1537 that they were brought to trial, and then the master of Forbes was tried, condemned, and executed on the same day, but lord Forbes was subsequently liberated. We have no details of the trial, or of the exact charges which were brought against the master of Forbes, but we know that he was very generally believed to be innocent, and that he was looked upon as a victim to the king's animosity against the Douglases. Two days after this execution, another arrest was made on a similar charge. Janet Douglas, another sister of the banished earl of Angus, had married the lord Glammis, and after his death had for her second husband Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. By her first marriage she had a son, now sixteen years of age, who had succeeded to the title as lord Glammis. Lady Glammis was, as might be expected, warmly attached to her brother's cause, and she seems to have been actively engaged in promoting the designs of his partisans. She was thus an object of suspicion, and was more than once accused of treasonable practices. In 1531, she had been obliged to conceal herself from a prosecution for intercommuning with the king's rebels, and her property was confiscated. In the beginning of the following year she was brought to trial on a charge of poisoning her first husband, but appears to have been acquitted. She was now, on the 17th of July, 1537, brought to trial again on the more serious charges of having conspired to effect the king's death by means of poison and witchcraft, and of having given assistance to the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, being rebels to the king. Perhaps the latter part of the charge was the only part really true. She was found guilty, and condemned to be burnt at the stake, a punishment which she underwent with the utmost fortitude. Her beauty and a belief in her innocence excited great sympathy among the populace. The young lord Glammis, who on the rack had confessed that he had known and concealed the conspiracy, was also condemned, but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he remained in confinement till James's death, when he was set at liberty and restored to his estates and honours, on the plea that he had made a false confession under the fear of torture. Archibald Campbell, the husband of lady Glammis, in an attempt to escape from Edinburgh castle, fell and was dashed to pieces on the rocks. A barber, named John Lyon, was condemned as an accomplice, and hanged; and another man, named Makke, from whom the poison was said to have been bought, was punished with the loss of his ears and banishment.

James, ruled by his clergy, had now identified himself entirely with the French party, and his first queen was no sooner dead than he resolved to seek another match in France. David Beaton, a crafty ecclesiastic, the nephew of the archbishop,

whom he succeeded in the see of St. Andrews, was accordingly sent on an embassy to France, with lord Maxwell and the master of Glencairn, and they there concluded a marriage with Mary of Guise, the youthful widow of the duke of Longueville. Buchanan tells us, that the sorrow for the death of James's first queen was so great, that a new custom of wearing mourning dresses was then introduced, yet the year of mourning was not finished when a new bride arrived, and the second marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp in the cathedral church of St. Andrews. A contemporary diary tells us, that "on St. Margaret's day (1538), she made her entry into Edinburgh with great triumph, and also with order of the whole nobles; her grace came in first at the West Port, and rode down the high gate (*street*) to the abbey of Holyrood-house, with great sports played to her grace through all the parts of the town."

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS; SIR RALPH SADLER'S MISSION; THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO THE ISLANDS; PARLIAMENT OF 1540.

Various changes which occurred at this time tended to give still greater power to the clergy. The archbishop of St. Andrews was now stricken with age, and on the 5th of December, 1538, David Beaton, who seems to have been already in great favour with king James, was appointed his coadjutor in the see. The high favour in which David Beaton stood at Rome was shown during the same month by his being made a cardinal. A few months afterwards, in the autumn of 1539, on the death of his uncle, the cardinal became archbishop of St. Andrews.

The elevation of David Beaton to the office of cardinal was followed immediately by a violent persecution of the protestants, who appear at this time to have been rapidly increasing in numbers. Many were thrown into prison, and considerable numbers fled.* Among the latter was the historian, George Buchanan, who tells us that, having been arrested, he escaped by the window of his bedchamber while his keepers were asleep. Among those who were brought to trial were several priests, who had embraced the doctrines of the reformation, and it was a subject of scandal with the protestant writers in after times that the two prelates who presided over the ecclesiastical court on this occasion, cardinal Beaton and Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, were notorious for their licentious lives. One or two circumstances that occurred on these trials showed the extreme ignorance of some of the higher Romish clergy in Scotland at this time. Forret, a canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch, and vicar of Dollar, was accused of preaching to his parishioners. Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, who was one of the bench, undertook to remonstrate with the vicar, and urged that it was too much to preach every Sunday, as it might lead the people to think that the bishops ought to preach also. "Nevertheless," he continued, "when thou findest any good epistle or gospel which sets forth the liberty of the holy church, thou mayst read it to thy flock." The vicar replied that he had carefully read through both the Old and New Testament; and in no part of it had he found one evil epistle or gospel; but he promised, if the bishop would point them out, to be most careful to avoid them. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the prelate, smiling, "for I

* "Daily cometh unto me some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying that, if they were taken, they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words; and to some, money. Here is now in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late captain of Dunbar, and dare not return, for holding our ways, as she saith. She was in England, and saw queen Jane. She was sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland three or four years past."—*Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell, March* 29, 1539. Other similar notices are found in contemporary letters.

am contented with my breviary and pontifical, and know neither the Old or New Testament; and yet thou seest I have come on indifferently well; but take my advice, leave these fancies, or else thou mayst repent when it is too late." It was farther objected to Forret, upon his trial, that he had taught his parishioners the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the creed, in the vulgar tongue; that he had questioned the right of taking tithes, and that he had given them back to the poorer members of his flock. He rested his defence upon the holy scriptures, but it was only received with insult, and with several others he was condemned to the stake. They were burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1539.

The spirit of persecution, under the auspices of cardinal Beaton, spread over the country. A young man of eighteen years of age, named Kennedy, who was known as a poet of some talent, and a grey friar named Russell, were condemned as heretics and burnt at Glasgow. The prospect of this cruel death shook the resolution of Kennedy, and he seemed inclined to recant his opinions, when the exhortations of Russell encouraged him to persevere. He suddenly fell on his knees and blessed the goodness and mercy of God, which had saved him from impending destruction, and breaking forth in an ecstasy of triumph, declared that he looked forward with joy to the utmost tortures they could inflict. Russell, before he was dragged away from the court, fixed his eyes upon the prelates who presided, and addressed them in a solemn tone:—"Now is your hour, and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile, proceed and fill up the measure of your iniquities."

These violent measures created disgust among the laity; and while a general feeling of sympathy for the sufferers was highly favourable to the establishment of the reformation, it increased the disaffection to the government, and added to the strength of the party of England and the Douglases.

The rising power of cardinal Beaton gave great umbrage in England, where it was considered as the strongest proof of the supremacy of Romish and French counsels in the Scottish court. While king Henry was meditating on the means to be adopted to counteract this influence, and each monarch was professing his peaceful designs, the two kingdoms were filled with apprehensions of approaching war. These were founded principally on the intelligence that the French king and the emperor had united against England, and the belief that the king of Scotland, with the predilections he then had, would naturally be drawn into their league. The seizure of a ship going from Scotland to France, threw into the hands of the English ministers a letter written from cardinal Beaton to Rome, which was supposed to indicate ambitious designs dangerous to the welfare of the Scottish throne. Henry at once determined to dispatch sir Ralph Sadler to Scotland, under pretence of arranging some border disputes, but in reality to show James the cardinal's letter, in the hope that it would lead to his disgrace. Sadler proceeded to Scotland in the beginning of the year 1540. His instructions were, to discover as far as possible the intentions of the king of Scots with regard to the league between the king of France and the emperor. He was to sound James again with respect to his real views on the subject of the reformation in the church, and to persuade him, by an exposure of the tyranny of the papal power, the scandalous lives of the clergy, and the enormous wealth of the church, of the necessity and advantage of suppressing the monasteries, and throwing off the yoke of Rome. He was to endeavour to prejudice him against Beaton, by showing him the cardinal's letter, and suggesting to him that it intimated an intention of usurping the supreme power in Scotland, and giving it to the pope. He was finally to renew the proposal for a personal conference between the two princes, and to hold out to him the prospect of succeeding eventually to the English crown, in case of the death of prince Edward, then a mere infant.

Sadler was well received at the Scottish court, and James professed the utmost friendship for his uncle the English monarch. He declared that he would not join in any foreign coalition against England, unless compelled to do so in self-defence. He refused firmly to follow Henry's example in throwing off his allegiance to the church of Rome, or in dissolving the monasteries. He admitted at the same

time the profligacy of some of his clergy, declaring with an oath that he would compel them to lead better lives; while he praised many of them for their learning and talents, and for their loyalty to his government. With regard to the letter of the cardinal, he said that he had seen it before it was sent, and he only smiled at the notion that it contained anything treasonable. He evaded a direct answer to the proposal for a conference, intimating his wish that when it took place the king of France should be present. We are told by Buchanan, who spoke from his personal recollection and the general opinion of the time, that James's nobles, who were opposed to the influence of the clergy, used every endeavour to persuade him to attend at the conference. "When the priests understood this, they imagined their order would be ruined, unless they could prevent the meeting of the sovereigns, disturb their harmony, and sow dissension between the king and his nobles; and, upon examining all the various propositions, the readiest method of providing a remedy for the present evil which presented itself, was, to operate upon the king's fondness for money, by offering a large subsidy. Having, therefore, represented the magnitude of the danger, and the changeable and uncertain nature of the dependence he could place on that sovereign's promises, and showed him how a greater sum could more easily be procured at home, they first promised they would themselves contribute yearly thirty thousand gold crowns, and even their whole fortunes, if necessary, would always be ready. Besides, from the confiscation of the estates of those who rebelled against the authority of the pope and the majesty of the king, who troubled the church by new and execrable errors, thereby subverting all piety, destroying the authority of magistrates, and overturning the institutions of so many ages, there might be raised upwards of one hundred thousand gold crowns more, annually, if the king would only allow them to name a lord chief justice, as they could not sit themselves in criminal cases; and in managing the process, and procuring judgment, there would be neither difficulty nor delay, since so many thousand men did not hesitate to read the books of the Old and New Testament, to discuss the power of the pope, to despise the ancient rites of the church, and to deny all obedience and reverence to the monks, who were set apart and consecrated to God." Some doubts are thrown on Buchanan's statement that James acceded to these conditions of the clergy, and gave them the judicial appointment they required; but many of the historical events of this period are involved in dark obscurity.

Though Sadler had not succeeded in the object of his mission, he still obtained a certain degree of assurance that at that time James's own designs were not hostile, though his ecclesiastical advisers were evidently doing their best to urge him into a war. In several matters of dispute that occurred on the border, the king of Scots had acted towards the king of England in a conciliatory manner. A circumstance had recently occurred which had given great offence to king Henry, who was by no means inclined to allow the people in general liberty of speech. Certain documents were found in circulation on the border, which appear to have been traced to the Scottish side, and which are designated as "despiteful and slanderous ballads" against the English king. They related probably to his heretical proceedings, and to his treatment of his wives. Complaints were immediately addressed to the Scottish king on the subject, and he not only publicly disavowed any knowledge of them, with an intimation of his belief that they had originated among the English borders or the Scottish rebels who had found refuge in England, but he caused his officers on the border to make proclamation forbidding the composing or circulating such ballads or songs. On the 30th of January, 1539, lord Maxwell, James's warden of the marches, announced to the English warden that he had received command to make diligent search for any "who had made ballads or songs in defamation and blaspheming of his dearest uncle;" and on the 5th of February king James sent his orders to his officers on the border directing them to make open proclamation at Dumfries and other places, that no one should "take upon hand to have, read, publish, or send copies of any such famous, despiteful, and unhonest ballads, rhymes, and makings (*poems*)," and to destroy all copies that could be found.

Before the mission of sir Ralph Sadler, reports had reached England of extensive warlike preparations that were making in Scotland, and these had increased the apprehension of the English government, lest

James should be designing some sudden blow in support of the continental league. After Sadler's return these rumours continued, and it was announced with more certainty that the Scottish king had assembled a powerful fleet, and that he was charging them with men and munitions of war for some secret expedition. His object was for a short time the subject of great speculation, but all doubt was at length dispelled by the announcement that he had sailed on an expedition against his turbulent subjects in the western isles and the Orkneys. These, as well as the northern districts on the mainland, had for some time been in a deplorable state of confusion. For this expedition, James fitted out a fleet of twelve ships, amply furnished with artillery, and manned with the most skilful mariners in Scotland. Six ships were appropriated to the king, three carried the provisions, and the other three were given separately to the cardinal, the earl of Huntley, and the earl of Arran. The king himself sailed in a favourite ship called the Salamander, which had been given him by the king of France on his first marriage. The cardinal brought five hundred men from the counties of Fife and Angus, and the forces commanded by Arran and Huntley amounted to double that number. These, with the numerous troops which followed the banners of the barons who formed the royal suite, presented such a formidable naval armament as was calculated to strike awe into the islanders against whom it was directed. James shared in the love of science, literature, and the arts, which had distinguished the princes of his race, and one of the objects of his expedition was to make an accurate nautical survey of the northern coasts and isles, and for this purpose he took with him the most skilful hydrographer in Scotland, Alexander Lindsay, whose charts are still preserved. Having completed his preparations, James waited until his queen was delivered of a son, which joyful occurrence took place on the 22nd of May. The king then set sail, and proceeded along the coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan, until he doubled the promontory of Kinnaird's Head. He thence proceeded along the shores of Caithness, and crossed the Pentland Firth to the Orkneys; and after visiting most of the islands, proceeded along the coasts of Argyle and Arran, and at length cast anchor on the coast of Bute. Throughout the whole of his progress, James found nothing but submission, and his course was rather one of pleasure, than of warlike adventure. The people crowded to the shore to watch the arrival of a fleet which was decked out with splendour which was totally new to them; and the chiefs of clans hurried to the royal presence, to supplicate pardon for their past insubordination, or to seek favour by vows of attachment and loyalty. Some of them were treated with kindness, while others were thrown into chains, and treated with the utmost rigour. James carried away a considerable number of the more turbulent chieftains, to hold them as hostages for the good behaviour of their clans. At Dumbarton he left his fleet, and made his progress overland towards the capital.

Hitherto we have been able to glean little information relating to the internal condition of Scotland since the banishment of the Douglases, but it is evident that the state was torn by faction, and that James was by no means beloved by his nobles. In general, the scattered reports of troubles and discontent found in the letters of the English agents seem to have been well founded; and we are assured that most of the Scottish chiefs and statesmen who were not ecclesiastics were alternately in favour and disgrace, and sometimes in prison, with their estates seized and confiscated. In the summer of 1539, sir Adam Otterburn, who had long enjoyed so much of the king's confidence, was cast into prison, and only obtained his liberty by the payment of a heavy fine. Immediately after Otterburn's arrest, the earls of Moray, Huntley, and Bothwell are all stated to have been in disgrace, and to have been obliged to purchase their personal safety by the sacrifice of a portion of their extensive estates, which were added to the possessions of the crown. The king stripped Bothwell of his possessions in Liddesdale, and placed his own officers there to hold the turbulent borderers in better obedience. All these circumstances confirm Buchanan's account of the struggle for supremacy which was at this moment going on between the Romish church and the laity, in which the king, by giving himself up entirely to the clergy, provoked the hostility of the other classes of his subjects to a degree which caused him great embarrassments, and even fears for his personal safety. With any degree of foresight, he must have seen that in depending upon the clergy, although they appeared more unre-

servedly devoted to his person, the duration of their power was at this moment in the highest degree precarious. His recent progresses to different parts of the kingdom, and especially the northern expedition, were perhaps undertaken to relieve his mind temporarily from the anxieties and apprehensions which had gradually been brought upon it by the course which he had been following, and into which he had thrown himself with a characteristic obstinacy of character. He had in fact mistaken the direction in which the will and the necessities of his people were progressing. He seems to have returned from his voyage to the isles only to be made still more sensible of the dangers with which he had to contend, and an act of severity which followed seems to have involved him more deeply and more hopelessly. Like so many events of his reign, probably on account of the darkness and secrecy of the intrigues which led to them, we are totally unacquainted with the motives for the destruction of sir James Hamilton, or, as he was popularly called, the bastard of Arran, or even of the exact circumstances which accompanied it; but we are told that, one day as the king was on his way from Edinburgh to Fife, just as he was stepping into the royal boat, he was accosted by a stranger, who demanded a secret audience on a subject which concerned the safety of his kingdom and of his own person. James lent his ear for a moment, and then gave his ring to the unknown stranger as a token to two of the chief officers of the court, Learmont, the master of the household, and Kirkaldy, the treasurer, that they should listen to his information as though it came from the king himself. James continued his journey, as though nothing had happened; but the whole kingdom was astonished with the intelligence that sir James Hamilton, who had been looked upon as a favourite of the king, and who not only held high offices of the state, but who was known to be a bigoted favourer of the clergy, was placed under arrest on a charge of high treason. The whole proceedings appear to us the more extraordinary, when we find that the only crime of importance laid to his charge was a pretended design against the king's person twelve years before, at the time when James escaped from the usurped tutelage of the Douglases, of which to the last he asserted his innocence. The trial appears to have been hurried through precipitately, and Hamilton was condemned, and instantly executed. This execution took place on the 16th of August, 1540. Hamilton was a man of ferocious disposition and unscrupulous character, and, having been engaged in several political murders and acts of violence which were extremely unpopular, his fate was lamented by few; yet he was generally believed to have been accused and condemned unjustly, and, as there were few persons who had anything to risk in the kingdom who had not been compromised in the various revolutions of James's reign, people were seized with the belief that no one was safe from becoming a victim to the cupidity or vengeance of their monarch.

The distrust appears, unfortunately, to have been mutual, and James is said from this time at least to have looked upon all his secular nobles as so many concealed traitors, and not to have concealed his sentiments. We are assured that after the execution of sir James Hamilton, the king relapsed into an outward melancholy, becoming gloomy and suspicious, and retiring from his former pleasures and amusements. He sought to be alone in his apartments, drove away his attendants and courtiers, and was agitated in his dreams. It is said that on one occasion he rushed out of his bed and called for lights, and that when his attendants entered his chamber they found him in a state of violent agitation, pointing to his pillow, and begging that the frightful spectacle of the murdered Hamilton which stood there might be removed. On another occasion the chamberlain was roused from his sleep by groans which issued from the royal chamber, and when he entered it he found the king sitting upright in his bed, and declaring in great terror that he had been visited by the bastard of Arran, who with a naked sword threatened to cut off both his arms, and declared that he would shortly return and take his full revenge. This dream was believed to be fulfilled when, a few months afterwards, James's two infant sons died suddenly.

James soon, however, recovered from his temporary despondency, and turned his attention to public affairs with his usual activity. A parliament was called in the month of December, and was adjourned thence to the month of March, and its proceedings possessed an importance which had not been attached to the recent meetings of the legis-

lative body. The king, depending on the clergy for support, proceeded to the work of legislation with his characteristic boldness, aiming pertinaciously at the two great objects of his policy, the increase of the power and influence of the crown, and the strengthening and protecting of the church, which was now beginning to be threatened by the rapid spread of the reformed opinions among the people. With the former object, acts of extensive confiscation were passed. All estates alienated from the crown during his minority had already been resumed, and this resumption appears in some instances to have been made the cloak for the seizure of lands which had in former times been confiscated for treason and afterwards restored. By an act of the present parliament, all the islands to the north and south of the two Kentires, as well as the Orkney and Shetland isles, with the lordships of Douglas, Bonkill, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Bothwell, Jedburgh forest, and the superiority of the county or earldom of Angus, were declared to be confiscated and added to the possessions of the crown. Glammis, with its dependencies, Liddesdale, and the estates of sir James Hamilton in Evandale, were treated in the same manner. It seemed as though James was following the council which Buchanan puts in the mouth of his clerical advisers, that he should enrich himself by an indiscriminate plunder of the laity; and the great land-holders were struck with the utmost alarm, believing that they were all exposed to the same danger. Their fears were by no means appeased, when James caused to be passed an act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons committed previous to the day on which it was published. They saw a proof of the king's inexorable hatred and animosity in the clause which excepted from the provisions of this act the Douglases and all their adherents.

The influence of the clergy was shown in the severe statutes against heresy which were passed in that parliament. It was made a capital offence to argue against the supreme authority, or question the spiritual infallibility of the pope. All persons suspected of a leaning towards the opinions of the reformers were made incapable of holding any offices connected with the government, and all who had fled their country were to be considered as having confessed their guilt, and sentence was to be pronounced upon them as though they had been tried and convicted. All private meetings or conventicles where religious subjects were debated were declared to be illegal, and rewards were offered to those who would give information where they were held; while no catholic was permitted to hold any communication with those who had once embraced heretical opinions, even though they had repented and received absolution for their backsliding. These severe enactments show how generally the protestant doctrines were gaining ground. A feeble attempt was made to restrain the licentiousness and carelessness of the Romish clergy by acts exhorting them to reform their lives and conversation, and to encourage learning and good rule.

These severe enactments were mixed with others which exhibited a wiser spirit of legislation. In order to make the knowledge of the laws more general, it was ordered that the acts of parliament should be printed from a copy the authenticity of which was to be attested by the signature of the clerk-register. Laws were passed for regulating and purifying the administration of justice, and for the encouragement of domestic manufactures and foreign commerce. New acts were made for the defence of the country, and the king's proceedings at this time breathed throughout a warlike spirit. It was declared that the Scottish army should fight on foot, that the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggage-waggons, and that none should be permitted to be mounted but earls, barons, and great landed proprietors. These were directed to be armed in white harness, light or heavy according to their pleasure, and with the weapons becoming their rank; while all whose property was less than a hundred pounds of yearly rent were to have a jack, or a baldrick or brigantine, and gloves of plate, with *pesane* and gorget; the only weapons admitted being spears, pikes of six ells in length, Leith axes, halberds, hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords. A proclamation was read in the capital, and forwarded to every part of the country, commanding all men between sixteen and sixty years of age to be ready, at twenty-four hours warning, to assemble in arms under the royal banner. A train of sixteen great and sixty lesser cannon, was ordered to be prepared for taking the field within twenty days after Easter.

During the year of this parliament, one of the busiest persons in the troubled poli-

tics of James's reign disappeared suddenly from the scene. Queen Margaret had been of late incessant in her complaints to her brother of the unkind treatment she experienced in Scotland, where her intrigues of every description, and her reckless contempt of public opinion, had gradually deprived her of all public consideration. Her son, apprehensive of the scandal which must be attached to it, had prevented her divorce from her third husband, and she seems at this time to have been reconciled to him, for she was residing at the castle of Methven when she was suddenly taken ill, and died two or three days after, on the 24th of November, 1541. She was buried with great magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, Perth, in the tomb of its founder, James I.

CHAPTER IX.

HOSTILE FEELINGS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND; THE PROPOSED MEETING AT YORK BROKEN OFF; HOSTILITIES; THE SCOTTISH NOBLES REFUSE TO MARCH INTO ENGLAND; ROUT OF SOLWAY MOSS; DEATH OF JAMES V.

The remainder of James's reign was a continued series of misfortunes, the most disastrous of which were more or less the result of his devotion to the catholic clergy and to the counsels of France. Yet James seems at this moment to have been somewhat disgusted with his clergy, and to have been hesitating in his allegiance to them. He remonstrated with the prelates on the scandalous lives of many of their body; and he is said even to have looked with a covetous eye on the immense revenues of the church. Cardinal Beaton and the prelates were alarmed at this apparent change in the mind of their prince, and they determined to drag him into a war with England, as the only means of supporting their authority. The mutual disturbances on the border unfortunately furnished continual causes of dispute, and led to mutual complaints and recriminations, in the course of which Henry seldom lost the opportunity of urging his nephew to desert the church of Rome. He had been provoked at the ease with which the numerous priestly agitators who were endeavouring to raise the population against him found a refuge on the other side of the border, and he expostulated strongly that his rebels, when they happened to belong to the catholic priesthood, were screened from justice. James's reply, on one of these occasions, dated the 19th of May, 1541, is characteristic, and in many respects important. The Scottish king informs his uncle that, "we have received your letters of the penult day of April last by-past, by Harry Ray, your officer of arms, and have understood at great length the contents and effect thereof, whereby we perceive that ye are not satisfied of our writings and answer made divers times to you anent the delivering of certain religious (*monks*) and others, churchmen, your subjects, alledged to be received in our realm, praying us effectuously to perpend and weigh the tenors of the treaty of peace, which doing we should perceive clearly that there is no manner of exception nor difference of any persons, but we should be as well obliged to deliver the churchmen as others. Dearest brother and uncle, we pray ye effectuously to reduce to your remembrance, what state the affairs of both our realms and lieges stood in the time of the making of the said treaty, and in likewise the innovations made since (i.e. the reformation in England); which being done, we believe surely ye will think that we have shown us a kind and thankful brother and nephew towards you, and have in nowise come contrary to the treaty of peace, but have observed and kept the same to our utmost power. And, if we might of conscience have handled or delivered the said churchmen and priests, we would have gladly done the same at your desire and pleasure. Also, dearest uncle, we perceive by your said writings that ye are informed that there should be some things lately attempted by our churchmen to our hurt and skaith (*injury*), and contrary to our mind and pleasure. We cannot under-

stand what should move you to believe the same, assuring you we have never found but faithful and true obedience of them at all times, nor they seek nor attempt neither jurisdiction nor privileges farther nor they have used since the first institution of the church of Scotland, which we may not upon our conscience alter nor change in the respect we have to the honour and faith of God and holy church, and doubt *(fear)* no inconvenient by them to come to us and our realm therethrough; for since the church was first instituted in our realm, the state thereof has never failed, but has remained ever obedient to our progenitors, and in our time more thankful to us than ever they were of before."

There was an evasion in this letter which was calculated to give the utmost offence to a monarch like Henry VIII. James acknowledged that by the treaty of peace between the two countries, he was bound to deliver up to the English king all rebels and conspirators against his person or crown who took refuge in Scotland, but he pretended that, since Henry had become a heretic, he was no longer bound to deliver up those rebels and conspirators, if they happened to belong to the catholic clergy. It amounted, in fact, to a moderated application of the much condemned principle that no ties of honour or faith existed between catholics and heretics. It shows the decided influence, at this period, of the party of cardinal Beaton on the mind of king James, and we are now going to detail the disasters which followed from it. When we look into the correspondence of the period, we perceive the king driven on by his clergy, as by a fatal influence which he could not control, into hostilities which were to be fatal to himself and to the interests of his country, and which it is evident that it was his own personal desire to avert. Still, the ambition of Beaton overruled every other consideration, and about this time he proceeded on a mission to Rome, professedly for the purpose of obtaining the nomination of papal legate in Scotland, but it is understood that his secret instructions related to the establishment of a league for the utter extirpation of heresy, not only in Scotland, but in England also.

The protection of the priests and monks by king James, was made the excuse on the part of Henry for refusing to deliver up the Scottish fugitives on the border, and complaints and recriminations were made on both sides. Henry, however, still hoped to convince his nephew of the errors of Rome, and, above all, he was determined to make another effort to effect his favourite object of a personal interview, and he accordingly despatched Sadler on a new embassy, in the autumn of the year 1541. Sadler succeeded in obtaining a promise from the Scottish king that he would meet Henry at York on the 15th of the following January, and he was to send ambassadors to arrange the forms of the interview; but the disagreement with respect to acts of outrage on the borders was not arranged, and several circumstances occurred to give offence to the English monarch. One of these is touched upon in a draught of a letter from secretary Wriothesley (afterwards earl of Southampton), to one of the Scottish ministers. "And also," he says, "it shall like you to understand, that upon the arrival of the said Mr. Sadler, there were conveyed hither from Scotland sundry little books imprinted; and, amongst others, one entitled, *The Trumpet of Honour*, wherein in the very titling in the first front of the book, the king your master taketh upon him a piece of the title of the king's majesty, being the king your master therein called defender of the Christian faith, whereby his majesty should have great cause to think more than unkindness, if he would willingly take his title upon him. And the conjecture is the more pricking, because he added thereto the Christian faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian faith, which seemeth to have another meaning in it than one good prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship."

It was no sooner known to James's clerical advisers that he had consented to a meeting with his uncle, than they determined to break it off. It had been agreed that the place of meeting should be York, but as the time approached, excuses were made for delay, and James first represented that he wished to obtain the consent of the French king to the proposed conference, and then expressed a desire that Francis should be with them at the meeting. In the autumn of 1541, Henry made a progress northward, and held his court six days in the city of York, waiting the coming of the king of Scots, but in vain, for his

clergy had, at the last moment, prevailed upon him not to go. The English monarch returned to the south deeply offended, but he was followed by ambassadors from Scotland, bearers of excuses on the part of his nephew, and of professions of continued friendship and of a desire to effect the conference as soon as certain obstacles and difficulties which then stood in its way could be removed. Henry expressed himself satisfied that the conference should be waived for the present, but there can be little doubt that from this moment he looked forward to war. Fortunately for England, a new quarrel between the king of France and the emperor broke up the catholic league; but the Scottish prelates, led by Beaton, still urged their country into war, in the belief that it was the surest obstacle they could throw in the way of the reformation. In the midst of these political embarrassments and intrigues, James received a domestic blow from which he seems never to have entirely recovered, and which was the heavier because it came in the midst of rejoicing. Towards the end of the year 1541, the queen gave birth to a second son, Arthur duke of Albany, but he was unexpectedly carried off by an infantine disease. A few days after, his elder brother, James, sickened also, and the anxious efforts of the physicians were employed in vain. Thus, at the moment when the king was congratulating himself on the double chance of succession, and of the strength which this circumstance must give to his throne, he was suddenly left childless, and the kingdom without a direct heir.

The spring and summer of the year 1542 were spent in mutual complaints of the hostilities on the border, each party accusing the other of having given the first provocation, while each successive inroad was carried on on a bolder and more extensive scale. Ambassadors passed continually between the two kings, and the relations between them assumed at times a more conciliatory character, until an occurrence happened which assisted materially in destroying the last hopes of peace. James and his ministers had long kept up a correspondence with the Irish chiefs, who were blind and bigoted catholics, and the agents of Rome appear to have usually passed through Scotland in their way to the sister island. Henry had lately changed the title of lord of Ireland, used by his predecessors, to that of king of Ireland, and the new title had been confirmed by act of parliament; but the Irish chiefs took offence at this title, and they sent a deputation to the king of Scots, offering to do homage to him as their king, and urging him to accept the crown. It has been justly doubted whether James ever looked upon this question in a serious light; but, under the influence of the cardinal, he received the Irish ambassadors in a gracious manner, and sent them back with flattering compliments. This proceeding, combined with his assumption of Henry's title of defender of the faith, and the warlike preparations which were known to be making in Scotland, led to the belief in England that James was meditating a war with the design of reducing England to subjection to Rome, and that he aimed at the crown as his reward. On the other hand, perhaps in retaliation, king Henry prepared to revive the old claim of the English kings to sovereignty over Scotland, and he ordered the records to be searched for documents in support of his pretensions.

The English began now to look forward to war, and the borderers were unusually excited with the prospect of plunder, and could no longer be restrained from acts of hostility. An attack from one side of the border produced retaliation from the other, and it was probably difficult to ascertain which party gave the first or most frequent provocations. At length, in consequence of some circumstances with which we are not acquainted, sir James Bowes, captain of Norham and warden of the east marches, invaded Scotland in an open and undisguised manner. Taking with him a body of three thousand horse, and accompanied by the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, with a large body of their retainers, he crossed the border, burning and plundering, and had even given the abbey of Kelso to the flames, when he was encountered at a place called Halydon, or Hadden, Rigg, by a strong force under the earl of Huntley and lord Home, and after a short contest were defeated with considerable loss. Many of the English commanders were taken prisoners, and among the rest sir James Bowes and his brother. Angus himself was nearly captured, but he slew his assailant with his dagger, and saved himself by flight. The battle of Halydon Rigg was fought on the 24th of August, 1542, and its result increased the exasperation of both kingdoms.

Four days before this engagement, James had given instructions for a new mission to England to negotiate a settlement of the disputes relating to the border. It is not clear whether he was sincere in his proposals, or whether his object was to gain time; but we can hardly avoid concluding from his letters that he was urged reluctantly and contrary to his own private feelings into war. The moment he received intelligence of Huntley's success, he sent off his master of the household, sir James Learmont, to justify the occurrence to the English king, and make a further attempt at conciliation. But king Henry was now resolved on war, and he sent orders to the Scottish envoys to proceed no further south than York, where they were to confer with his commissioners. Thither also the duke of Norfolk, one of the ablest of the English commanders, who was appointed to the command of the war, proceeded also, and orders were given to assemble there an army of forty thousand men, under the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, and Hertford. The earl of Angus and his Scottish followers were to join their banner.

James, alarmed at the vigour of these proceedings, determined to make an effort to stop further hostilities, or at least to gain time for preparations of defence, and his commissioners arrived at York, and delayed the march of the army for some time by proposals for a truce and new offers for a personal meeting with his uncle, which he knew was an object Henry had especially at heart. The latter, however, would no longer listen to pacific proposals, but he sent imperative orders to Norfolk to advance into Scotland, and at the same time published a declaration of war, a statement of his reasons for engaging in it, and of his claim to sovereignty over Scotland. The army under Norfolk was immediately put in motion, and crossing the border, began to burn the granges and villages along the banks of the Tweed.

It was now necessary for James to bestir himself in defence of his kingdom, and he showed no want of courage or alacrity. But it is evident that the Scottish nobility were in general averse to the war, and that they were not well affected to their sovereign. They had been deeply offended at the exclusive favour which he had shown to the clergy, and many of them, disgusted with the conduct of their spiritual rulers, began to look with favour on the opinions of the reformers, while others were prepared to follow the example of their English brethren, who had been enriched by estates that had been taken from the suppressed monasteries. Many were still secretly friends to the Douglases; and most, warned by the fate of sir James Hamilton and others, were alarmed at the new laws of treason, by which not only their own past acts, but even those of their ancestors, might be made a pretext for stripping them of their estates. Even those who were most attached to the king's person, entered upon the war with reluctance, and were anxious to avoid it by any honourable means. They all, however, felt themselves bound to obey the king's call to resist an invading enemy, and James soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, at the usual place of muster, the Borough-muir, near Edinburgh.

James had already sent a force under Huntley, Home, and Seton, to watch the movements of his enemies, and, as soon as his own army was ready to march, he proceeded towards the border, and encamped on Fala-muir, a plain near the western termination of the Lammermuir hills. Here he received intelligence that the English, having wasted the country and run short of provisions, had been compelled by that circumstance and the approach of winter (it was the end of October) to retreat across the border. The Scottish army was itself suffering severely from the same causes which had distressed the English, and it became absolutely necessary either to march forwards or to retreat. By the feudal tenures of the Scottish barons, they were obliged to follow the king when he commanded them to march against an enemy who had invaded his kingdom, but they were not obliged to pass into another country to make war without their own voluntary consent. James, encouraged by the retreat of the English, and by the great force which he had then under his command, determined to retaliate upon the invaders, by carrying the war into England; and he called together the leaders of his army to propose that they should immediately march across the border. To his astonishment, the proposal was met by a proud and unanimous refusal. They represented that the year was too far advanced for carrying on warlike operations with any success, and that the army would be sacrificed for want of provisions. The king is said to have given way to passionate indig-

nation; he used alternately persuasions and threats; upbraiding them as cowards who stood still and tamely allowed their towns and villages to be burnt and plundered before their eyes. But the nobles remained unmoved, and James, compelled to disband his army, hurried back to his capital, overwhelmed with disappointment and chagrin.

These events occurred on the last day of October; it was supposed that hostilities were at an end for the year, and the English commander contented himself with providing for the defence of the border against the predatory attacks to which it would as a matter of course be exposed. At this moment a new subject of bitter complaint on the part of the English king occurred. The Somerset herald and Ray the Berwick pursuivant, had been sent to Scotland by the duke of Norfolk, on a mission relating to exchange of prisoners. They reached Edinburgh on the 14th of November, and were received coldly by the cardinal and other members of the council, who took their letters, but refused them access to the king. They were kept waiting till the 25th, and then one of the privy councillors went to the envoys at their lodgings, and, to use the words of the Berwick pursuivant, whose account of this mission we are following, "delivered us a letter directed unto my lord of Norfolk, and said, 'Because ye be come from the king your master's lieutenant, the king our master's lieutenant hath made answer again unto him:' and delivered us twenty crowns to reward, saying that it was the lieutenant's reward; and, if that we had come from the king our master, we should have had a better reward, and an answer again from the king their master." The same day they set out on their return, and having been forewarned that harm was intended them on their way back, they obtained a Scottish pursuivant named Dingwell to be their escort. And so, continues Ray's narrative, "the 25th day of November the said pursuivant Dingwell, and we, returned homewards forth of Edinburgh towards Dunbar, and was there purposed to be lodged that night; and when we were within two miles of Dunbar, it waxed near even, and it began to be dark, Somerset and his boy riding before, and I, Berwick, and the Scottish pursuivant riding behind them. And then there came riding two men on horseback, and one on foot with them, and overrode me the said Berwick and the Scottish pursuivant, and ran to Somerset, without speaking any one word unto him. And one of these strange men ran the said Somerset through with a lance staff, behind him, and another did strike him to the heart with a dagger, and the third struck the said Somerset's boy on the face with his sword, and so they fell both to the ground. And then the said three strange men did light off their horses, and their said horses ran from them. And straightway Berwick and the Scottish pursuivant came to them, and said, 'Fie on you, traitors, you have done a shameful act!' And with that they left Somerset dead, and he that was on foot did run after their own horses. The two horsemen did run after Somerset's horses, and did take them, and did leap upon them, one saying to the other, 'Fie, we have lost the other heretic!' meaning by the same the said Berwick. And Berwick, hearing this, did spur and run his horse from them; and they, perceiving that they could not get the said Berwick, went back again, and spoiled the said Somerset of his purse, his coat, his sword, with all his other gear but his doublet and his hoses; and did give Somerset's said boy ten bloody wounds. And when they had so done, the said three strange men did speak to the pursuivant of Scotland, then being present, and, as the said Scottish pursuivant and the boy said, bade him bear witness and testify to the council and all others, that it was John Prestman, William Leche, and his brother, banished Englishmen, which did slay the said Somerset, and no Scotchmen. And after this Berwick fled by the way up to the mountains, and so came to a castle called Ennerwik, and there remained all night. And on the morning I, the said Berwick, desired James Hamilton, laird of the said castle, to send to the council, to the intent that I might come and speak to the king and them; and they sent answer to me again by a letter, that I, the said Berwick, should be conveyed unto English ground by the said James Hamilton and one William Home, with their companies, extending to the number of twenty horses; and so it was done." James immediately wrote to the English monarch for a safe-conduct for his ambassadors to clear himself from all participation in the murder, and to inform him that he had arrested the murderers, and would punish them according to their deserts; but, instead of sending the safe-conduct required, Henry demanded that as the murderers were in custody, they should

be immediately delivered up to his warden, in order that, being Englishmen, they might be examined and tried, and punished according to English law.

But before the letter containing this demand reached its destination, Scotland was without a king. The duke of Norfolk, whose head-quarters were at York, was astonished that the Scots remained so inactive after his retreat into England. "For to be plain to you," he wrote to secretary Wriothesley on the 9th of November, "it is something strange to me to conjecture, what it should mean that the Scots do nothing attempt against us, for though there is much scarcity of victual amongst them, yet being so furnished of multitude of men near to the borders as they are, I think, if they would, they might ere now have done some displeasures. Surely they lack good captains; and, as I can learn, the king would gladly agree with us, and his council will not suffer him so to do. Peradventure they will desire peace, but I have no knowledge by none espial thereof. And unless that be the cause, it is marvelous to me of the continuing of not revenging of no part of their hurts." As far as we can gather, when James returned to Edinburgh, he sank into a gloomy moodiness, convinced of the disloyalty of his nobles, and people in general seem to have stood anxiously looking for what was to follow. The characteristic obstinacy of the king's character hindered him from showing an approach to conciliation, and he snatched eagerly at the hope that was held out to him by the offer of lord Maxwell and a few of his barons, who were more attached to him than their brethren, to raise their followers at his command and invade England by the western borders. An army of ten thousand men was thus assembled, and the king, shaking off the lethargy into which he had fallen, and encouraged by the clerical party, removed to Caerlaverock, to await there the result of the invasion.

But James was still suspicious even of the barons who had thus rallied under his banner, and he practised a deception upon them which led to the destruction of his last hopes. He allowed the army to march under the command of lord Maxwell, but he sent with him his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, brother of the lord Roslin, and gave him a written document appointing him to the chief command, with secret directions that it should be made public when they put their feet on English ground. Accordingly, when they had reached the banks of the Esk, at Solway Moss, the whole army was ordered to halt, and Oliver Sinclair, raised on a platform on the shoulders of the soldiers, proceeded to read aloud the royal commission. It was no sooner concluded, than the most unequivocal symptoms of discontent exhibited themselves throughout the Scottish ranks. It was stated loudly that the king hated his nobility to such a degree, that he had sent his "minion," as Sinclair was termed, to rob them of the honour which they would have gained by defeating his enemies; most of the chiefs refused to serve under him, and their followers sharing in their sentiments, the whole army was thrown into a state of the utmost confusion, which lord Maxwell and a few of the most loyal peers strove in vain to restore to order. At this moment, two of the English commanders on the border, Dacre and Musgrave, who had raised a small force—it was said, only three hundred horse—to watch the movements of the Scottish army, approached on a neighbouring height, and were astonished at the scene of confusion which presented itself. They soon guessed at the reason, or probably they were informed of the state of things by deserters, and, without a moment's hesitation, they rushed upon the Scottish army with levelled spears. The Scots were struck with a sudden panic, the consequence of their temporary state of insubordination, and fled in every direction. Many of them sought refuge in the neighbouring moss, from whence they were dragged by the Scottish borderers, who bartered them to the English for money. Above a thousand prisoners were taken, among whom were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Fleming, Gray, and Oliphant, the masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton, with Oliver Sinclair and his two brothers.

When intelligence of this event reached the king at Caerlaverock, he seemed overwhelmed with despondency, and filled with grief and anguish he rode to his palace of Falkland, where he shut himself up, refusing to see any but his favourite attendants, and gave himself up to the belief that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy to deliver him up to the English. It was soon seen that the king was sinking fast under a broken heart, and when intel-

ligence was conveyed to him that the queen had given birth to a daughter—the celebrated Mary queen of Scots—an event which took place on the 7th of December, he was already stretched helplessly on his couch. He received it almost unmoved, only observing, with a bitter smile, in allusion to the daughter of the great Bruce who had brought the crown of Scotland to the family of Stuart, "It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass." The rout of Solway Moss took place on the 27th of November, and on the 13th of December, after regarding with a placid smile the few friends who stood round his bed, he laid his head on the pillow, and expired.

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF SCOTLAND ON THE DEATH OF JAMES V.; POLICY OF HENRY VIII.; RETURN OF THE SCOTTISH PRISONERS; IMPRISONMENT OF THE CARDINAL; MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT; TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

The death of James V. left the kingdom divided into two great hostile factions, with no superior power to control them, and the political prospect was indeed a gloomy one. On the one side stood the whole of the clergy, headed by the able but unprincipled Beaton; on the other, the mass of the Scottish nobility, who were indignant at the power which had been given to the churchmen during the late reign. The former had a decided advantage from the fact of their being in possession of power, from the extraordinary talents of the cardinal in intrigue, and from the absence of so many of the lords, who had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss. But they had given great disgust by their tyranny, and the boldness and insolence with which they attempted to secure a continuance of their power was injurious to their own power. The cardinal, as the devoted partizan of the French faction, easily secured the widowed queen in his interest, and he is said to have employed an unscrupulous priest, named Balfour, to forge a will in the king's name, appointing him regent, with three assessors chosen from the nobility, whom he chose as the most likely to be devoted to him; these were the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Moray; with whom he proposed to join the earl of Arran. This nobleman, as the next heir to the crown after the infant princess, was by the laws and custom of Scotland entitled to the office of regent, but he was of a gentle studious disposition, and Beaton imagined that he might easily mould him to his will. Some said that the cardinal, abusing the opportunity given him by the favour of the late king, had seized a moment when he found the king on his couch in a state of unconsciousness, and guiding the pen in his fingers, thus obtained his signature to the forged document. No sooner was the king dead, than the cardinal, anxious to effect his purpose before the lords could return from their captivity in England, produced the pretended will, caused himself to be proclaimed regent, and hastened to assume the government of the kingdom. The success of his usurpation was, however, brief; for the nobles assembling, Arran came forward to claim the regency, declaring his belief that the pretended will of the late king was spurious. The claim was instantly and unanimously allowed, and in spite of the cardinal's intrigues, the earl was chosen regent or governor, and was installed in the office on the 22nd of November, 1542.

An extraordinary discovery is said to have completed the unanimity of the party opposed to the cardinal. A written document was found on the person of the king after his death, containing the names of above three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry, who were to be accused of holding heretical opinions, and on that ground their estates to be confiscated to the use of the crown. It has been stated that this mode of raising money had been recommended to James on several occasions by the clergy of his council, but that he had too much feeling of honour to give ear to it, until, after the rout of Solway Moss, he had been induced to agree to it by the persuasions of the cardinal, who had drawn up for him

the list in question. At the head of it stood the name of the earl of Arran, who, without being a zealous reformer, had listened to the new doctrines at least with favour. This list was now made public, and, as might be supposed, it completed the discomfiture of the cardinal.

While the two factions were thus gradually identifying themselves with the clergy and the laity, or, in other words, with popery and protestantism, they were also entering more violently into the antagonism of French and English politics. Beaton and his prelates were ready to gratify their own ambition by making their country a mere dependence upon Rome, and, as the nearest representative of the Romish influence, upon France; while their opponents, in their eagerness to escape this spiritual tyranny, were far from unwilling to place themselves and their country in dependence upon England. The overbearing temper of Henry VIII. had the effect of overthrowing for a while the English party, but the still more crushing policy of France and Rome rendered it eventually triumphant.

As we have already intimated, the letter in which Henry required the surrender of the murderers of his herald reached the Scottish court when king James was dead. The council immediately caused the criminals to be delivered up to the English warden, and they were examined by the council of the north; but it appears that they were fugitives from England, on account of religion, and that they had been driven to the sanguinary act by a fanatical sentiment of revenge. The only person in Scotland whom they at all compromised in their confession was cardinal Beaton, who had entertained them, and who, they asserted, had assured them that he had ready a sentence of interdict against England which he was preparing to put in force with tremendous effect. This confession was calculated, at the present moment, to assist the English party rather than otherwise; and the Scottish council, in their letter to king Henry announcing the surrender of the assassins, had asked for a passport for commissioners to treat for peace in a tone of unequivocal conciliation.

The cardinal was justified in his dread of the nobility recovering their influence, for one of the first acts of the government of the earl of Arran was to prepare for the return of the Douglases, whose engagements with king Henry and hostility to the Romish priesthood were now universally known. On the 18th of January, 1543, sir George Douglas, who was by much the abler diplomatist of the two brothers, appeared in Edinburgh, and had an interview with the governor, Arran, the consequence of which was that the pardon of the Douglases was proclaimed at the market cross, and the same day the earl of Angus entered into Scotland. On the 24th of January, the barons who had been captured at Solway Moss also arrived in Edinburgh, conducted by the earl of Bothwell. Henry, who was well aware of the importance of their presence at this moment in Scotland, had set them at liberty, on their giving pledges to return to England by Palm-Sunday. The strength which their accession had given to the lay party was soon apparent. Beaton, mortified at the elevation of Arran to the high office of governor, and alarmed at the danger which threatened the papal supremacy, sent messengers to France, with urgent appeals from himself and the queen for immediate assistance; and it was generally reported that a French army was to be despatched to Scotland immediately under the duke of Guise and the young earl of Lennox. The Scottish lords immediately construed this into an act of treason, and on the 26th of January, only two days after the nobles from England had entered Edinburgh, Beaton was suddenly arrested, and, before he could summon his friends to his rescue, was hurried to the castle of Blackness, and committed to the custody of lord Seton. A proclamation was made at the same time, commanding every man, on pain of treason, to resist to their utmost the landing of any army from France; and it was proclaimed that a parliament should meet on the 12th of March, to consider the terms of an alliance with England, and to proceed to the trial of the cardinal.

Henry's favourite project at this moment was the marriage of the infant princess Mary to his only son, prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI. of England, but he eventually over-reached himself by the want of proper delicacy with which he treated the Scottish people. The Douglases had entered warmly into this project, and sir George Douglas was especially commissioned to treat on the subject with the Scottish regency; while the Scottish prisoners, before they left England, had engaged also to support the designs of the English king. But the latter was too

impatient to allow the time necessary for carrying them out effectually, and his imperative demands only tended to embarrass and disgust the nobles who had engaged themselves to him, and who appear to have been sincere in their promises. It was made a matter of complaint that the Scottish lords had summoned a parliament without first communicating with the king of England, and asking his advice; and Henry insisted that the cardinal should be delivered up to him, to be kept a prisoner in England. Sir George Douglas was even reproached, before he had been many days in Scotland, that he had not already fulfilled one part of his promise to the king of England, by causing all the Scottish strongholds to be delivered into his hands. On the 1st of February sir George had a private interview with the lord Lisle at Berwick, of which the latter nobleman sent next day an account to the duke of Suffolk and the council at York. "I asked him," says lord Lisle, in this communication, "whether his brother and he would deliver the said cardinal to the king's majesty, if his grace's pleasure were to have him. Whereat he studied a little, and said that, if they should do so, they should be too much mistrusted to be of England's party; but he said he should be as surely kept as if he were in England, for neither governor nor none other in Scotland shall have him out of their hands. I asked him what his brother and he had done touching the getting of the strongholds. He said, as touching that, as yet they had done nothing but get Tantallon, and said that shortly after his returning into Scotland, he would not doubt to put in one of his brothers or his servants whom they trusted, into the castle of Edinburgh, and also he thought to get Dunbar into his own keeping. . . . . I asked him whether he had begun to practise with his friends as touching the king's majesty's purpose; and he said it was not time yet, for, although his brother and he had many friends, he durst not move the matter as yet to none of them, for if he should, he is sure they would start from them every man."

There can be no doubt that the views of the English monarch at this moment extended to an absolute union of Scotland with England, or at least to the subjection of Scotland to the English crown, and that the means by which this object was to be effected were a marriage of his son prince Edward with the infant Mary of Scotland. But Henry was too hasty and sanguine in the commencement, for he demanded that the governor and council of Scotland should at once acknowledge him as their superior lord, that the princess should be carried into England, and that the Scottish fortresses should be delivered into his hands. These terms had been secretly agreed to by the earl of Angus and his brother, and by the Scottish lords who had been taken at Solway, and they had been sent into Scotland under the promise that they would labour sincerely to cause them to be accepted by the Scottish aristocracy in general.

But when they returned home, the lords found that it would be necessary to proceed with more secrecy and caution than was at first expected. The cardinal was still powerful, and bitterly hostile to England; he had the whole catholic clergy at his devotion, and was supported by several of the nobles, and to proceed at once to declare the demands and intentions of the king of England would have been to identify the cardinal's party with that of the national independence. An important step had been taken in throwing the cardinal into prison, but this had provoked still more the great body of the clergy, and the kingdom was now placed under an interdict, the churches being closed, and the public services of religion suspended. This violent proceeding was highly favourable to the cause of the reformation, which had now so many influential supporters, that it was generally reported some measures inimical to the papal church would be brought forward in the parliament in March. The churchmen, alarmed, became more active in preparing their plans of resistance, and the week before the meeting of parliament, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Moray, and Bothwell, with a great number of bishops and abbots, and many others, held a meeting at Perth, and sent as their commissioners the bishop of Orkney and sir John Campbell of Calder, to the governor and council in Edinburgh, with certain demands, the chief of which were, that the cardinal should be set at liberty, that the New Testament should not be published in the vulgar tongue, that the governor should rule the realm by their council, and that they should have the management of the negotiations with England. At this moment there appeared

imminent danger of a civil war, and much apprehension was felt on account of Arran's known easy and indolent character. But the governor was surrounded by men who were bold and resolute, and who knew that if matters were pushed to extremities, they might reckon upon effectual assistance from England, and he now acted, no doubt under their guidance, with unexpected decision. The envoys not only met with a flat refusal to all their demands, but a herald-at-arms was dispatched to Perth, forbidding the meeting of the lords, and charging them under pain of treason to attend the parliament, and serve the governor according to their duty and allegiance. Preparations were then made for holding the parliament on the day appointed, the 12th of March.

The lords at Perth were effectually intimidated by this proceeding, for they knew that the power of judgment and confiscation were in the hands of the government, and they saw no prospect of any substantial support against it. The earl of Huntley first made his submission, offering to attend and place himself at the service of the governor, and his example was quickly followed by the others, so that on the meeting of the estates in Edinburgh, there was an unusually large attendance, not only of the lords, but of the clergy also. The earl of Argyle alone kept away, on the plea, it appears a sincere one, of sickness.

The first proceeding of the parliament was to confirm the election of the earl of Arran to the high office of governor of the kingdom. They then took into consideration the relations with England, approved of the marriage with the English prince, and decided on sending sir William Hamilton and sir James Learmouth as ambassadors to England; but they refused to allow the princess to be taken out of the kingdom, although they were willing to allow Henry to appoint "some gentlemen of England, and some English ladies to be there about her person, for her better tuition, at his majesty's pleasure." The next important act of this parliament was to reverse the sentence of attainder and confiscation against the earl of Angus, his brother sir George Douglas, his nephew the lord Glammis, and Archibald Douglas, James Douglas of the Parkhead, and Alexander Drummond of Carnoth. Of equal importance was the authorization by this parliament of the publication, in the language of the people, of the Holy Scriptures, and open proclamation was made, "that it should be lawful to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother-tongue," and that no man should preach to the contrary on pain of death. It is said that the promoter of this measure was the lord Maxwell.

Meanwile king Henry was unreasonably impatient that all his intentions had not been immediately carried out by the Scottish lords in his interest, and he determined on sending sir Ralph Sadler as his resident ambassador to Scotland, with instructions to watch over his interests there, and to see that the lords who had promised to support them, fulfilled their engagements. Sadler reached Edinburgh on Sunday the 18th of March, and the same day he had an interview with the earl of Arran, who received him with earnest professions of friendship, and declared his great devotion to the king of England. On leaving the governor, Sadler was conducted to his lodgings by sir George Douglas, who on their way gave him an account of the occurrences since his return to Scotland, and of the proceedings of the parliament, telling him that "they had agreed all well together; and though in the beginning one began to grin at another, yet was there none that would bite, nor they would not fall out amongst themselves, whereby they might the rather make themselves a prey to their enemies." In the course of their subsequent interview, Sadler told sir George that the king was dissatisfied with the small progress made in his affairs. To which the Scottish noble replied, "Marry, I have laboured with all my power to do the king's majesty service, and will do while I live, wherein I have always pretended outwardly the common weal of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected. And I am sure, quoth he, I have so bent my wits thereunto, as I trust I have deserved thanks of his majesty." On being pressed further by the ambassador, Douglas entered into a more full justification of the caution observed by himself and his friends. "I tell you, quoth he, all things cannot be done at once. And this I have done, quoth he, by my policy since I came hither. First, I have so insinuated myself with the governor, that I am in chief credit with him; I have caused him to pull down the cardinal, who was, and would have been, chief enemy to the king's purposes; I have brought the said governor also to the king's majesty's devotion, so that he esteemeth his majesty

above all other princes, and clean have I altered him from France, so that he and all his realm shall be wholly dedicate to his majesty. And now, quoth he, the marriage being concluded, and a knight or a nobleman of England, with such English ladies as shall please the king to set about the person of this young lady, being once appointed, the league and hand of France being also refused and annulled here, whereof, quoth he, there will be no sticking; the subjects of both the realms having liberty to have intercourse, and to resort one with another without safe-conduct, which shall engender a love and familiarity betwixt them; and the noblemen and young gentlemen here, repairing from time to time to the court of England, being well and gently entertained there, as the king's majesty, of his gentle nature, can well entreat them; yea, quoth he, and the governor himself also coming to his majesty, as he hath promised; these things, quoth he, in time shall bring the nobility of this realm so far in love with his majesty, that he shall have the whole direction and obedience of the same at his pleasure. And again, quoth he, on the other part; if there be any motion now to take the governor from his state [it appears that Henry aimed at taking the government into his own hands], and to bring the government of this realm to the king of England, I assure you it is impossible to be done at this time. For, quoth he, there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, yea, and many noblemen, and all the clergy be fully against it; so that, quoth he, this must needs follow of it; the cardinal shall be set at liberty, who hath been much sued for, and yet we have kept him in maugré their hearts; ambassadors shall be sent into France; the French army, if it do arrive here, as it is thought, which we do intend to resist, and to fight with them if they come, shall be accepted; all the preparations that may be, shall be made for defence against you, and the governor wholly fall to the devotion of France; so that the king's majesty shall then be driven to use his force, and what pain and charge it will be to win this realm so, it is easily to be considered; whereas, now his majesty may win it wholly to his devotion with fair means, in time, as is aforesaid, without any trouble or expenses."

The despatches of sir Ralph Sadler, during this mission, give us a strange picture of the intrigues to which Scotland was at this time a victim. Every body seemed to be acting with equal insincerity. The queen-mother, Mary of Guise, possessed all the political craft and dissimulation which characterized the family to which she belonged, and she seems to have succeeded fully in deceiving the English ambassador as to her real sentiments and intentions. When Sadler paid her his first visit, on the 22nd of March, she professed the utmost devotion to the party of England, and laboured to fill him with suspicions of the governor, whose intentions the ambassador was very ready to distrust, on account of his backwardness in yielding to all king Henry's demands. "I found her," says Sadler, "most willing and conformable in appearance to your majesty's purpose, for the marriage of her daughter to my lord prince's grace; and also, that your majesty should have her delivered forthwith into your hands and custody, which she confesseth to be for her chief surety, and wisheth with all her heart that it were so. She accounteth herself most bound to your majesty, that it hath pleased the same to determine such honour and advancement to her said daughter. And discoursing with her thereof, the rather to settle her in that part, she said, the world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she should not heartily desire and rejoice of the same; for greater honour and benefit could not be offered unto her, nor she knoweth not throughout the world such a marriage could be found so proper, so beneficial, and so honourable, as this is; saying, that she cannot otherwise think but it is the work and ordinance of God, for the conjunction and union of both those realms in one; for she hath had none before but sons, and now it is her chance to bring forth a daughter, for the best purpose, she trusteth. And when she had thus declared her affection in that behalf, with assurance that she would be advised by your majesty in all things, and would walk plainly on a right sort with your majesty, as she said it became her not to dissemble with so noble a prince; and so bade me advertise your majesty, that the governor, whatsoever pretence or fair weather he made unto your majesty, minded nothing less, than that her daughter should marry into England, and so had himself told her, with this much

more, that, for to please your majesty, they would offer unto the same, that there should be a contract made of the marriage, but they would have the custody of the child till she should be of lawful age; by which time God might dispose his pleasure of your majesty, being already well grown in years; and then they would handle it so, as that contract should serve to no purpose. This, she said, the governor told her himself, and this was the secret thing that she desired for to have one of your trusty servants to come to her, to the intent she might, by the same, advertise your majesty thereof, because she durst not commit the same neither to French nor Scot.' But here she made great instance unto me, that this might be most secret; for else being in their hands here, as she is straitly looked unto, insomuch that she hath none about her of her own servants, nor none that she may trust, it might be to her great danger. And, to verify the same, she saith, that the governor and council have determined in their parliament, that your majesty shall not have the child delivered into your hands, for sundry considerations alleged amongst them. One was, that because she is queen of the realm, it were not meet to have her out of the same, by whose authority and name the governor should use his office, and all things executed for the common weal of this realm. Another is, that if she were delivered unto England, she should never die; but if God should call her, they would ever be sure in England to have another to succeed her. And, again, if God should dispose his pleasure of my lord prince's grace, the child being in England, might be married there to some other, contrary to the weal and good of this realm; so that if they should deliver her out of their hands, your majesty, howsoever the game should go, would dispose the inheritance and crown of this realm at your pleasure; with many other considerations, as she saith, she got information. She saith, assuredly the governor meaneth to marry her daughter to his son; wherefore, she saith, if your majesty stand not fast upon that point, to have her delivered into your hands, the marriage will never take effect.' And here, she said, the cardinal, if he were at liberty, might do much good in the same. I told her I thought the cardinal would rather do hurt, for he had no affection towards England. She said he was a wise man, and could better consider the benefit of the realm than all the rest: and ever in her discourse she inculked, that your majesty should see they would not deliver the child, nor yet pledges for performance of the marriage. She told me that she was sure the governor would now, knowing that I had been with her, come shortly to see her, the rather to know what had passed betwixt her and me. 'And,' quoth she, 'when he cometh, I shall (as my custom is), make as though I were not well willing to this marriage. And then,' quoth she, 'as he is but a simple man, he will tell me his whole intent in that part; and if I should not do so,' quoth she, 'he would keep himself the more covert and close, and tell me nothing. And what I shall farther perceive by him, how he is disposed in the matter, now upon your coming, if I can find any mean,' quoth she, 'to speak with you, or tend to you, ye shall have knowledge of it.' I told her, that knowing the least part of her mind in that behalf, I would make some errand again to see her, which she also desired. And then she told me, that the governor showed her that your majesty had written unto him, how there had been a contract betwixt the earl of Lennox and her, whereunto she answered, that the contrary thereof was true, and that now, since she had been a king's wife, her heart was too high to look any lower. I told her I was sure your majesty had written no such matter to the governor; 'but,' quoth I, 'I remember that such a saying was, that your grace should marry with the earl of Lennox.' 'By my truth,' quoth she, 'it is utterly untrue, for I never minded it.'" When Sadler again urged the propriety and advantage of delivering the infant queen at once into the hands of the king of England, Mary "confessed the same, and wished to God that she were in your majesty's hands; 'for,' quoth she, 'it hath been seldom seen, that the heir of a realm should be in the custody of him that claimeth the succession of the same, as the governor is now established by parliament the second person of this realm, and if her daughter fail, looketh to be king of the same. And,' quoth she, 'he said that the child was not like to live; but you shall see,' quoth she, 'whether he saith true or not;' and therewith she caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and showed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your majesty, it is as goodly a child as

I have seen of her age, and as like to live with the grace of God."

After this interview Sadler returned to Edinburgh, full of doubts and suspicions, but resolved to endeavour further to fathom the minds of Arran and the other lords. "I will do what I can," he says, "to decipher their meanings towards your majesty; for, if it be true that the said dowager saith, surely there is great dissimulation amongst them, specially in the governor, who is also governed chiefly by sir George Douglas. This same sir George was appointed to accompany me in this journey towards Linlithgow, with other gentlemen; and after I had spoken with the said dowager, and coming from her, she called the said sir George unto her, who told me afterwards, that she had demanded of him, whether the child should be delivered into England or not? praying him to help to the contrary, because she was too young to be carried so far. And so she began to persuade me that she was nothing willing nor conformable to your majesty's purpose in that behalf. Thus your majesty may perceive, that some juggling there is; which, with the grace of God, a little time shall reveal unto your majesty. And, for my part, if my wit and experience would serve as well as my good will, I should the sooner decipher the same; wherein I shall, nevertheless, travel as well as I can, according to my most bounden duty."

Within a day or two after his visit to the queen-dowager, Sadler had an interview with the earl of Arran, and after some conversation, "the governor and I," he says, "entered other matter, which he began himself, and asked me how I liked the old queen, and the young queen? I said I liked them both well, and praised the young princess, which I said was a very goodly child, and like to live—(I added that, 'that she was like to live,' to hear what he would say, because I had heard before, both by the queen-dowager and otherwise, that he was of a contrary opinion.) He affirmed my saying, and asked me how I found the queen disposed towards the marriage. I said I had no commission to feel her mind in that part, but, generally, having commandment to visit her, being a noble personage, dowager of the realm, and to make your majesty's most hearty commendation unto her, for the which purpose I brought her your majesty's letters only of commendation; and, as far as I could perceive, I thought she would be well enough content with the marriage, which, I said, if she tendered her own honour, with the advancement and benefit of her daughter, she could not but effectually desire and embrace. He answered, that, indeed, if she sought the world, she could not find so meet and so honourable a marriage, and that, unless she were unnatural to her daughter, she must needs be content with it; but, being a French woman, he thought she could not be best inclined towards England." "Here," Sadler continues, I thought to enter somewhat with him in this matter, and said thus unto him: 'My lord,' quoth I, 'I doubt not but ye know and consider that ye have to do with a noble, wise, and grave prince, that hath great experience of the affairs of the world, and, therefore, I would wish that ye should proceed with his majesty so sincerely, as he might well perceive ye minded effectually the accomplishment of such things as ye shall now propose and set forth by your ambassadors, as,' quoth I, 'ye have now sent them unto his majesty with ample commission, ye say, to conclude the marriage and the peace. But,' quoth I, 'if ye have not given them instructions also to conclude such things as depend upon those two points, in such sort as it may appear, you do indeed intend both to perform the marriage, and to establish such a peace as might be available to both realms, his majesty is a prudent and wise prince, and shall right facilely decipher your intent, which not being so perfect as you pretend, might percase justly so irritate his majesty, as great inconvenience may follow.' He answered me, that as he did nothing alone, so the ambassadors had their commission given unto them by the three estates of the realm in parliament, for the conclusion of the said two points, which, for his part, he had earnestly set forth, maugre the wills of divers such, he said, as favoured neither God's word nor your majesty, and be wholly addicted to France. 'And,' quoth he, 'if I had not earnestly minded, that the king's majesty should have the marriage of our young queen, I could have had a contract betwixt her and my son passed and established by this parliament; wherein I am sure,' quoth he, 'no man would have been against me; trusting,' quoth he, 'that the king's majesty will the rather be friendly to me, for I have had mickle cumber among the kirk-men for his sake.' I assured him, if he proceeded plainly with your majesty, he should perceive that your majesty would so consider it as

should be to his singular commodity. And eftsoons I pressed him, if, as he said, he minded earnestly the marriage, that he would so offer and propose it, as it might so appear to your majesty; 'for,' quoth I, 'the offer, a bare contract without other circumstances, is not sufficient.' He said that when the ambassadors should be with your majesty, if the same should demand other things of them than they might conclude, they would advertise hither of the same with diligence, and, upon knowledge of your majesty's pleasure, order should be taken here for the accomplishment of all your majesty's reasonable demands."

Henry appears to have been quite as much deceived as his ambassador by the professions of the queen dowager. In a letter from the English court, written on the 27th of March, Sadler was informed that, "in the queen, considering the circumstances of her reasons, fashions, and behaviour unto you, with the manner of her entertainment, the king's majesty judgeth to be a frank and plain manner of proceeding, such as motherly love to the surety of her child should of reason easily persuade her. In the rest," it is added, "the king's majesty is in a marvellous perplexity what to say of them, being their deeds so repugnant to that the queen saith." Henry himself, in a letter of the 30th of March, directed his ambassador to reproach the Scottish nobles with their backwardness in his service, in a tone which must have tended directly to alienate them from the party which they had undertaken, with apparent sincerity, to support. Sadler was to expostulate with them, in the first place, on their neglect in giving frequent and particular information of Scottish affairs to the English court. Secondly, they were accused of acting according to their own pleasures, instead of consulting with him, and following his directions. "Thirdly," the king goes on to say, "ye shall tell them, that we marvel most of all at their proceedings in their parliament, wherein they seem to have provided by a special law, that we shall not have our purpose in the government of that realm, having established him governor and second person of the realm by the said parliament, whom some of them have reputed so unmeet to have government; as they know themselves best how eagerly they have spoken in that behalf; and whether this doth agree with their promises or not, let themselves consider. Once this it importeth, certainly, that they cared not what they granted, nor what they omitted, so that they might serve their own purpose. Wherefore, ye shall, on our behalf, advise them as men whom we would be loath to lose, if by any good mean we can retain them, to weigh those matters as they ought to do; and if their ambassadors be not instructed to the purpose, let them procure that it may be out of hand supplied that wanteth. For you may say, and assure them we will no longer tolerate the matter, but either by one way or other, bring it to some better conclusion. And you may say, though none of them have proceeded so frankly with us as appertaineth, yet we know somewhat of the manner of all the doings of Scotland; what combination was made by oath by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray, with divers bishops, both for the delivery of the cardinal by force if it could not otherwise have been compassed, and for the destruction of the governor, the earl of Angus, and some other, which they yet purpose, though the earl of Huntley go now about to make a colour of alliance betwixt him and the governor by marriage, thereby to insinuate himself that he may know their counsels; which matter is of no small importance, and not to be lightly disclosed, but secretly searched for and prevented by wisdom. And here you may remember them, how much they owe and be bound to us, all the premises notwithstanding, that it pleaseth us thus frankly to give them monition and warning of such extreme dangers as be towards them, advising them again, even frankly, and like gentlemen, without any farther tract of time, to do that thing that may be to our satisfaction."

On the 2nd of April Sadler had another interview with the queen, of which he sent the following account to the English council:—"It may like your good lordships to understand, that as I wrote yesterday to your lordships, that I intended this day to ride to Linlithgow, so have I been there with the queen, whom I find in the same terms I left her at my first being with her. She told me that she sent for me to declare unto me how the governor had been with her, and what he said unto her; and also to know of me, how I found the said governor and all the lords inclined to the king's majesty, and the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt my lord prince's grace and her

daughter. And, first, she said she could perceive none other in the governor, but that he minded not the said marriage, intending rather to take this time to marry her to his son; assuring me that he said unto her, at his last being with her, that he would rather die than deliver the child into the king's hands; and that he would, nevertheless, give good words, and make fair weather, to get peace by that means, till better opportunity should serve to the execution of his purpose; as she saith also he prayed her to give good words, saying I was a haughty fellow, wherein I trust I should have testimony, if need were, that he mistaketh me. And then she required me to tell her how I found him and the lords inclined. I said I found them well given and affectionate to the marriage, and much desirous of the peace. 'Yea,' quoth she, 'but I am sure ye see not in them that they will or intend to deliver the child into the king's hands.' I told her I could not tell what they would do, but they give good words, and say they doubted not to satisfy his majesty in that behalf with reason. 'Yea,' quoth she, 'peradventure the governor will offer one of his sons in pledge for performance of the marriage, as,' quoth she, 'I have heard partly of it; but that is not sufficient, for he hath more sons nor one, and it is like enough that, for a kingdom, he will be content to lose one of them. Beside that,' quoth she, 'I hear say, they can be content that the king's majesty shall appoint a certain number of Englishmen and ladies to be here about the person of the young queen, for her better safeguard and surety. But what is that to the purpose?' quoth she; 'the king shall never the sooner recover her into his hands, if they here list to vary from their covenants. And therefore,' quoth she, 'I doubt not but his majesty, being a wise prince, hath had such experience of practices in the world, and of fair words, that he will not trust to words. At least,' quoth she, 'if they will not deliver the child into his hands, I would wish he should take sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, and also establish such a guard of English personages about her person as would look well to her security; for else,' quoth she, 'whatsoever they say or promise they will never observe, nor perform the marriage.' I assured her that the king's majesty proceeded plainly, and directed all his purpose to the preservation of her daughter, and the weal of this realm; and in case they here should go about to abuse his clemency in that part, they might be sure, that as his majesty used them gently, and went about to win them in that sort to his devotion and godly purpose, tending chiefly to their benefit, so his majesty was always ready to use his force and princely power to bring them to reason, and would not fail in that case to execute the same. She told me that she thought assuredly all, or the most part, of the noblemen could be contented that the marriage with my lord prince's grace should take effect, but undoubtedly the governor did rather mind it to his own son. And greatly, she said, she feared the surety of the child, for she heard so many tales, that the governor would convey her to a strong house of his own, where she should be altogether in his hands, or into the isles. So that (as I perceive), she is in fear of her destruction, and I therefore wished her in England, which the queen also wished for her part, saying she should be then in her friends' hands, out of all danger."

On the day following this visit to the queen, Sadler received a visit from the lord Maxwell, one of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, and now a staunch supporter of the English party. He described strongly to the ambassador the difficulties with which they had to contend, showed the danger which must arise if they shocked the Scottish people by stating at first the full extent of the king of England's designs, and spoke of the ultimate probability of having to appeal to arms. "'And therefore,' quoth he, 'unless the fear of the war move them to deliver her, surely they will never consent to it; in which case, there is no other way to his majesty to come by his purpose,' quoth he,' 'but to use his force; unless,' quoth he, 'it shall please his majesty to take some mean and indifferent way, either to take pledges for her delivery, when she shall be of lawful age to be married, or to appoint English men and women to be here about her, or both, which,' quoth he, 'I think the governor and all the noblemen here will be brought unto; and if this will not serve,' quoth he, 'by my truth, then must his majesty, as far as I see, go to it by force; which if it come so to pass, his majesty shall find me ready to perform and keep my promise, to the uttermost of my power. And then,' quoth he, 'the time shall be come, that shall reveal who will keep promise, as by my truth,' quoth

he, 'I dare say, there is not one of us, his majesty's prisoners, but is firmly determined upon the same.' 'How happened it,' quoth I, 'being so well minded to keep your promise, that, contrary to the same, ye have established a governor here by parliament?' 'By the mass, I cannot tell,' quoth he; 'we thought the king's majesty had been content that he should be governor; for,' quoth he, 'his majesty wrote many kind letters to him, and accepted him well. And if I durst,' quoth he, 'I would charge his majesty with one thing, which is, that he promised to send no safe-conduct, except some of us, his majesty's prisoners, were named in it, to come to his majesty for the conclusion of all matters to his grace's satisfaction. Wherefore,' quoth he, 'for my part, when I saw that his majesty, at the governor's suit, had sent a safe-conduct to such only as he named, I thought his majesty had well taken and reputed him for governor.' 'No, by St. Mary!' quoth I, 'it was far beside his majesty's expectation; and you may be sure,' quoth I, 'his majesty doth not yet repute him for governor, as if ye noted such letters as his highness wrote unto him, ye may perceive,' quoth I, 'by the direction of the same, where his majesty calleth him only, *the earl of Arran, occupying the place of governor*. But surely,' quoth I, 'there was some default amongst you, that ye wrote not, nor advertised the king's majesty from time to time of your proceedings, whereby ye might have had knowledge again from his majesty of his grace's pleasure, and advice how to have prevented such things.'"

While Sadler was thus detailing his complicated negotiations, various events occurred which were calculated to create alarm, as proofs of the active intrigues of the cardinal and the queen. On the 30th day of March, the young earl of Lennox, who had been educated in the French service, and was looked upon as a devoted partisan of France, landed at Dumbarton, and proceeding thence to Glasgow, met there many of the Scottish lords. On the 10th of April, the alliance between the lords of the English party was sealed by the marriage of Angus with a daughter of the lord Maxwell; but the same day was marked by an event which had a far more important influence on the relations between the two countries. Cardinal Beaton had, as we have already seen, been committed as a prisoner to Blackness, under the charge of lord Seton, but he had been subsequently permitted to change this prison for his own castle of St. Andrew's, to which he was conducted by Seaton with a feeble escort, which was afterwards ascribed to a design on the part of the governor to facilitate his escape. Lord Seton was a near relative of the Hamiltons, but he was a zealous, even a bigoted catholic, and it is probably to him, and to the intervention of Arran's brother, the abbot of Paisley, that we are to attribute the event which soon followed. On the 10th day of April, to use the quaint words of a contemporary recorder of these events, "the cardinall was releivit out of captivitie, and to pas quhair he pleisit, and gat the court in gyding."

Nothing could be more uncertain than the state of things at this moment in Scotland, as shown in the dispatches of the English ambassador. In a letter of the 8th of April, Sadler states that the lords of the English party suspected a design of the cardinal and the earl of Lennox to obtain possession of the queen's person, while at the same time the governor pretended to be apprehensive of an invasion on the part of England. The ambassador, alarmed at these indications of new revolutions, repaired to the earl of Arran, who put him off with fair assurances, and finished by stating, that "he wished all things might come to good pass." Sadler took this opportunity of alluding to the governor's professed views on church matters. "Here," he says, "I took occasion to enter some discourse with him of the perplexed state of this realm; how he stood himself in the contempt of the clergy here, who, with their adherents, knowing his affection to the truth of God's word, would not fail to take their time, as it should serve them, to devise his ruin and destruction. Wherefore, I advised him to consider what honour had been offered him by the king's majesty, [the king had offered to marry the princess, afterwards queen Elizabeth, to Arran's son], whereby he might well perceive his highness's zeal and affection towards him, and how great a stay his majesty should be unto him, as well in the maintenance and upholding of his authority and estate of this government, as also in the execution of all his godly purposes, both to bring this realm to due obedience, and in the advancement of God's glory, in setting forth of his true word and doctrine, which I though of congruence

should move him freely and frankly to proceed with the king's majesty in all things, without sticking in any such matter, as they which percase would his ruin, shall or may persuade him to stay in, the rather to hold and keep him from the king's majesty, to the intent they might the better work their will upon him hereafter to his overthrow and utter destruction; which I assured him they would do as their time might serve them. He confessed all the same, saying it was true, and that if the king's majesty and this realm were once at a good peace and unity, they would all be afraid of him, where now both divers lords and all the clergy seem to be at utterance with him; wherefore his trust is, that the king's majesty will be a good lord to him; and as he desired nothing more than to do all that might be to his satisfaction with honour and reason, so he trusted the king's majesty would require nothing but that he and the estates of the realm might well embrace, wherein for his part he would be most willing and comfortable. And thus we discoursed of those things generally; wherein I did as much as I could to cause him smell the danger which must needs ensue to him, if he should relent and fall from the devotion of the king's majesty to the other party, which himself hath told me be of the cast of France; assuring him, that the bishops and clergy being of that party, knowing his disposition and opinion in Christian religion, would, when he thought himself most assured among them, work his destruction, as is aforesaid. He confessed the same, and has promised that he will in all things show and declare himself most addicted to the king's majesty, and most willing to satisfy all his lawful desires, not offending the liberty and freedom of this realm."

The day after this conversation, Sadler had another interview with the governor, to press further the matter of religious reform and the offer of marriage by which Henry hoped to flatter Arran's vanity and gain him over to his purposes. In a dispatch of the ninth of April, the ambassador says to his royal master: "Please it your royal majesty to understand that yesterday I received your majesty's letters of the fourth of April, containing the special points which your majesty's pleasure is I should communicate with the governour here, in such sort as it is expressed in your highness's said letters. The first, touching the setting forth of the scripture; the second, for the extirpation of the monks and friars, with abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority; and the third, concerning your majesty's determination for the marriage of your highness's daughter, the lady Elizabeth, to the said governour's son. In which three points I have conferred this day at good length with the said governour, according to the very purport and contents of your majesty's said letters, as near as I could, and in such order as is prescribed unto me by the same. In the first point, I find him in such terms as your majesty would have him, for the setting forth of the scripture; wherein he saith, he hath taken such direction for the admonishing of his people to read it sincerely and quietly to themselves for their own knowledge, without taking upon them any sinister or rash interpretation of the same, as by act of parliament made here in that behalf, he told me, is fully set forth, with the banishment of all other English books, saving the mere scripture, being also of the best and truest translation; and when your majesty shall have perfected such books, as I told him your highness intended to set forth by publick authority, containing such a certain doctrine, as is maintainable by the mere truth; if it may like your majesty to send him the same, he saith, he will not fail to publish it here, desiring, with all his heart, that these two realms may concur, not only in unity of the true understanding of God's words, but also by all other good means, to be knit and assured one another in perfect amity. To the second point, he told me that he desired no less the reformation of the abuses of the church, and the extirpation of the estate of monks and friars, with the abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, than your majesty doth; but that, saith he, will be an hard matter to bring to pass; for there be so many great men here, that be such papists and pharisees, (as he called them), that unless the sin of covetice bring them unto it, [that is, the desire of having the lands of the abbeys,] he knoweth no other mean to win them to his purpose in that behalf. And here he told me that he thought all monasteries, and houses of religion, were first founded to pray for the souls being in the pains of purgatory; 'and,' quoth he, 'if there be no purgatory (as I am clearly of that opinion), these fundations,' quoth he, 'be in vain and frustrate, and methinketh,' quoth he, 'it is a

good ground whereupon to proceed to the extirpation of these sects ye speak of, of monks and friars, and to convert and employ the same to such better uses, as, quoth he, ye have declared unto me on the king's behalf. I told him he should find causes and grounds enough to proceed thereunto, if he would once go about it. Whereunto he answered, that were the peace once concluded, and all things well established betwixt your majesty and this realm, he would as well in that as in all other things, proceed by your advice and counsel afore all other princes living. Then went I to the third point, touching the marriage to be had betwixt your majesty's said daughter and the governor's son, which matter I handled with him as seriously as my poor wit could serve me, and as near as I could, omitted no point of the charge which your majesty gave me in that part by your said letters. The governor, understanding the great honour your majesty did offer unto him in that behalf, put off his cap, and said, he was most bound of all men unto your majesty in that it pleased the same, being a prince of so great reputation in the world, to offer such alliance and marriage with so poor a man as he is, for the which he should bear his heart and service to your majesty next unto his sovereign lady during his life. He confessed both what honour the same should be unto him, and what advancement of his blood in the reputation of the world; what benefit, honour, and surety, it should be to himself and all his posterity; and also what stay and assistance he might thereby have of your majesty, as well in the quiet use and continuance of his place, office, and authority of this government without interruption; as also in and for the better execution of all his good purposes tending to the setting forth of God's word, and the advancement of God's glory, in the extirpation of hypocrisy, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. But yet he would not confess, nor believeth, that any such combination should be contrived against him by the lords and bishops, who would not come to him at the first, as is comprised in your majesty's said letters; alledging that if the peace was once established, he could and would rule them, he doubted not, at his own pleasure and devotion. And as for their parliament matter, he said, they were wholly and solemnly agreed upon by all the states of the realm, none absent but the earl of Argyle, who, being himself sick, sent his procurator. But, touching the cardinal, he said, he was as evil served in that matter as ever was man; for he had committed him to the keeping of the lord Seton, who standeth bound in his life and inheritance for his sure keeping. And yet, nevertheless, quoth he, the cardinal is master of his own house, where he is, and has his liberty as well as you or I. I told him then he might perceive your majesty's opinion was true, in that your majesty did advertise him, that where he removed the cardinal to his own house, to get thereby an entry into the castle, it was the next way to lose both him and the said castle; which he swore was true, and that the lord Seton, whom he trusted chiefly, had deceived him, saying that he had thereby forfeited both his life, and his lands, if he list to put him to that extremity. I asked him what he minded to do in that behalf? He told me he was at his wits' end in the matter, but he would devise with the council thereupon, and see what they would determine."

The same letter details a conversation with sir George Douglas, who had visited the cardinal at St. Andrews, and informed him that he was kept under no restraint; on the 10th he was at large. The cardinal had commissioned Douglas to assure the English ambassador that he was devoted to the English king, and that he sought before all things to do him service. It was the policy at this moment of Beaton and his party to excite the suspicions of the English ministers against the Douglases and the earl of Arran, and they seem in some degree to have been successful. "Since my last writing to your majesty," Sadler proceeds to say, "the cardinal sent a chaplain of his unto me, with the self-same message and tale that he told to the said sir George Douglas, as is before expressed; and offered unto me all the gratuity and pleasure he could, with commendation of his service unto your majesty. Whereunto I answered, that forasmuch as I knew not in what case he stood, hearing tell that he was committed upon sundry great crimes, it became me not, nor I would not require any gratuity or pleasure at his hand; but if he were his own man, and in such case as I might lawfully commune or treat with him, I would be the rather glad to use his advice, if I thought he would play the part of a good minister, for the good perfection of such things as might tend to the benefit and wealth of both these realms. The said

chaplain told me then, that his master the cardinal bade him say unto me, that where he understood your majesty was informed how that he should have been the impediment and let that the late king of Scots came not to your majesty, he was able to prove that he was unjustly reported to your highness in that part; and whatsoever information was made unto your majesty, he had always as great a regard and desire to the increase of amity betwixt these two realms as any man living, wherein, when it shall be his chance to speak with your majesty, he shall declare himself by pregnant reasons. And also, since the dispatch of my said last letters, there hath been with me the lord Fleming;* who, in discoursing with me of the state and success of his promise amongst others made unto your majesty, told me, that if your highness had not all your desire and purpose, the Douglases were most to blame therefor; for they had established a governor here most unmeet to bear the name and occupy the place of such an office and estate, whom they only did support, and with whom also they might do what they would, and specially sir George Douglas; so as if they did not work with him all your majesty's affairs in such sort as they promised, your great liberality bestowed upon them was evil employed. And he said, if sir George Douglas had not taken upon him to work all things, as he did, after his own phantasy and appetite, your majesty might have had your whole purpose ere this time. I understand there is some discussion betwixt them and the said lord Fleming, for an office of sheriffship here within this realm, and that percase moved him to speak the more against them. Nevertheless I heard him quietly; and then began he to dispraise the said governor, saying that he was the greatest dissembler and the most inconstant man in the world; and therefore for his part he meddled not with him, nor came not to him, who, he thought, minded nothing less than the marriage of the young queen here to my lord prince's grace; assuring me that, after he came from your majesty, the said governor said unto him that he would rather take the said young queen and carry her with him into the isles, and go dwell there, than he would consent to marry her into England. Whereunto, he said, he answered, that if he so did, your majesty, for the value of ten pounds Scots, could have one of the Irish ketherns there to bring you his head. And further he told me that, unless your majesty had the child delivered into your hands, which would not here be granted, or else sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, he thought assuredly the same should never take effect. And as for pledges, he said, if the governor were well content and minded to grant the same, it lieth not in his power to perform it with good pledges; for he should never get a nobleman in the realm that would lay pledge in England for the matter. Finally he told me that he came even then from the queen dowager, who bade him make her recommendations unto me, and therewith to tell me that the governor had been with her since my last being with her there, and had demanded of her whether your majesty did make unto her any offer of marriage, and whether she intended to go dwell in England. Whereunto she answered, that if your majesty, being one of the noblest princes of the greatest reputation this day in the world, should mind or offer unto her such honour, she could not but account herself most bound to your highness for the same. And the governor said again, that your majesty dissembled altogether with her in whatsoever I said unto her on your behalf; and that whatsoever she said or signified unto your majesty, your grace did again advertise him of the same. This the lord Fleming told me from the queen; whom he saith your majesty shall find a true and plain gentlewoman in all her proceedings, and singularly well affected to all your majesty's desires. Finally, he told me that he had written a letter to my lord privy seal, whereby he had declared some part of his mind; and shortly, he told me, he would afore his day go to his entry, and repair unto your majesty for the further declaration of his mind; and for his part he was fully determined to serve your majesty to the uttermost of his power, according to his promise, as (if these matters proceeded to force) your highness should well perceive. Thus I write unto your royal majesty every man's tale in such sort as I hear them; whereby your grace may perceive the perplexed state of those things and

* Lord Fleming was one of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, and was liberated with the other lords on his promise of supporting Henry's demands; for a while he held his promise, and was trusted, but he was at this moment deserting the English party to join that of the cardinal, a circumstance which will explain the tone of his conversation on the present occasion.

affairs here, and thereupon judge the better by your more excellent wisdom, what is most expedient to be done for the accomplishment of your most noble and virtuous desires."

The day after the date of this letter, as we have already stated, the cardinal escaped; and Sadler no sooner heard of this new intrigue than he obtained an audience of the governor to hear his explanations relating to it. Arran threw the blame upon the lord Seton, and, to use the words of the ambassador, "seemed to be much moved with the matter;" upon which Sadler inquired what steps he proposed to take to protect himself against this powerful antagonist. "'But now,' quoth I, 'since the cardinal is at his liberty, what intend you to do in that matter?' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'I have, by the advice of the council, sent my brother, the abbot of Paisley, unto him, to look if he can induce him to come hither; and,' quoth he, 'since he had his liberty, he said he would serve me, and that, leaving utterly the cast of France, he would be wholly as I am,' quoth he, 'given to the cast of England; which if he will do, the rather I shall be content to extend favour and mercy unto him. But,' quoth he, 'I think verily he will not come to me, fearing lest I should eftsoons lay hand on him. And it is told me,' quoth he, 'that he will go further northwards, to Arbroath, among his friends, where he thinketh,' quoth he, 'to be in surety; but by God's blood,' quoth he, 'if he do so, I will follow and pursue him so near, that I will either have him into my hands again, or else,' quoth he, 'I will die upon him.' 'And, sir,' quoth I, 'do ye intend, in case he come hither, to remit him?' 'I pray you,' quoth he, 'what is your advice in that part?' 'My lord,' quoth I, 'I am not able to give you advice; but if it may please you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cause he was apprehended, I will tell you,' quoth I, 'mine opinion.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my lord warden, my lord Lysle,' quoth he, 'that the cardinal had procured the duke of Guise to come hither with an army to subdue this realm, and to take the government of the same; whereof now,' quoth he, 'we have no proof, nor we perceive not,' quoth he, 'that the same was true. Nevertheless,' quoth he, 'we have other matters to charge him with; for he did counterfeit,' quoth he, 'the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead,' quoth he, 'he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper; and besides that,' quoth he, 'since he was prisoner, he hath given special and secret command to his men to keep his hold and castle of St. Andrews against us; which,' quoth he, 'is a plain disobedience and rebellion.' I engrieved [*exasperated*] these crimes as much as I could, and told him that I heard say, he had forgiven and pardoned the cardinal of that crime in forging of the king's testament, as indeed communing yesterday with the lord Somerville in that matter, he told me it was so; nevertheless, the governor assured me, that he never gave the cardinal remission for the same. Whereupon I told him, that my poor opinion was, though the cardinal come hither at his sending for, he should never admit him to his presence, nor yet so hastily remit his offences, which being so great, he could not, with his honour, pardon in such sort, specially considering the said cardinal had so heaped one fault upon another, as besides his great crimes which he was committed upon, he had, as it were, by a mean broken prison; wherefore, if he should thereupon clearly release him, it should not only much impair his estimation, but also be a great courage to all offenders to double their offences, thinking thereby the rather to obtain remission and pardon. Wherefore, I said it was best, in my poor opinion, that if the cardinal come hither, he should be committed to the custody of some noblemen here in the town, and not go abroad, nor come in the governor's presence, nor yet be restored to liberty, until he had your majesty's advice in the same, which I said I doubted not should be shortly. 'And seeing,' quoth I, 'you ask mine advice, I have now told you the same.' Whereupon he paused a little, and said he thought it not amiss, and would devise farther in that behalf with the council, praying me, in the mean season, to advertise your majesty of the whole matter, and to make his declaration in the same. And then leaving that matter, he told me, that he had communed with his secret friends, touching the marriage betwixt your majesty's daughter and his son; and they not only thought him, as he also thought himself, most bounded unto your majesty for the great honour was offered unto him

in that behalf, but also had determined, that it was an overture most meet and requisite for him most willingly to accept and embrace. 'And,' quoth he, 'I am bound to creep on my knees to do his majesty service, for his great clemency and goodness extended towards me therein. Wherefore,' quoth he, 'forasmuch as I remember well you told me, that the king's majesty, in case I should go through with him in all other matters, had resolved upon this marriage, if I should desire the same; therefore it is meet,' quoth he, 'that I should desire it; so when all those other matters be concluded, or at a good point, which,' quoth he, 'there is no doubt but we shall easily agree upon, unless the king's majesty go about to take away the liberty and freedom of this realm; and to bring the same to his obedience and subjection; I shall then,' quoth he, 'send to his majesty to desire the said marriage for my son.' Here I repeated unto him the great honour and manifold commodities that should grow unto him by the same, in such sort as I was instructed by your majesty's last letters, which he affirmed. And ever according to the contents of your highness's said letters, I bound upon him for the sending of his son, in case this marriage should take effect, to be nourished and educated in your majesty's court; wherein I found him most willing and conformable. In this discourse, also he told me, that if the peace were concluded, he would not be long from your majesty. And again, he prayed me, to write immediately unto your majesty, both for his declaration in the cardinal's liberty, and also on his behalf, most humbly to thank your majesty for the great honour and advancement minded towards him by your highness, for the which your majesty should be assumed of his heart and service for ever, which, I assure your majesty, he spake as heartily, and with greater affection in appearance, than I can devise to express it. I promised him then, that I would forthwith write unto your majesty according to his desire, and so departed from him."

Soon after this conversation the earl of Arran began to show a leaning towards the party of the cardinal, and he was certainly urged to it by the violence with which king Henry pressed his unreasonable demands. On the 18th of April, Sadler had a long interview with sir George Douglas, and afterwards with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, who spoke without hesitation of the governor's backslidings, which they ascribed to the influence of his brother the abbot of Paisley, who, they said, since his return from France, had so ruled and counselled him, that whatever he professed to them one day, he changed his mind before the morrow; and the abbot was stated to be a devoted partizan of France and the cardinal. "And this evening," continues Sadler, "came to me the said earl of Glencairn, who showed me that the governor was much altered, and utterly determined to abide the extremity of the war, rather than condescend to the accomplishment of your majesty's desires, in such sort as is contained in the schedule delivered to their ambassadors, which they have sent hither. And also a great number of the council being now here were of the same opinion, none standing with your majesty's desires but your majesty's prisoners, and such as they have drawn to their devotion, as the earl Marshal and the lord Ruthven. And as for sir George Douglas, he hath no voice in council; so as when all the lords and bishops shall assemble, unto which time they have put off the further consultation of this matter, that is to say, till Sunday or Monday next, the said earl of Glencairn assureth me, there will be six voices against your majesty to their one. Wherefore, he saith, if your majesty be resolved to stand upon those points, it shall be requisite to prepare your force and army, both by land and sea, and in time to declare your high pleasure how your majesty will resolve for them which be here your prisoners; whether they shall make them ready to enter at their day into England, or remain here together to put themselves in force, able to keep a party in this country till your majesty's army come to them; and what shall be your majesty's pleasure in that part, they will undoubtedly follow the same to the uttermost of their power. I told him it should be most requisite for them in time to look to the surety of the person of the young queen, and to get her into their hands if it was possible. And he said the governor would nowise remove her now to the castle of Edinburgh, but they would have sure regard that he should not take her away to any other place without resistance to their possibility, and will do what they can to be sure of her. Besides that, I told him it were more than necessary for them to get some of the strongholds into their hands, according to your majesty's former

advice. Whereunto he answered, that your majesty should be sure of Tantallon, and such other strongholds as were in the hands of the lord Maxwell; the rest, he said, were hard to come by, but believed they should be able to keep and hold this town (Edinburgh) maugre the governor and all his partakers, and trusted also to keep him here with them, either with or against his will, while your majesty's army should arrive; praying me to advertise your majesty with all speed thereof, to the intent they may the sooner know what your gracious pleasure is to have them do; for the execution whereof they will put themselves in readiness accordingly. I said it was much to my marvel why the governor, or any good Scotsman, should refuse your majesty's said desires, considering they were so reasonable and so beneficial for them, and prayed him to tell me upon what point they stuck so fast. He answered that in nowise would they agree to the delivery of the child within two years. I asked him, what time they would require for her delivery? He said they would have her eleven years old first; but in that point, for the certain time, they were not yet resolved, but had put it off to the assembly of the whole council; and for pledges, he thought they would come to it hardly. And likewise for the perpetual peace, he trusted that a great many would be of their opinion to grant it in such part as your majesty required it; but for the delivery of the child within two years, he saw perfectly they would never grant it. And also the governor, he saith, doth much mislike the appointment by your majesty of his government, with such conditions and qualifications as in the said schedule is expressed, which he will in nowise accept. These things, he saith, they stick upon, which, for his part, he thinketh nevertheless reasonable, and saith, he told so the governor, advising him to look well upon them, and to bear off the inconveniences which might follow the refusal of the same. And also he saith, he told the said governor that he might be sure of the war, if he should not herein apply to reason, which it should be more than necessary for him to consider and foresee how they might be able to resist it; which, if he weighed well, he should soon perceive a great lack and diffurniture. Whereunto he saith, the governor answered quickly, that this realm had defended itself hitherto, and God would help them in their right; and as for him, he told him he spoke only for his own part, and such as were your majesty's prisoners, which, though they were all tied in fetters in England, he should nevertheless cause their friends and kinsmen to serve in their places. And the earl of Glencairn saith, he told him plainly again, that if they were all tied in fetters in England, he might be sure, that never a friend nor kinsman of theirs would serve him till they were loose; and that he spake not so much for his own part, because he was your majesty's prisoner, but of his very duty and special zeal he hath to the preservation of the young queen and benefit of this realm; which, he telleth me, that he and all the rest of your majesty's servants and friends here will make their quarrel, and stand fast to your majesty in the same, according to their promise, if this matter grow to such extremity, as is now very like."

On the 20th, Sadler wrote again to the English king—"Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day I have had access to the governor, and at our meeting I told him, that I understood he had received letters from his ambassadors, by the which, I doubted not, he did well perceive how reasonably and plainly your majesty proceeded, and how much your highness tendered the surety and preservation of your pronepte (*great niece,*) and the universal benefit of this realm; trusting that, for his part, he would show himself again in such terms towards your majesty, and so conformable in that behalf, as it should not appear to the world that he alone neglected the opportunity and occasion offered of God, and by your majesty embraced, for the conjunction of both these realms in perfect unity and perpetual peace. He wished that your majesty would proceed reasonably, for he thought your demands very sharp, and such as he was sure the states of the realm would not agree unto; and, for his part, he could not be induced nor persuaded to condescend unto the same. I told him, that I had received letters from your majesty, by the which I could not perceive but that your desires were such as no man of reason could judge unreasonable, to the intent I might (if it would be) satisfy him with reason. He said, first, your majesty would have the child delivered and brought into your realm within two years, and pledges in the mean season for the same, which he thought to be against all reason; for having her in England, if it should please

God to call the prince to his mercy, he said your majesty might marry her to whom it pleased you within your own realm, against the will and consent of this realm; besides other inconveniences, which might grow of her being out of her own realm. Secondly, he said, your majesty would have them friends to friends, and enemies to enemies, by mean whereof they should lose their old friends, as France and Denmark. But, to the third part, which, he said, touched himself, for the place of governor here, he passed not hereupon; for he regarded not so much the authority of the place, as he tendered his duty to his sovereign lady, and the wealth and benefit of the realm."

The ambassador had an interview the same day with the lords of the English party, who spoke with confidence of the success which must attend the king's arms, in case of an invasion, and pledged themselves to co-operate with his army to their utmost power. On the 22nd of April sir George Douglas visited him, and gave him fuller assurance that the governor was preparing to unite himself with the cardinal, who was supported by the earls of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Moray, and all the clergy. "Then," says Sadler, "we began somewhat to discourse of the estate of these affairs, wherein he told me that he had laboured all this while to bring all things to good pass in quiet and peaceable manner; but seeing it will not be, whereof he is most sorry, he will serve your majesty like a true gentleman, according to his bounden duty, in so much as if your majesty will extend your force, sending your royal army, and stick to your poor servants and friends here, which else shall be undone, he doubteth not but his brother and he, the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, and the lord Maxwell, with their friends, shall deliver into your majesty's hands all the country on this side of the water of Forth this summer. In which case, he said, your majesty must preserve and defend the country from burning and spoiling, and come in as a conqueror, making proclamations to defend all such as will submit themselves; whereby your majesty, he saith, shall not only win the people's hearts by preserving them from spoil, but also have the better commodity of victuals for such garrisons as must remain here in the winter, for the guard of such conquest as your majesty shall make this summer. And here, he said, he trusted to have occasion to repair now to your majesty, for in this assembly they would determine to make an answer to your majesty, and if it be such as may be acceptable, he will go most gladly; if not, yet if they will have him go, he will not refuse it, because he may thereby have the commodity to declare unto your majesty the estate of all this country, with his poor mind and opinion how your majesty shall provide for the conquest of the same. Whereof, I told him, I would advertise your majesty, and then I asked him whether he thought not that the governor would grow to any reasonable point in the satisfaction of your majesty's demands. Whereunto he answered me, that the governor was so far gone, so fickle and inconstant, that he durst promise nothing of him, for now revolting to the other party, which be all French, he will surely be of the same cast, and then undoubtedly will agree to nothing that may be against France. Again, he saith they will not surely agree to the deliverance of the child till she be of lawful age. And as for pledges in the mean season, he is in great doubt that the same will be granted, for he thinketh that such pledges as were meet to be accepted of your majesty, will not lye out of the realm for any such purpose; so that he is far out of hope that your majesty shall be answered to your satisfaction. The abbot of Paisley, he saith, hath been the only cause of the governor's alteration, which abbot is all for France, and the cardinal's great friend; and, since his coming home, the governor hath been altogether ruled by him."

On the 26th of April, after an interview with the governor, Sadler wrote again to the king, and in the course of his despatch he says:—"I bear them (the lords of the English party) still in hand, that your majesty will not relent in any part of your desires, the same being so reasonable as they ought not to be refused here. In which case, they say, your majesty must then win the same by force, for otherwise it will not be granted; and if it come to the point, they will serve your majesty as they have promised. But here they complained much of the lack of silver to bear their charges withal, saying that the entertainment of such companies as they keep here about them, is so chargeable to them, as without your majesty's help, they be not able to sustain it; and yet, say they,

if they had not had such force and strength here with them, as whereby they might be able to be too strong a party for the other side, it was very like that the governor would have left them, and also percase would have devised to have betrapped some of them. I told them they might be sure their service could not be lost, for your majesty was a prince of such honour, as both could and would consider every man's service, and reward the same accordingly; which he confessed. And the lord Maxwell told me apart, that indeed he lacked silver, and had no way of relief but to your majesty, which he prayed me to signify unto the same. I asked him what would relieve him, and he said three hundred pounds; for the which, he said, as your majesty seemed, when he was with your grace, to have him in more trust and credit than the rest of your majesty's prisoners, so he trusted to do you as good service as any of them, and amongst them they will do you such service as, if the war succeed, ye shall make an easy conquest of this realm; as for his part, he shall deliver unto your hands, at the entry of your army, the keys of the same on the west marches, being all the strongholds there in his custody. I offered him presently to write to my lord of Suffolk for a hundred pounds for him, if he would; but he said he would stay till he heard again from your majesty in that behalf. Also the earl of Glencairn and the said lord Maxwell asked me whether I had answer from your majesty for the changing of their pledges? saying they had a marvellous great lack of their eldest sons. I told them I had no word thereof, and then the lord Maxwell swore a great oath, that he thought your majesty had them in some suspicion; and yet, for all that, they would be true men to your majesty. The earl of Glencairn prayed me to write to your majesty, and to beseech the same for the passion of God, to encourage them so much as to give them trust, for they were already commonly hated here for your majesty's sake, and throughout the realm called the English lords, and such ballads and songs made of them, how the English angels had corrupted them, as have not been heard; so as they have almost lost the hearts of the common people of this realm, and be also suspected of the governor and nobility of the same; and if your majesty should also mistrust them, they were in a hard case. Wherefore, seeing they were minded, as indeed they would serve your majesty with their bodies, goods, and all their power, according to their bond and promise, from which they will never vary nor digress, they beseech your majesty to give them trust and credit, which, if they may perceive, shall be most to their comfort; wherein I did as much as I could to satisfy them, and to say my poor opinion of them to your majesty; surely, if men be trusted by their words and promises, by constant asseverations and oaths, they will show and prove themselves true gentlemen to your majesty; for it is not possible for men to declare themselves in appearance more earnest, nor better determined in that part than they do; though they labour nevertheless for the satisfaction of your majesty in quiet manner, if by any good means it may be brought to pass; and I see not but the earls of Angus, of Glencairn, and Cassilis, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, and sir George Douglas, do adhere firmly together, and draw all by one line, who undoubtedly had a great band of gentlemen, and other their friends, tenants, and servants, belonging unto them, in a manner the whole strength of this country on this side the water of Forth."

While these negotiations were going on in Scotland, the ambassadors of the Scottish parliament had proceeded to England, and had been received by king Henry. In their first audience, on Wednesday, the 11th of April, and in a discourse with the privy council next day, they stated the views of their government with regard to the questions then at issue. After introducing the marriage and the peace as things sought by England, they proceeded to state the conditions on which the Scottish parliament would agree to them. They insisted "that their queen should not depart out of her realm till she were of full age to consummate her matrimony;" they agreed that Henry should appoint two English knights and two English ladies to be about her person; "adding hereunto," to use the words in which the king himself relates these proceedings, "that they would have the governor that is now, to be governor of that realm during her minority, and also after for term of his life, and that they would have a governor of the birth of that realm ever after at their own election, with the free use of their own laws and customs, and also the chief holds of Scotland not be delivered till she had issue by our son."

With respect to peace, they were empowered to enter into a treaty for any length of time, and to make no exception with regard to France, but they were not prepared to renounce the existing league with that country, and "become friend to friend, and enemy to enemy." Next day the ambassadors were again called before the privy council, and they were made acquainted with the king's final determination. He no longer insisted on the immediate delivery of the princess, but he demanded pledges for the marriage and for the peace, and that he should have the appointment of the persons, whether Scotch or English, who were to have charge of her person. He agreed that the earl of Arran should retain the government, and that their governor should be always in future one born in Scotland; but he wished to reserve for himself and his son the appointment and the right of displacing him for misbehaviour. He also consented that they should preserve their laws and customs, and demanded only that the fortresses should be delivered into the hands of Scotchmen whom he "should think meet for the same." The ambassadors were not prepared with replies to these proposals, and, with some expostulation on the king's claim to supremacy over Scotland, they returned to their own country. Their report certainly injured the prospects of the English party in Scotland.

The impression created more by the tone of Henry's demands, even than by the demands themselves, gave new strength to the cardinal. This crafty politician had no sooner obtained his liberty, than he entered into communication with the earl of Lennox, in whom he saw an apt instrument for his purposes. Lennox was nearly related to the crown, and Beaton did not scruple to encourage his ambition by holding out the prospect of a marriage with the queen-dowager, and by setting abroad a report that the late king had declared his wish, that, if he died childless, this young nobleman should be his successor on the throne. It was even hinted, that in consequence of some informality in the divorce between Arran's father and his second wife, the governor, who was the offspring of a second marriage, was illegitimate, in which case his vast estates and his title to the throne of Scotland would, as a matter of course, fall to the earl of Lennox. The cardinal, moreover, had already opened a negotiation with the king of France, who had entrusted Lennox with a verbal promise of assistance in arms and money to the party who were opposed to the views of the English monarch. The conduct of the governor at this moment appears to have been wavering; the increasing influence of the cardinal inclined him to lean towards him, while a feeling of jealousy towards the earl of Lennox held him back. Under these circumstances it was thought best by the lords in the English interest to send sir George Douglas to England, to show the king the wisdom of yielding still more in his demands, and he succeeded so far, that it was determined by the governor and his friends to send sir George with the earl of Glencairn publicly to England, to join with the other ambassadors in renewing the treaty.

CHAPTER XI.

SIR RALPH SADLER'S NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED; THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND AGREED TO.

SADLER now redoubled his efforts to gain over the Scottish lords to the will of his sovereign, and he even held out the prospect of bribes to some of those who were understood to support the cardinal. In a letter to the king, dated on the 1st of May, he says—"I have in that behalf communed apart with the earls of Murray and Argyle, who were noted all for France; and also with the earl Marshal, who hath ever borne a singular good affection to your majesty, which three, if I could have won to those that be already assured to your majesty, all the rest, save the kirkmen, I think would have gone the same way. I promised them largely on your majesty's

behalf, in general terms; but yet I could not frame them to my purpose. The earls of Murray and Argyle were at the first directly against the delivery of the child, or pledges; but with pledges they be now well content, and say expressly, that they mind nothing more than that the marriage should take effect, which they wish for with all their hearts, as the thing that righteously, they say, shall knit both the realms in one dominion; but, until the same shall be so united, by consummation of the marriage, they will preserve the liberty and freedom of this realm to the uttermost of their power, wherein they will employ and spend their lives; thinking that your majesty, having the child once delivered into your hands, had also forthwith the obedience and subjection of the realm. Reciting all such other inconveniences which might happen upon her being out of her own realm, as I have heretofore written unto your majesty, and notwithstanding all the persuasions and promises I could make unto them, I could not remove them from that mind and opinion; they protest unto me, that they covet and desire no prince's amity in the world so much as your majesty's; and that they will do what stead and service they can to your highness, not offending their duty of allegiance unto their sovereign lady, and the liberty and freedom of the realm. As for France, they might not declare themselves enemy to France, but they would take no part with them, nor no other prince or potentate in the world, against your majesty. And this was all I could get of them, notwithstanding all the persuasion I could use unto them. And yet the earl of Cassillis hath travelled much with the said earl of Murray, to bring him to this perfection, to grant pledges, which he was very far from at the first. The earl Marshal was more frank with me, and said, if your majesty accept the contract of marriage in such sort as it shall be offered, that is to say, with pledges for the performance of the same, and deliverance of the child about her lawful age, he will surely serve your highness against France. Also the said earl of Murray said unto me, that if it might please your grace to accept and embrace these things at the first, in such sort as they might perceive your majesty went about to win them by love and kindness, there was no doubt but, as time did alter many things, so by time that the noblemen of this realm had acquaintance of your majesty, your grace might by dulce and gentle means come by your whole purpose, which by the wars your majesty should find very difficult to be obtained, notwithstanding, he said, that the prisoners had promised you very largely such things as he knew they were not able to perform. The governor himself is now wholly on your majesty's party; and yesterday, at four of the clock in the afternoon, he sent for me, and told me, that never man had so much ado as he had to bring the nobility of this realm to any reasonable point or conformity, for the satisfaction of your majesty's desires; and the traitor bishops, he said, would grant to no part of the same, but the earls of Murray and Argyle were now good and reasonable gentlemen. As for the earl of Bothwell, he said, your majesty had ill bestowed your liberality upon him, for he was directly against all your majesty's demands; alleging that he would forsake Scotland, France, and England, for ever, rather than he would consent to lay pledges for the performance of the marriage, which undoubtedly he said openly before all the council, as both the earls of Angus and Cassillis told me. Nevertheless the said governor said, that with much difficulty he had won all the noblemen, and brought them to such point, that they had resolved, it was better to lay pledges than to have the war; whereupon, he said, they had agreed, that your majesty should have good pledges, as earls and lords of this realm, for the perfection of this marriage, and deliverance of the young queen within a year or two of her lawful age. And for the peace, he said they stuck so hard upon the observation of their leagues with France, that he could not induce them to such conclusion with your majesty, as to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy; but whensoever your majesty had to do with France, they would nevertheless be assured friends to your majesty, and take no part against you, nor yet receipt, comfort, or maintain any of your grace's enemies; and this, he said, was all he could bring them to, if his life lay upon it. And yet, he said, he had laid reason unto them, that, it were even as good for them to covenant expressly against France, as to promise to your majesty, that they will take no part with France; in which case they shall be sure to lose their friendship and estimation with France for ever, and thereby percase so move, and give occasion of war to France against them, that they shall be enforced

thereby to seek aid of your majesty, which if they refuse now to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy, your highness is not bound to give unto them. And, quoth he, if France or Denmark work us any cumber, there is no doubt but we must come then on our knees, and beseech his majesty, that we may be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy. This reason, he said, with all the persuasions he could allege, he used with them, which, nevertheless, they would not favour. I told him, I thought they would be content to do as he would have them. But he swore a great oath, he could not persuade them to it, for all that he could do; as, he doubted not, the earl of Angus, my lord Maxwell, and other, which were, he said, assured to your majesty, could tell me what he had done in that behalf. Wherefore he prayed me, with his cap in his hands, as instantly as he could, to write his good mind to your majesty, and that he desired nothing in this world so much, as to have your majesty his good and gracious lord, most humbly beseeching the same to accept and embrace these offers now at the first entirely, and though they be not so fully to your satisfaction as your majesty desireth, yet he swore a great oath, that whilst he is governor, your highness being his good lord, and supporting him, he will not fail as time shall serve, to satisfy your majesty in all the rest of your demands, which cannot now be obtained, with all the stead and service, that shall lie in the uttermost of his power."

Arran, who was now in profession all English, offered, in accepting the marriage with the princess Elizabeth, to send his own son to the English court to remain as a pledge; although Sadler was assured the same day that he had been only hindered from going over to the party of the cardinal by the expostulations of sir George Douglas. "This day," continues Sadler in the same despatch, "I have also spoke with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and with the lord Maxwell and Somerville, according to the continuance of your majesty's said letters. And albeit since mine advertisements whereupon your majesty wrote your said letters, things have changed and altered here, as your majesty now perceiveth; nevertheless, I thought it not amiss to confer with the said earls and lords upon the point of the said letters. And considering that their demeure here is most necessary, till these matters be at some conclusion, which cannot be afore their day of entry being at hand, I declared unto them, that your majesty had prolonged their day [of returning to England as prisoners] until Midsummer; and also the considerations whereupon your highness had determined the same, which they thought to serve to special good purpose. And besides that, knowing that they had been now at great charge with abiding in this town, and also with retaining good numbers of men about them, which here is chargeable, I thought it good to tell them, that your majesty, of your own mere motion and benignity, hath sent every of them a remembrance for their cost and charges now sustained; assuring them, that God giving unto your majesty the accomplishment of your good purpose, they and their posterity should have cause to confess that they served a most gracious master, which they took in marvellous good part, and most humbly thanked your majesty for the same. And though the case be changed, and all things now in so good quietness, as they need not to be at such charge in retaining of force presently, as was thought if the governor had revolted, yet because they have been at charge, and had complained to me for lack of silver, as indeed I know they be but poor men, and none rich here to speak of but kirkmen; I therefore thought it best, for the better encouraging of them to serve, to bestow your highness's liberality upon them, as proceeding of your majesty's own mere remembrance. And so I told every of them apart, what your highness had determined in that behalf; that is to say, to every of the two earls of Cassillis and Glencairn three hundred marks; and your majesty having committed the rest to my discretion, because the lord Maxwell had required a relief of three hundred pounds as in my last letters to your majesty appeareth; I thought best to tell him, that your highness had now of himself remembered him with three hundred marks, which coming in such sort unasked was better than three hundred pounds, and yet, if he would tarry till he should hear again from your majesty, I would write what he desired. He answered me, that he esteemed that two hundred pounds sent of your own remembrance, better than one thousand pounds otherwise bestowed upon him, and prayed me to speak nothing of his further demand. Also, I told the lord Somerville that your majesty had sent him two hundred marks. And thus I have bestowed so much of your

majesty's liberality, in such sort as none of them knoweth by me what another hath. And I think one hundred pounds were not amiss bestowed on the earl Marshal; for, surely, I think, if those matters come to force, he will take such part as the earl of Angus doth, and so it is told me secretly; wherefore, knowing your majesty's pleasure in that behalf, I shall ensue the same accordingly. And my lord of Cassillis telleth me, that money will also tempt the earl of Murray, who is no rich man; but that must be with a greater sum than any of the rest have, for the which, it is thought, he might be easily induced to enter himself for one of the pledges for the performance of the marriage. Furthermore, I entered with the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and the lords Maxwell and Somerville, touching their advice where your majesty's army should enter by sea and land, with declaration of your majesty's pleasure unto them for the secresy of the same, and also how your majesty intended therein to use them as your principal counsellors. Whereupon they debated, wishing, that if the war succeeded, your majesty do so look aforehand to the furniture of your army with victual, and all things necessary, as the same may be able to remain and continue within this realm for the accomplishment of your majesty's purpose. And it was their part, they said, to devise for the surety of that army, and your majesty's prosperity in your enterprize; for if it should quail, it should be their undoing. And they thought best, that your majesty should enter both at the east and west marches; and also your navy by sea, to come into the Forth, to land at Leith, both to victual the army, and to do further exploits, as the case shall require. Whereupon they said they would debate further, and advertize your majesty of their opinions at length. And in the mean season, they said that such of them as now should repair to your majesty with sir George Douglas, should confer with your majesty in that behalf; and for present aid, as the case is now changed, they shall need none at this time."

On the 6th of May, Sadler announced that there was great jealousy between Arran and Lennox, and next day he informed the king that the governor had turned again from all leaning towards the cardinal. It seems that Beaton's professions of willingness to serve the English king, had led Henry into the belief that he might be treated with, and Sadler had accordingly been directed to pay him a visit. In his despatch last alluded to (of May 6), the ambassador replied, "Whereas I do perceive that the king's pleasure is, I should repair to St. Andrew's to speak with the cardinal, I intend to forbear the same, till I shall hear again from your lordships of his majesty's pleasure in that part, for certain considerations, whereof one is, for that the said cardinal, and the bishops here of this realm, have even now called a convention and assembly of the clergy at St. Andrews, which will endure these seven or eight days, wherein no doubt they will devise some mischief, and do all they can to impeach any good agreement betwixt the two realms; during which assembly I think it not convenient for me to come there. Another is, for that the governor is now as far out with the cardinal as ever he was, and would fain have him in his hands again, if he wist how; wherefore seeing he standeth in such terms with the governor, if I should repair to St. Andrews to speak with him without licence or consent of the said governor (who is not here now to grant the same), I am in great doubt what suspicion he might have in that behalf; and besides, that this country is not very free for Englishmen to travel in without some conduct, specially now that there is like to grow some garboil betwixt the governor and the earl of Lennox, which considerations move me to forbear my going to St. Andrews as is aforesaid; wherein I shall nevertheless do, as it shall please the king's majesty upon knowlege hereof to determine, whereof (if it so stand with his majesty's pleasure,) I am to be advertized before the said convocation shall dissolve, during which time I think it not convenient for me to repair unto the said cardinal, as it aforesaid, though there were none other considerations to impeach the same."

At this time the governor was hostile to the earl of Lennox, who had seized upon Dumbarton castle, and held it for the cardinal's party; he was irritated against the cardinal himself; and he was alarmed by the intelligence that a papal legate, cardinal Grimani, was on his way to Scotland to assist in organizing and encouraging the party opposed to him. Pressed by this combination of embarrassments, Arran leaned again towards England, but his weak and vacillating conduct became daily more

apparent. In an interview with the English ambassador about the middle of May, Arran declared that, "if the French king would do them no more harm than procure the sending of a legate to curse them, he cared little for the same; for he would so provide as, if he arrived here to make any garboil in this realm, with his fulminations of cursing, or to advance and set forth such things as might stir any division or inquietation here, he should surely never go home again; but glad he would be, according to his majesty's advice, to work so as the said legate's journey hither should be impeached and broken. And only, he said, he suspended all his proceedings here in the affairs of this realm, upon knowledge whether he should have peace or war with the king's majesty; for if all things were established, and the peace concluded betwixt these two realms, which he most heartily wished and desired, he would not doubt, with the king's majesty's good advice and counsel, to order and govern this realm in such sort, as the same should be reduced very shortly to as good obedience as ever it was; and he would reform the abuses of the church, and advance God's word and doctrine, maugre the legate, the cardinal, the bishops, and priests of this realm, with all their partakers, which he doubted not to subdue and rule at his will, if he were once at a good point with his majesty." In concluding his discourse with Sadler, he protested again that "if the peace were once concluded, he would forthwith set upon the cardinal within his castle of St. Andrews, whom he doubted not shortly to have into his hands; for he was the man, he said, whom (God forgive him!) he did only hate in all the world, not without just cause. For the cardinal, he said, did speak as fair words, and write as humble letters to him, with desire of his remission and favour, as was possible for any man to do; and yet privily he wrought all that he could to set division and distance betwixt him and the noblemen of the realm; wherefore, if the peace were concluded, he would soon be revenged thereof; but, till he knew how all things should succeed betwixt these two realms, he would be loath to stir any garboil within the realm." At the time when Arran spoke thus, he had made some show of energy by marching with four thousand men to Dumbarton against the earl of Lennox; but the latter had fled to the highlands, leaving the castle with a resolute garrison, who set the governor at defiance.

Sadler adds in a postscript to the letter in which he describes the above interview with the governor of Scotland, "The governor told me, that the cardinal had sent him a message by the laird of Brunstoun, which was in this effect, that forasmuch as the said cardinal thought, that the king's majesty (whom he never offended) was so much displeased with him, that percase his demeure and abiding in this realm might be some lett and impediment to such good purpose, as might be set forth to the unity of those two realms; and again, because he perceived the governor favoured him not, nor would use his service, which most willingly and obediently he offered to do at all time to the said governor; he therefore humbly desired and prayed the same, that he would license him to go into France, where he might remain quietly, and would be ready to serve the governor, as well there as in all places, at his commandment; and also would return to serve here, whensoever it should please him to call upon him for that purpose; desiring also, that it might please the governor to be so good a lord unto him, as to let him have into France his yearly profit of his bishopric, and other his revenues within this realm, from time to time, as the same shall be due unto him. Wherein the said governor told me, he would use only mine advice, praying me to tell him my mind in that behalf. I told him, that I thought I should give him evil counsel, in case I should advise him to license the cardinal to go into France, where he might freely work all the mischief he could devise against this realm; and hereupon I made him an example of our cardinal Pole, the marquis of Exeter, and the lord Montacute, with the circumstances of that matter; and therefore advised him rather so to proceed against the said cardinal as he might be sure to keep him from such liberty, as whereby he might the rather have any opportunity to work him such displeasure, as I knew he intended towards him. Whereupon he is resolved that the cardinal shall not depart, but saith, he will proceed against him, and all the rest, in such sort as the king's majesty shall give him counsel; and if the peace were agreed on to-day, he would not fail to-morrow to go upon the cardinal, and pull him out of his castle of St. Andrews by the head; which castle, he saith, is of no strength."

On the 28th of May, sir George Douglas returned to Scotland with the modified articles proposed by the English monarch.

It was now required that the young queen should be sent to England at the age of eight or ten years at furthest; but that, as soon as the treaty should be concluded, pledges or hostages were to be given to the king of England, which were to be bound for her delivery at the age specified. These were to be six earls and barons, or their heirs, such as the king should be contented with, and, if possible, two bishops. In the meantime the Scottish queen was to remain in the custody of such Scottish lords and noblemen as had already been appointed by the parliament to be her keepers, with the exception of the lords Erskine and Seton, but that king Henry should have the appointment of such persons, English or others, as he should think fitting to have the direction of her education and breeding. After the queen had been sent to England, the marriage between her and the prince was to be solemnized, at latest, when she was twelve years of age; and as soon as she should attain the state of queen in England, she was to enjoy as great a dower "as most commonly queens of that realm had had and enjoyed." The other stipulations with regard to the perpetual peace were so softened down, as not to compromise the existing relations with France. It was further proposed that, "as concerning the state of the governor, the king's majesty was right well contented that, the foresaid treaties of marriage and peace being once passed and concluded, and the said governor continuing his devotion and inclination to the king's majesty, conformable to that he had hitherto shown, and using the counsel of such noblemen of Scotland as hitherto he had done, that he should enjoy the same governorship during the nonage of the said daughter, and should have convenient and reasonable supply and maintenance of his majesty for the governor's supportation and defence against all such as would impeach the same; and that furthermore, the said governor should enjoy, to his use and the sustaining the charges of the affairs of the realm, the rents, profits, and commodities of the said realm of Scotland, during the nonage of the said daughter; reserved always, and excepted such a portion of the said rents, revenues, and commodities, as may be convenient for maintenance of the state of the said daughter, as to her dignity and degree appertained." There was nothing very unreasonable in these articles, and, at a convention held at Edinburgh in the beginning of June, they were agreed to by Arran and the majority of the nobility.

The cardinal's party were, meanwhile, far from inactive. Lennox had thrown himself entirely into his arms, and had assured him of the support of the king of France, with whom they entered into a private negotiation, and he promised to send them a force of two thousand men under the command of a well-known and highly-distinguished officer, Montgomerie sieur de Lorges, as well as a supply of money and ammunition. By this promise they were encouraged to hold off and prepare for war, and at a convention of the clergy held at Stirling, it was resolved to contribute a large sum of money to support it. It was represented as the cause of the church, and the priesthood declared with the greatest enthusiasm, that they would melt down the plate of their churches rather than money should be wanted—nay, they were even ready themselves to fight in the quarrel. All the lords of the cardinal's party absented themselves from the convention at Edinburgh, at which the treaty with England was agreed to. During the whole of the month of June they were actively employed in arming their retainers, to be ready for the struggle, which now seemed imminent, and waiting only for the signal, which was to be the arrival of the expected succours from France. They had even instigated the borderers to some invasions of the English territory, to embroil the governor and his friends. Such was the posture of affairs when, on the 1st of July, the treaties of pacification and marriage were finally signed at Greenwich, by the commissioners of both nations.

CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CARDINAL'S PARTY; SEIZURE OF THE QUEEN; THEY ARE JOINED BY THE GOVERNOR; DESERTION OF LENNOX.

The two parties now stood widely divided against each other, and matters seemed to be approaching rapidly to a civil war. In yielding for the moment, the English king had given up no part of his intentions, and the Scottish lords of his party, who were aware of this, professed their resolution to fulfil their promises of supporting him. To satisfy him, they signed a "secret device," as it was called, a copy of which is preserved, and it is too important a document to be passed over in silence. The articles to which Angus, Maxwell, and their colleagues bound themselves, were—

"First,—I shall endeavour myself, unfeignedly, and with all my power, to do that in me lieth for the observation of the amity, and also the deliverance of the young queen at the time appointed in the treaty of marriage, or before, as soon as may be, with hostages to be given in, according as it is covenanted in the said treaty of marriage.

"Secondly,—I shall do all my endeavour for the preservation of the young queen; and in case she miscarry, or be conveyed away, I shall bear my service to the king's majesty only, and not acknowledge or consent to the governor, or any other, to have the rule and dominion of the realm of Scotland without further knowledge of his highness's pleasure.

"Thirdly,—I shall support the governor now being, as long, and no longer, as he shall himself maintain the foresaid articles of peace, marriage, hostages, and delivery of the young queen, and not to consent to the election of a new governor, or the continuance of the governor now being, in case he decline and swerve from the articles now covenanted, without advertising the king's majesty thereof, and having his highness's assent to the same.

"Fourthly,—if there happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland by practice of the cardinal, kirkmen, France, or otherwise, I shall stick and adhere only to the king's majesty's service, as his highness may assuredly attain these things now passed and covenanted, or at the least the dominion on this side the Frith.

"Fifthly,—I shall truly advertise the king's majesty from time to time of the estate of the affairs of the realm of Scotland, to the intent upon knowledge of them the king's highness may, with his wisdom, foresee to let and impeach such matter as might be to the misorder and trouble of that realm.

"And, these things done, the king's majesty will aid, support, maintain, and assist me, and defend me against all other that would molest or trouble me for the same."

It is hardly probable that, as it has been conjectured, the cardinal had obtained information of this secret transaction, but he knew enough of the proceedings of his opponents to make them extremely unpopular, and he profited by it to strengthen his own party by identifying it with the national independence. He thus succeeded in throwing a great degree of odium on his opponents, who were early in July thrown into the utmost alarm by the appearance of a French fleet on their coast. At this moment, in a despatch of the 13th of July, sir Ralph Sadler describes the state of Scotland as follows:—"The estate of this realm is so perplexed that I see neither order nor obedience in the same, and now there is appointed a convention of the lords and great men, to be present for the ratification of this treaty, and also for to devise upon some good ways, to bring the realm to a better order and perfection; but it is thought that many of the greatest lords, as Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Murray, and others, will not appear. The French navy is now no more spoken of here, nor we cannot learn where they are become. Some say they are gone to meet with the navy of Denmark, which should join with them, but they were not seen near this realm this seven night. As I shall hear and perceive thereof, I will advertise from time to time, as the case shall require. I have to-day spoken with the sheriff of Ayr, touching such matter as John Drummond declared unto your majesty of the earl of Lennox, and the said sheriff saith, that indeed there was such communication betwixt him and the said Drummond toward that effect, but not in such sort as it might be taken thereby, that he was in hope that the said Lennox

might be induced or reconciled from France to your majesty's devotion. For he thinketh assuredly that if France will support the said Lennox, as he daily looketh to have money and munition from thence; for the which he sent one Stewart into France since his coming hither, and yet hath received no answer since his going hence from him; in that case, that if this aid of money and munition do come, the said Lennox will not surely be won from France, but will cause much trouble, as is thought in this realm; and many great men being also well given to France, by the procurement of the cardinal, do also abide out from the governor upon that purpose, which the sheriff thinketh, if this aid come not out of France, will be easily reduced to good conformity; and till they be brought to due obedience unto the governor here, which must be by fair means or foul, there will be no time that can serve to practise with the earl of Lennox, or any of the others, that be not well dedicated to your majesty, to win or reconcile them to your majesty's devotion; for if any means should be used in that behalf, without the knowledge of the governor, it might be a means to bring him into a great suspicion of your majesty. And though he thinketh that the said Lennox would be content to marry the said lady Margaret Douglas, yet whether he would have her so; as for her he would leave France and adhere firmly to your majesty, he is in great doubt; but he thinketh, surely, if the governor and the said Lennox were good friends, and that Lennox would obey and acknowledge the governor, as the parliament hath admitted, in that case the said Lennox might be the more fairly induced, both to the marriage, to leave France, and also to be reconciled to your majesty. This is the said sheriff's mind and opinion in that part, which he prayeth me to signify unto your majesty."

At this moment the cardinal and the lords of his party were contemplating a more decisive movement, no doubt with the connivance of the queen dowager, and they were collecting their forces in different parts of the kingdom. "This evening," writes the English ambassador on the 17th of July, "the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell, who came this day to this town, were with me, and told me that the cardinal, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, and the lords Home, and Buccleuch, with all their partakers, made great preparation and assemblies against the governor and his adherents, and gathered great force; the cardinal and Huntley in the north parts, Argyle and Lennox in the west parts, and Bothwell, Home, and Buccleuch, in the east parts upon the marches, so that the governor is yet in doubt which way to direct his journey first, and surely there is great appearance of much trouble and inconvenience; wherefore, they told me, that the governor sent them to me to devise with me for my removing to Tantallon, because, when he is gone out of this town, he doubteth, the country being all in such a stir and commotion, how I should be entreated. And so, before they depart this town, I have resolved with them to go to Tantallon aforesaid, not without cause, for the governor being here, I have not been used in friendly part, and if he were away, I find the malice of the people here such toward all Englishmen, that they would not lett to execute the same to the destruction both of me and mine. For the governor being in the town, as I walked here in a garden, and some of my folks with me on the back side of my lodging, one (but I cannot tell who) shot an half-dag amongst us and missed not one of my men I dare say four inches; besides other despiteous parts which they have played me since I came hither, whereby they have largely declared their malice, and yet the offender can never be known. The said earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles of the devise, which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters; and the lord Maxwell telleth me, that as soon as he received the like articles from your majesty by his son, he forthwith subscribed the same and sent it to your majesty. The rest I have not yet spoken with, because they be not here; but as soon as I can possibly, I shall not fail to accomplish that part, according to your gracious commandment. I call and cry still upon the governor and other your majesty's friends here, to look to the surety of the young queen's person, which, they say, they will do; but the governor will not be induced to remove her hither to the castle of Edinburgh, saying, that he will so provide for that part, as he will be sure enough of her, which way they be not yet certainly resolved."

The earl of Arran not only still professed his devotion to the king of England, but he asked and accepted money for his services. Henry, in transmitting to his ambassador a thousand pounds for this purpose, volun-

teered his counsels in the difficult circumstances in which he seemed likely to be placed. "First," said the royal adviser, "you shall declare unto him that where we perceive by your advertisement how the cardinal, with his complices and partakers, labour to make a revolt and rebellion against him, we be right glad (standing things between us as they do) to understand how prudently he prepareth both to withstand and repel the same, and also to put in surety the person of the young queen, which is the mark they shoot at; thinking that if they might once get her into their hands, they should thereby make such a party, as they should be able to dispose of the government of the realm as to them should seem most expedient. Secondly, where he seemed in his last conference with you to desire some aid of money of us for his supply in this trouble, ye shall tell him that, over and beside the token which we have sent him, if the case so require, giving us warning in time, we shall so help him and consider his case as he shall have good cause to say, we be an assured friend towards him and the common weal of that realm, as our amity now requireth. But ye shall tell him that, seeing all the nobles of Scotland have chosen him to be their governor by a common consent, and have subscribed to the same, our opinion is, that he should not only make their doings therein manifest to the whole world, whereby their inconstancy and disloyalty may appear; but also, being now well learned by the example and experience of the cardinal and others, what it is to give scope and liberty to such as be bent and determined against him, in case any of them come in his hands, he should bestow them where they should do him nor the realm no hurt; and, in the mean season, upon their open attempt, proclaim and use such of them, as he shall think good, as rebels and traitors to the queen and the realm accordingly. Thirdly, where it appeareth that he mindeth to meet the rebels on the other side of the water, and so to give them battle, if they will abide it; you shall say, we think it not meet that he should pass the said water, nor put himself in hazard at his enemies' call; but we think it most expedient and necessary for him to take Stirling in his own hands, whereby he may be master of the passage; and then, as he may be sure to be master of all that is on this side the said water, so he may take advantage of his enemies, and fight with them, or leave them, as shall be most for his own commodity. Fourthly, where he desireth us to take in good part for a time, though the borderers do not as becometh them, you shall to that tell him, that if he will be so content, we shall so chastise those borderers, as with our advice, he may plant other in their places; for which purpose, we have written to our cousin of Suffolk, and to the lord warden of our marches, to put all our borders in order for the same, willing you to advertise our lieutenant and warden of his determination in this behalf. Fifthly, where it appeareth by your letters, that eleven of the French ships, which have kept that coast this long season, lye now in the May; you shall understand, that being lately the whole number of sixteen in their return towards France, there encountered with them six of our ships, which took two of them, and had undoubtedly taken the admiral, and more of the best of them, if they durst have tarried it; but perceiving themselves at the last too weak, after a sore fight betwixt them, they share off, and these eleven plyed again towards Scotland, though there we cannot yet certainly hear what is become of them. And if the governor think it good, we will send our navy to the May, where they be, to take them, which shall be a great surety to Scotland, and a great discourage to all that depend upon France. But, in that case, the governor must permit our ships to take them, though they should fly into Leith for succour, and also help them with victuals and necessaries if they shall need the same; willing you to know his mind therein, and to signify the same unto us with all diligence, doing what ye can to cause him to stay them till our ships come; and if that will not be granted, then we would ye should have a diligent eye upon them, that you may advertise us a seven-night at the least before they shall be ready to depart, that we may provide and lay for them, in such place for the taking of them by the way as shall be most convenient."

On the day before this letter was written, the 21st of July, the cardinal and his friends, who had assembled at Stirling a force of ten thousand men, marched thence to Leith, where they were joined by the borderers and the earl of Bothwell, the lord Home, and the Kers and Scotts. While they remained here, a negotiation was carried on with the governor, who, although he was at first inclined to send to England for assistance, ended by

agreeing to give up the queen and her mother, who were immediately carried by the cardinal and his confederates to Stirling, and there committed to the custody of four lords, Erskine, Grahame, St. John, and Livingstoun.

It is difficult to say how far at this moment Arran was acting with sincerity. He seemed to be actuated by the bitterest animosity against the cardinal, and he asked for more money, and for men, if required, from England. He assured the ambassador, on the 31st of July, that he would "rather be torn to pieces" than swerve from his promise made to the English king; and, while he confessed that the cardinal and his friends were making fair professions to him, he added, that he was credibly informed that they were secretly gathering their forces to come upon him suddenly and put him down. Henry had not been backward in responding to the governor's call for assistance, and he wrote the following letter to his ambassador, on the 4th of August:—"Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and have received your letters of the last of July; by the contents whereof, we perceive such conference as you had lately with the governor, the earls of Angus and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, touching the overtures made by the bishop of Orkney and the lord Fleming on the behalf of the cardinal and his complices, being the said lord Fleming and bishop of that party; and also, concerning such aid as the said governor and the rest beforenamed do desire of us for their defence and surety, with a repetition of their offers unto us, in case the governor shall not be able so to daunt the cardinal and his partakers as they shall agree to the ratification of the treaties passed betwixt us, or that the queen shall be conveyed away, whereby they shall not be able to deliver her at the time by the treaties appointed and prescribed. For answer whereunto, our pleasure is, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you shall make your repair to the governor, and making unto him our hearty commendations, with condign thanks for his honourable proceedings and friendly offers made unto us, you shall declare unto him, that we be of such mind and determination toward him again, as he may be well assured, that neither now, nor hereafter, shall we suffer him to receive any such damage or dishonour, as he shall not have good cause in the end to say, that he hath had a most constant and faithful friend of us. And for his present relief at this time, we have, according to his desire, appointed our lieutenant in those parts to put in order five thousand men, to be addressed unto him, when he and you together shall by your letters desire the same, which five thousand men shall enter in two parts, the one from the west marches, in the conduct of sir Thomas Wharton, till he shall arrive with the lord Maxwell, and then the said lord Maxwell to be chief captain of that number; the other by the east and middle marches, in the conduct of sir Ralph Eure, knight, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, esquires, till they shall arrive with the earl of Angus; and then the said earl to be their chief captain; accounting the said earl and lord Maxwell, with all the rest of our friends there which adhere surely to him, to be of such honour and trust as we dare well commit the leading of our people to them. Providing that the said earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell do send some trusty men of honour and estimation to receive the said sir Thomas Wharton and sir Ralph Eure, with such as come with them at the said borders, to help to conduct them and victual them, till they shall join with their other forces; and shall also, after they be joined, use the advice and counsel of the said sir Thomas and sir Ralph, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, which shall have the conduct of them into Scotland, in all things touching any enterprise and exploit to be done, and likewise for the victualling and placing of the same accordingly. And where the governor desireth to have such as we shall send for his aid bring some victual with them, we have, for his satisfaction herein, not only taken order that they shall bring as much victual with them as can conveniently be prepared in the short time of their assembly, but also that plenty of corn shall be sent into the Firth, both from Newcastle and from Berwick, not doubting but the governor, with the rest of the earls and others our friends, and specially those which shall have the chief charge of our subjects, will take order, that when it shall arrive, it may be employed for the victualling of the same, as appertaineth. And our further pleasure is, that you shall also declare to the said governor, and the rest of the lords our

friends there, that in case the number now sent shall not so daunt the said cardinal as he and his complices shall be glad and fain to consent to the ratification of the treaties, the laying pledges, and all other things convenient, or that the said cardinal shall convey away the young queen's person, we will prepare a greater furniture to repress their malice, not doubting but the governor will (in case of that necessity) deliver unto us the holds which he hath promised to deliver; assuring the said governor, that in case they take away the person of the young queen, and dispose her marriage otherwise than by his own consent, we will, by force of our title and superiority, make him king of the rest of Scotland beyond the Firth, aiding him with our power by sea and by land to recover the same, so as he go through with the overture of marriage betwixt his son and our daughter the lady Elizabeth, which is of such sort, and shall be such honour and establishment to his son after him, as he could not recover the like party in Christendom. And being now in such terms with the governor and the rest of our friends there, that we must account our affairs all one, we can do no less but to remember unto him how they have been heretofore abused by the cardinal and his partakers, and what inconveniences have ensued of the same, to the intent they may hereafter beware of the craft and falsehood of him and his angels, and utterly stop their ears to anything that can be said on his behalf. Wherefore you shall desire and pray both the governor and the rest of the said lords our friends, and specially the earl of Glencairn and the lord Maxwell, to weigh their affairs more deeply, and to consider how they have been now twice deluded by the crafty means of the said cardinal; once at his deliverance, and now again at the deliverance of the young queen, requiring them, at the contemplation of our advice and counsel, and also in respect of their own honour and estimation, which shall be much defaced in the world if he should eftsoons deceive them the third time, to beware of him, and utterly to close their ears, as is aforesaid, against him and his complices. Which advice and counsel, if they follow not, but percase shall tolerate many things in hope of better, whereby he shall get the upper hand and victory of them, what scruple soever they have of an honest zeal, which would be loath to have any slaughter in their native country; they may be assured, in that case, that he will spare none of them, but dispatch them, either together or one after another, as he shall have his most opportunity. And therefore, seeing the said cardinal is now at Stirling, and travelleth secretly to assemble again his army, to the intent he may both depose the governor, and of all the rest dispose at his pleasure; considering his force being so lately disparkled (*dispersed*), will not soon or easily be brought again together, our advice and counsel is, that the governor shall secretly and suddenly, in anywise, send a good band of his men to Stirling, and either there to take him and bring him to the castle of Edinburgh, or at the least to drive him over the water, and then to set such an assured order for the safe keeping of the bridge, as neither the queen shall be conveyed away, though the barons having the keeping of her would consent thereto at the said cardinal's request and desire, nor that the cardinal, or any of his complices, be permitted to pass the bridge, or that any of them on this side do resort to him, but at the governor's will and pleasure."

Thus matters went on during the month of August, each party standing on their guard and holding themselves ready for the event, but both hesitating: the cardinal, because he waited for troops from France, and Arran from his own unsteady disposition. The delay was an advantage to the cardinal, who was superior in craft to his adversary, and, perceiving probably that he was wavering, he began to treat in a more conciliating tone, and to talk of friendly arrangement. In an interview with Sadler on the 25th of August, Arran declared that he thought the cardinal would declare and prove himself "the most honest man of all the rest;" and he said, "he would go over the water, as indeed he is gone to St. Johnstoun and Dundee, to see and visit the country, where he hath not been since he was governor, and so to make an errand to his own house at St. Andrews, where the cardinal, he said, will come and speak with him; so that he hopeth to compone (*settle*) all matters and controversies here, in such sort as good peace, quietness, and agreement, shall ensue amongst them."

Arran's visit to St. Andrew's had a different result from that anticipated by Sadler. While he remained there, the cardinal shut himself up in his castle and refused to hold

any communication with him; upon which the governor, irritated at this affront, proclaimed him a traitor, and announced his intention of employing force against him. He then returned to Edinburgh, and, in an interview with the English ambassador immediately after, he told him that if the King should send in an army "to make a conquest," he and his friends would join him, "and so serve your majesty without giving trust to any further aid of Scottishmen." On the same day on which Sadler reported this conversation, a convention of the nobles was held in the abbey church of Holyrood, and the treaties with England were solemnly ratified, Arran himself swearing at the altar to observe them.

But the governor must at this moment have been listening to the persuasions of the cardinal, who was labouring to detach him from the English party by offering to procure a marriage between his son and the young queen. He seems to have employed the abbot of Paisley as his negotiator, who is said to have alarmed Arran by declaring that as the validity of his father's divorce depended entirely upon the power of the papal see, the overthrow of the authority of Rome would destroy his title to the government and to his vast estates. We can only attribute what followed to one of those sudden resolutions to which the governor's weak mind appears to have been subject. On the 25th of August, as we have just seen, he professed his humble devotion to the king of England. On the 3rd of September, he met the cardinal at Lord Livingston's house at Callander, near Falkirk, when a complete reconciliation took place. They rode back together to Stirling, and there Arran, who had but lately been talking so bitterly against priests and monks, publicly abjured protestantism in the church of the Franciscan convent, received absolution for his leaning towards heresy, renounced the treaties with England, and delivered his eldest son to the cardinal as a pledge for his sincerity. The immediate consequence of this agreement was the coronation of the infant queen, with the usual ceremonies, on Sunday the ninth of September.

The cardinal and the governor now attempted to gain over the earl of Angus and his confederates, but without success; for they retired to their castles, and began to assemble their forces. Angus, with the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlanrig, met at Douglas castle, and there subscribed a bond, by which they engaged to stand by one another, and to support the interests of king Henry. This bond was entrusted to lord Somerville, to be carried to England as a proof of their sincerity.

By this unexpected revolution, the question of the treaties was involved in new difficulties; as the party with whom the governor was now acting, had not given their sanction to them, and were known to be opposed to them. Moreover, the English monarch had given a very unwise and unnecessary provocation to the Scots, which might at any time be made an excuse for breaking the engagements. A fleet of Scottish merchantmen had sailed for France, laden, it is said, with fish, but they were driven by tempestuous weather into an English port. Henry was at this time contemplating a new war with France, and, under pretence that the Scottish ships were carrying provision to his enemies, he ordered them to be detained. The citizens of Edinburgh, who were especially affected by this act, were thrown into a state of such great excitement against the English, that the ambassador himself was in danger, and the same feeling soon spread through the kingdom. Nevertheless, the governor had not resented this act very strongly. On the 25th of August, the day on which the treaties were ratified, Sadler had a conversation with Arran on the subject, which he details as follows in his despatch of that day to his sovereign:—"Finally," he says, "I told him also of the stay of the Scottish ships going into France with victuals; and also declared unto him the effect of your majesty's pleasure in that part, both touching that the treaties will not bear it, and also touching the governor's safe-conduct to be given to his friends that pass out of this realm, in such sort as is contained in your highness's said letters; which the governor saith he will observe accordingly. But in case the cardinal and he, with the rest, do fall to agreement, whereof there is good likelihood, then his desire is that all ships of this realm may pass without stay, though they have not his safe-conduct; for if the ships should be stayed by your majesty, now that the peace is concluded and ratified, he saith it should be a mean to cause the whole realm to exclaim upon him, which he would gladly avoid, for they love him ill enough

already for your majesty's sake, and then would love him much worse, and also judge evil of the peace, and take it to be but a feigned matter betwixt your majesty and him, to cause them to put their ships and goods in adventure; the stay only whereof should be a great hindrance to the merchants. And as to the victuals which they carry hence into France, he saith it can be no great matter, for there is no abundance here of victuals to be spared. Peradventure, he saith, they may carry fish thither, and yet no great store, which they have used commonly to carry into France for other merchandizes, and hard it will be for him to cause them leave that trade with the same. Wherefore, considering it can be no great matter, he beseecheth your majesty to bear with it, and he will do the best he can to cause them use their traffic into England, or at least to convey no kind of victual into France."

The cardinal had now virtually the government of Scotland in his own hands, for Arran was completely ruled by his councils, and he assumed a different tone towards the English ambassador. The latter obtained an audience at court soon after the middle of September, when the cardinal complained to him of the outrages of the English borderers, and spoke of the late treaties as having been negotiated and concluded privately with some of the nobles of Scotland. "After this," says Sadler, "the governor arose, and took me apart, and told me that those men were very stiff against the treaties, but, for his part, he remained still the man that he was, and, as much as lay in him, he would do for the performance of the said treaties; praying me to write, and to beseech your majesty not to conceive any evil opinion of him, for he would do all that he could, to the uttermost of his power, to please your majesty. I told him I was sure your majesty had once a very good opinion of him; but I was uncertain what your highness had now conceived of him, upon his sudden revolt and departure from such noblemen as had all this while adhered unto him, with whom, if he had tarried, he might have wrought and enforced those men at his own will and pleasure. And, touching the treaties, he could not with his honour digress from them, considering how largely he had said and promised to your highness in that behalf. He assured me that it lay not in him to perform the same; but when the other lords should come in, he would plainly declare his affection and good will in that part, which was and should be of such sort as he had promised. And here came the earl of Murray and interrupted our communication, so that, as it seemed, they were loath that I should have over long talk with him, as indeed they do (now since they have him) use him like a man of his wit, and yet, as I perceive, be afraid that he should revolt from them. Thus I was forced to leave communication with him, and departed. Furthermore, like as I wrote in my letters to the lords of your majesty's council, that the lord Fleming and the abbot of Paisley were sent to the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, to persuade them to a convention and meeting at this town; so the said earls and the lord Somerville have sent me word by James Douglas of Parkedge, not only that they have answered the said lord Fleming and abbot, that before they can grant to any such convention, it behoveth them to advise with other noblemen, their friends which dwell on the other side of the Firth, in the north, and that done, will make a resolute answer; but also, that to-morrow the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the lords Maxwell and Somerville, do intend to meet all together at Douglas, my lord Angus's castle, where they will first make answer to your majesty's letters written to them; and also are determined, as they have sent me word, to answer resolutely to those lords which be here, that they will come to no convention, nor commune with them, unless they will concur all altogether, in and for the performance of the treaties, as your majesty shall perceive by a letter here enclosed, which the said lord Somerville wrote unto me, whereby your highness shall also perceive his suit for his son, who maketh special labour to come home for a time upon other pledges. The lord Maxwell, nevertheless, laboureth to have my lord Angus and the other lords to come to this convention, upon a certain hope and trust that he hath conceived, that if they once meet all together, they shall agree to the performance of the treaties, whereof I can perceive no likelihood, and therefore I know not what he meaneth by his solicitation in that behalf. And this day he came to this town, and spoke with the lords which be here, and departed hastily again, without speaking with me, but sent

me word, that if I did well, I should not be against the coming hither of the said earl of Angus and the other lords, his partakers; for he trusted verily, that the same should be a mean to and for the perfection of the treaties, which, though they should not be performed, yet the convention of all the lords together could do no hurt, for by the same it should appear who were with or who against the treaties; and such as were against the same, the rest might declare themselves their enemies. And there was no doubt but that my lord of Angus and his friends might be here in as good surety and strength as in his own castle of Douglas. Thus the said lord Maxwell sent me word; so that whether this assembly and convention, which he laboureth after this sort, shall take effect or not, I cannot write the certainty; but, as far as I can perceive, there is none of my lord of Angus's party willing to it, but only the lord Maxwell."

On the 24th of September Sadler was again called before the court, and strong expostulations were then made on the arrest of the Scottish ships and the turbulence of the English borderers. The animosity of the populace, on account of the seizure of the ships, was much aggravated since the government was guided by the cardinal, and Sadler's person was exposed to insult, if not to danger. Henry wrote a violent letter to the magistrates, threatening them with his vengeance if they offered any injury to his ambassador, and Sadler states that it had its effect in protecting him, although the injudicious tone in which it was written gave general offence. But the lords of the English party now declared their conviction that the governor and cardinal would listen to no other argument than force, and Henry was already preparing his army for this purpose, intending to invade Scotland before the winter. The ambassador, instead of being recalled, was directed to remove to Angus's castle of Tantallon, if hostilities should be unavoidable. Sadler, however, appears now to have been closely watched; for, on the 27th of September, he wrote to the lords of the privy council in England:—"It may like your good lordships to understand I received your letters of the 22nd of September, by the which I do perceive that the king's majesty, minding suddenly to correct the folly and untruth of those Scottish, would be loath that I should be in any danger thereby, and therefore, I should convey myself to Tantalion, or some other place of strength belonging to his majesty's friends here, wherein I might be sure from their malice, and advertise his highness from time to time as much knowledge as I can get. Albeit no man alive shall with better will adventure himself than I shall, without respect of life, serve his majesty; yet I beseech your lordships to consider my estate here, and what service I shall be able to do in time of open war and hostility, after the sort that I am here; assuring your lordships I know not how it is possible for me to convey myself and my folks out of this town, either to Tantallon or any other place of strength, for I am secretly informed that the inhabitants of this town will not suffer me to depart till they have their ships; and nightly there is a watch about mine house here, which I am made believe is for my surety; but it is told me secretly, that it is purposely appointed to watch me, that I should not steal away in the night. And yet, if I might steal away, being here reputed the king's ambassador, whether it should be his highness's honour or not, your lordships can much better weigh and consider than I. Surely, my lords, I have been as ill-treated here as ever was man, and in no little danger of my life, although in time of peace; and, therefore, ye may fairly conjecture, if I abide, how I shall be handled in time of war. Not doubting but if it please the king's majesty to revoke me, in case the wars succeed, the nobility here, for their own honours, will see me safely convoyed out of the realm, as in such cases ambassadors have been used."

Before the war commenced, Sadler was to consult with the lords of Angus's party on the possibility of obtaining possession of the young queen, and of the fortresses; but this was now a matter of great difficulty:—"I have communed with sir George Douglas, Sadler writes, who first, touching the safe-custody of the young queen of Scotland, hath answered me, that she is kept in the castle of Stirling by such noblemen as were appointed thereunto by the parliament, and such as having the castle well furnished with ordnance and artillery, will defend the same, and keep her so, as he thinketh. The king's majesty's friends here are not able to get the said young queen out of the castle, for they have no great pieces of ordnance wherewith to besiege the same. And

besides that, he saith that if the barons, which have the custody of her, do perceive themselves unable to keep and defend her in the said castle; and if they shall perceive that any man should go about to have her out of their hands (which could not be so secretly wrought but they must needs have knowledge of it, they being charged with her custody upon their lives and lands), might easily convey her person out of the castle into the highland, which is not far from Stirling, where it is not possible to come by her; and therefore he thinketh it vain to go about by force to remove her out of the custody she is in. And yet, he told me that there was a communication amongst such as were the king's majesty's friends here about such purpose; which was, that if the king's majesty would advance such a convenient sum of money unto them, wherewith they might wage certain soldiers, they would besiege the cardinal in his castle of St. Andrews, and also the castle of Stirling, to see if they could get the cardinal into their hands, and also the possession and custody of the young queen, which purpose, he said, they had not resolved; but now, at this assembly, when all the lords of their party are come hither, which be not yet arrived, he thought they would commune further of the same. And as touching the strongholds, he said it would be hard to come by them; for such as were in the hands of the adverse party, as Stirling, Edinburgh, and Dunbar, were very strong, but what might be done with money and reward, he could not tell; for the captain of the castle of Edinburgh is one of the Hamiltons, which he said be all false and inconstant of nature; and therefore he doubteth not what might be wrought and practised with him for money, which he hath promised to essay and prove as soon as he may conveniently."

It was at this moment that the other party was weakened by the defection of one of its supporters. The earl of Lennox had been flattered and caressed as long as he served as an instrument against the governor, but the cardinal was no sooner sure of Arran, than, probably to conciliate him the more, but with an unusual want of foresight, he began to treat Lennox with neglect. This so provoked the latter, that he suddenly deserted the cardinal's party, and threw himself into the arms of his opponents. An unexpected misfortune to the cardinal was the result of this desertion. Lennox had been entrusted with the entire management of the negotiations with France, and just at this time a small French fleet, having on board a French ambassador, the sieur de la Brosse, and the papal legate, with military stores, fifty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand crowns in money, arrived at Dumbarton, on the 6th of October, addressed to Lennox, who had possession of that castle and town. Lennox was absent, consulting with the lords of the English party, but news of the appearance of the French fleet was brought to him in the greatest haste, and hurrying back with the earl of Glencairn to Dumbarton, he met the French ambassador, who was totally unacquainted with the events which had recently taken place in Scotland, gained possession of the money and stores, which he caused to be securely deposited in Dumbarton castle, and then left the strangers to discover their mistake. Henry was still anxious that the lords of his party should attempt to gain possession of the queen's person and of the strongholds, and further directions were given to Sadler on that subject, to which he replied, in a despatch addressed to the lords of the privy council:—"And now to the points of your lordships' said letters, to be conferred eftsoons with the said lords. First, touching the obtaining of the young queen into their hands, they have told me plainly, at my last conference with them, before the receipt of your said letter, that it is not possible for them to get her perforce out of the castle of Stirling. And to say my poor opinion, whereas it is expressed in your lordship's said letters, that they might by policy accomplish the same, as by way of licence to visit her in the said castle, in such sort as your said letters do purport, I cannot see how they can prevail that way; for her guardians, being all undoubtedly of the adverse party, which do also suspect and fear that the earl of Angus and other his majesty's friends, intend to convey her from them into England, will not suffer any of that party to have entry into the castle, but in such sort as they may themselves be masters; nor they use not to suffer any of the nobles of the realm to enter, but with one or two servants with him at the most, saving only the dowager, who, by the parliament, is admitted to be continually resident about her said daughter, with a certain number at her pleasure; so as I cannot perceive how they may win her into their hands by any such policy. Secondly,

touching the strongholds, they said plainly that they know not how to come by them; for if they might, they say they were madmen if they would not take them into their hands, which is one of the things they most principally desire; and, so long as they were here in this town, the captain of the castle here kept himself continually within it, and was determined, if they had made any proclamations, or put anything in execution to the derogation of the governor's authority (which was suspected), to have beaten them all out of the town with shot of ordnance from the castle; for the which purpose he had mounted and charged all the pieces within the same, as the lords themselves told me. The castle of Dunbar is holden by a stout man, who beareth none affection to England, and, I think, surely he will not deliver it out of his hands, neither to the governor himself, nor to no man else, and the said lords told me plainly, they were out of all hope to come by it. For Dumbarton, to say mine opinion, the earl of Lenox had as leif part with his right hand as with it; and I think if the same should be moved now unto him, it were the next way to make him revolt to the adverse party, with the French money and munition, which he hath now gotten into his possession at Dumbarton, within the said castle; and therefore it were not amiss, in my poor mind, not to be over hasty with him in that matter for a while, till the king's majesty see whether the said earl of Lennox will himself repair to his highness, or what they will further do towards his majesty according to their last writings. Thirdly, touching the sending of any of the king's majesty's ships for apprehension of the French ships at Dumbarton, now that the money and munition is landed, with also the legate and French ambassador, and the ships brought into the haven, whereby that purpose is disappointed, I need not therefore to have any treaty with the earl of Cassillis in that behalf. And, finally, touching the legate, I see not that they intend to detain him or the French ambassador, or any of their train as prisoners, but rather to use them as ambassadors, with as much demeanour and good entertainment as they can. And now that they have the said money and munition in their hands, laid up into the castle of Dumbarton, they will convey the said ambassador to Glasgow, where they may use him with better entertainment than at Dumbarton. And I am informed, the dowager, governor, and cardinal, have sent straight commandment to the earl of Lennox, to convey the said legate and ambassador to Stirling, with also the money and munition; but he hath yet refused to accomplish the same; howbeit, it may be he will send the legate and ambassador to Stirling; but for the money and munition, it will be hard to get the same out of his hands, which I think surely he will not so soon part withall."

CHAPTER XIII.

SADLER AT TANTALLON; MEETING OF PARLIAMENT; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION RECOMMENCED; PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

The arrival of the French ambassador and the papal legate, inspired new courage into the cardinal's party, as it gave them an assurance that they would be well supported by France. The ambassador himself laboured zealously to cement their alliance, and he was liberal in his promises of pensions. "The French ambassador," says Sadler, in a letter of the 30th of October, "who remaineth still with the queen at Stirling, practiseth and laboureth by all the means he can, to interrupt the marriage between the young queen of Scotland and my lord prince's grace, and to win all noblemen here to the devotion of France, and to make division and extreme wars between these two realms; for the maintenance whereof is promised by the said ambassador, on the French king's behalf, whatsoever aid they will require against the next year, besides great rewards and yearly pensions, as is aforesaid; which things the said dowager and cardinal

advance and set forth by all the means they can; and also they labour to set an unity and agreement between the governor and the earl of Lennox, the rather to join them together on the French party. Assuring your lordships that, as far as I can see, the whole body of the realm is inclined to France, for they do consider and say, that France requireth nothing of them but friendship, and would they should continue and maintain the honour and liberty of their realm, which of themselves they naturally do covet and desire. France, they say, hath always aided them with money and munition, as now they have promised more largely by that which they have brought. Whereas, on the other side, England, they say, seeketh nothing else but to bring them to subjection, and to have superiority and dominion over them; which universally they do so detest and abhor, as in my poor opinion, they will never be brought into it but by force. And though such noblemen as pretend to be the king's majesty's friends here, could be contented, as they say, that his majesty had the superiority of this realm, yet, I assure your lordships, to say as I think, there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that is of the same mind, or that would take their parts in that behalf. Marry, I think when they shall perceive themselves unable to resist the king's majesty's power, very fear (which I call force) shall enforce them to yield to that thing which they will never do, if they shall find themselves able to make their part good."

Much labour was now taken to gain over the earl of Angus and his friends to the French party, but they proudly refused, and retired to their castles to prepare for defence. An attempt on the part of Sadler to gain over the citizens of Edinburgh to forward the designs of his monarch, on promise of setting their ships at liberty, was equally ineffective; the honest citizens declared that they would rather lose all their ships than give up the national independence. The hostility of the two rival factions was thus becoming every day more inveterate, until an accident that occurred at the end of October drove them to open war. The lords of the English party had dispatched the lords Somerville and Maxwell on a secret mission to Henry VIII.; but, before they left Scotland, putting themselves incautiously in the power of their opponents, they were both seized, and on the person of lord Somerville was found the bond signed by the lords of his party at Douglas castle, with other papers which showed their intention to support the English king in his designs against the independence of their country. Lord Somerville had letters of credence, and he was pressed, but in vain, to confess the particulars of his commission. Both these lords were thrown into prison, Maxwell in Edinburgh castle, and Somerville in Blackness; and sufficient evidence being thus obtained on which to build a charge of high treason against Angus and his confederates, it was determined to assemble a parliament early in December, and proceed to their impeachment. The lords thus accused, instead of obeying the summons to attend, hurried to their castles and began to raise their followers. The governor collected a force to suppress them, and marching to Dalkeith, obtained possession of the castle by stratagem; but a son of sir George Douglas, who, by the right of his wife, daughter of the earl of Morton, was master or heir of Morton, threw himself into the dongeon or keep, and held out till he obtained terms for himself and the garrison. Sadler, alarmed at the increasing agitation of the people, retired from Edinburgh on the fifth of November, and took up his residence in Angus's strong castle of Tantallon. From thence he wrote on the 10th of November to the duke of Suffolk and the bishop of Durham, to whom the rule of the north of England had been entrusted:—"It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday, in the morning, came hither to Tantallon the master of Morton, sir George Douglas's son, who told me that he had rendered the castle of Dalkeith to the governor by appointment, conditionally that he and all his friends within the house might remove and depart, with all their goods and baggage safely untouched; which, he saith, he was of force constrained to do, because he was utterly unfurnished both of victuals and artillery wherewith to defend the castle. And after he had rendered it, he saith he had communication with the governor, who wished that the earl of Angus and his brother would be true Scottish-men, and leave their affection to England, in which case he would do for them, and esteem them above all the rest of the noblemen in Scotland. And the said master of Morton answering, that he knew well they had never failed in their duty of allegiance to their sovereign lady; and so long as they did nothing prejudicial to the realm, nor against the weal of the same, he thought they could not be

enemies to England, having received such benefit as they had done at the king's majesty's hands. The governor replied that he would all the world were enemies to England, for he knew well he was the man the king's majesty loved worst of all men alive. Whereunto the master of Morton said he answered, that if so it was, he was himself the cause thereof; for of late he knew that the king's majesty loved and esteemed him as well as he did any nobleman in Scotland, and if he had observed his faith and promise to the king's majesty, he might have been sure to have had both his favour and also great honour by the same. The governor replied again, and said the king's majesty had broken with them first, in taking of their merchant ships and goods in the time of peace, and therefore he might justly break with him again. Then he told the said master of Morton, how the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, sir George Douglas, and the sheriff of Ayr, had dispatched the lord Somerville with letters and writings to the king's majesty, which letters, he said, were intercepted with the said lord Somerville, being about him when he was taken, and do contain no less than high treason; for that by the same it may appear that the said earls and lords intended to practise with the king's majesty, to the great mischief and confusion of this realm. And besides that, he said there was certain credence in the said letters committed to the lord Somerville, which he would gladly know; but he could in no wise cause the said Somerville confess the same. This communication, in effect, the said master of Morton told me that he had with the governor, who, he saith, is, by the persuasions of the cardinal, earnestly bent against England, and will, if he can, destroy and put down all such noblemen and others within the realm as do favour the same. Also I am informed that they have taken sir George Douglas's house of Pinkie, and the abbot of Dunfermling hath the possession of the same."

War with England seemed now inevitable, and on the 10th of November, the governor, who from his own private negotiations with him was perfectly well aware of Sadler's activity in keeping the lords of the English party together, wrote to the English ambassador in Tantallon castle, that understanding "he daily received and directed writings privately to and from sundry great and small men within this realm, and sent thereupon advertisement to the king's majesty, being both very suspicious and hurtful to the common weal of Scotland," his desire was, if his commission continued, he should address himself unto him and declare his charge, and receive his answer thereupon; and if the same was expired, he was constrained by Sadler's "strange behaviour and practices," to charge him to depart forth of the realm with diligence. The ambassador wrote an immediate reply, disclaiming the imputation cast upon him by the governor, and stating that his commission endured until it should please the king to revoke it. "And also," he added, "standing such division in this realm, and such changes and alterations as I daily see chancing amongst you, I know not to whom I may repair, either to declare the king's majesty's mind, or to receive mine answer upon the same, till I shall know his majesty's pleasure; which known, I shall not fail to address myself for the execution thereof accordingly." This was followed, on the 17th of November, by a letter from the governor to the earl of Angus, directing him to expel the English ambassador from his castle, which produced only an evasive reply, the tenor of which may be understood by a new summons dated on the 26th of November, in which the governor addressed the earl in the following words:—"We have received your writing from Rothesay herald, bearing in effect that ye believed not we would have been miscontent that sir Ralph Sadler had been entreated (*entertained*) in your place of Tantallon; and now, seeing us altered towards him, ye desire a charge subscribed by all the lords to send him forth of your house. And truly, if he had used himself like an ambassador this time bygone, we would not have been miscontent of his treatment; but knowing nothing done by him according to such an office, seeing daily his great practices made to seduce and corrupt true faithful subjects of this realm to the opinion of England in this time of war, no way resorting towards us, in whose hands stands the authority of this realm, we thought necessary to charge him to depart, and you to devoid your house of him. And, where ye desire the whole lords to send you a charge thereto; we find it strange that ye should think our authority insufficient to discharge an Englishman of this country in time

of war. Wherefore we have sent the said Rothesay again unto you to charge you, in the name of the queen's grace and of us (conform to your desire) that ye cause him to pass homeward to his own country; desiring you to obey the same, as ye love to declare yourself wilful to do your duty to the queen's grace and this realm." At length, early in December, Sadler was recalled, and he returned to Berwick; and soon after his departure, Ray the English herald, arrived in Scotland, bearing a summons from the English monarch to the Scots, calling upon them at once to fulfil the late treaties, or take the alternative of war between the two countries. "If," said the king's message, "ye do like noblemen, and observe your covenants as the three estates have agreed unto, laying in such hostages as ye have promised by the same, ye shall be mercifully received and benignly handled. If ye do follow and persevere in your conjuration already commenced to the contrary, the quarrel of truth and honour shall be with force and puissance so maintained against you, as with God's help shall be shortly to your confusion. If, in the prosecution of such as be the authors and causers of the mischief, the innocent shall suffer, the king's majesty will be sorry. If such as mislike the conspiracy shall use any ways or means to declare their own dissevering from the rest, the king's majesty shall be glad to know them, and spare them, and help their deliverance from this inconvenient." "To this message," concluded the herald, "I ask answer within four days; after which time, if ye say nothing, your silence must be construed for the worst answer ye could devise."

The governor was perhaps taken by surprise with this message; he was not yet prepared for war, and, anxious no doubt to gain time by negotiation, he immediately despatched a Scottish herald with letters and a message to the English king. But the herald was stopped by the duke of Suffolk and sir Ralph Sadler on the border, and he was not allowed to proceed in his mission, as Henry declared he would receive no message unless it came from the three estates assembled in parliament. With the Scottish herald was a servant of the cardinal patriarch Grimani, who was recommended by the governor to obtain a safe-conduct for the patriarch to pass through England on his way to Rome. The letter of the English privy council to Suffolk and Sadler, directing them to send back the herald, ends somewhat characteristically; after telling them they were to return the herald home again, it is added, "and the patriarch's man with him; to whom his majesty would your lordship should say, that it is not unknown to the said patriarch, in what terms the bishop of Rome, his master, and the king's majesty do stand; and therefore his majesty marvelleth he would send any servant of his into his realm without safe-conduct, or make any request himself to pass through the same. And much the rather, seeing that whensoever it fortuneth any servant or subject of his majesty's to come where the said bishop of Rome hath to do, he causeth the same to be used most cruelly, without respect of honour or charity. Nevertheless his majesty is contented, for this time, that he, the said patriarch's servant, shall return to his master without any hurt to be done to him by his majesty's commandment; wishing that his said master, and also his master's master, had more charity than they do use, and would rather endeavour themselves to set peace and quietness where dissension is, than travail to increase variance, and be occasion of the shedding of christian blood; and so to send the said herald and patriarch's man home together."

Meanwhile the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 3rd of December, and, acting under the guidance of the cardinal, resolved that the treaties with England should not be ratified. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the earl of Angus and the other lords who had signed the bond at Douglas castle. The offer of the French king to renew the ancient league was eagerly accepted, and ambassadors were sent to the kings of France and Denmark, to the emperor, and to the duke of Bavaria, to strengthen the continental alliances of Scotland. Some changes were at the same time made in the ministry. Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a stanch supporter of the English party, was deprived of the office of treasurer, which was given to Arran's brother, the abbot of Paisley, who had been an active agent of the party now in power, and through whose vigilance the lords Somerville and Maxwell had been captured. The high office of chancellor was taken from the bishop of Glasgow and given to the cardinal.

The influence of the cardinal in this

parliament was also shown by the passing of an act against heretics, which was the more offensive to people in general, on account of the acts of Arran's government passed in a previous parliament for encouraging the reading of the scriptures, and the progress which the doctrines of the reformation had since made in Scotland. It was now declared by parliament that complaints were daily made to the governor against the heretics who were everywhere busy spreading opinions contrary to the true faith; and all prelates were enjoined to make inquisition within their dioceses and proceed against all who held such opinions, according to the ecclesiastical laws. The political embarrassments of the moment hindered the projects of persecution implied in this act from being immediately put into execution; but some open acts of the cardinal showed but too evidently the spirit by which he was guided. In a visit to Perth, where the reformed opinions had been openly professed, Beaton caused four men of that town, named Lamb, Anderson, Ranald, and Hunter, to be seized, and they were convicted of heresy on the evidence of a friar named Spence. Lamb was accused of interrupting the friar during a sermon, and of denying that prayers to the saints was a necessary means of salvation; while the three others were charged with treating an image of St. Francis with ridicule, and of eating meat during Lent. The men were hanged; and the wife of one of them, who was accused of refusing, during her recent labour, to pray to the virgin Mary, was drowned with circumstances of great cruelty. The fate of this poor woman especially excited general sympathy.

The increased power given to the cardinal by the proceedings of this parliament, and the accusations hanging over their own heads, alarmed the earl of Angus and his confederates, and they sought to avert the danger by entering into a bond with the earl of Arran, which was to supersede their treasonable bond with the English monarch. They appear to have raised an army and advanced to Leith, where they were confronted by a large force brought hastily together by the cardinal, and it was no doubt the wish to prevent a civil war which induced the governor to take the lords into favour on condition of this bond. It was agreed to at the rood-chapel of Greensyde beside Edinburgh, on the 13th of January, 1544, and was signed on the part of the lords by the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and sir James Sandilands of Calder, on the part of themselves and of the earls of Angus and Lennox, who were not present. The object of this bond was stated to be "for stanching of apparent danger of battle instantly, and for perfect obedience through all the realm, to induce rest and quietness among all our sovereign lady's lieges, and forthsetting of her authority, and to take away all occasion of division, sedition, insurrection, and rebellion in the realm in time to come, and to have a perfect unity for the faithful, true, and manly resistance of our old enemies of England." The earls and their confederates undertook in this bond, that they should "in all time coming remain true, faithful, and obedient subjects to our sovereign lady and her authority foresaid; and shall assist and concur with my lord governor and the authority for the defence of the realm against our old enemies of England, and in actions concerning the common weal, and for liberty of holy church, and defence of the Christian faith." On the other side it was stipulated that my lord governor and all the lords and noblemen aforesaid shall accept and receive the said earls, their complices and part-takers, in hearty love, favour, and kindness, according to their degree and estates. And my lord governor shall, in the queen's grace's name, with his advice and consent, discharge the pretended summons of treason and else, execute against George Douglas, brother to the said earl of Angus, and the other decernit (*decreed*) and unexecute against any part of the said earls and their friends, in the best manner for their weal, security, and honour, as they can best devise; and similarly shall remit and discharge all faults and crimes committed by them, or any one one of them, their complices and part-takers, any time afore the day of the date hereof, as they shall best devise how soon and what time they shall require the same." Pledges were to be given by Angus and the other lords as security for their performance of the terms of this bond.

The sincerity of this agreement may be judged from the circumstance that so early after it as the fifth of March following, the earl of Angus wrote a letter to the king of England, in which he made use of the following words:—"Pleased your majesty, that I would be very glad to know that

your highness were fully persuaded of my faithful mind, the which shall endure the time that I have to live, with the uttermost of my power, ever to be ready to your majesty's contentation, notwithstanding the contrary hath been vehemently shown to your highness; trusting you be persuaded with the truth, as concerning my part herein ere now; not doubting your majesty's good mind and benevolence towards me in all sorts, even as your highness always has done. And give credence to this bearer, your majesty's chaplain, as to myself, the which will declare my whole mind to your majesty at more length." We learn from a letter of the earl of Hertford to the king, what was the nature of the communication which the chaplain was instructed to deliver to the king on the part of the earl of Angus. "The chief cause of his repair now to your majesty is, as he saith, to accelerate your royal army and power into Scotland, which he saith all your majesty's friends there so specially desire, and they would and have devised, as he saith, that your highness should send in a main army by land to enter by Berwick, and a convenient army by sea to repair to Leith, there to join with the army that shall enter by land, and to bring victuals for the same. And also they would that your majesty should send the number of ten or twelve ships, well equipped and furnished, by the west seas, to do some annoyance to the earl of Argyle, leaving also a garrison of two or three thousand on the borders to annoy the lairds of St. Johnstoun and Buccleuch, and such others as be not your majesty's friends there. This he saith is the advice and opinion of the noblemen your majesty's friends in Scotland, which, as he saith, will join with your majesty's power, and make all the force they can to serve according to their promise. And, if your majesty send not your power shortly, before the aid looked for do come out of France, they think it will much hinder your highness's purposes, and put them, being your majesty's friends, to great lack and danger of destruction."

A continued correspondence was now carried on between the lords of Angus's party and England, the object of which was to hasten and facilitate the English invasion. In the course of this correspondence, a proposal was made, in the middle of April, for an attempt against the person of the cardinal. The laird of Brunstoun, a stanch protestant, sent a messenger named Wishart to England, to say that Kirkaldy of Grange, with the master of Rothes (Norman Leslie), and John Charteris, were willing to undertake to apprehend or slay Beaton as he passed to or from St. Andrews through the Fyfe land, and, in case they took him alive, to deliver him into the king's hands. They desired to know the king's pleasure in this matter, and what support and maintenance he would afford them after the execution of the deed, in case they should be prosecuted by their enemies. They also wished the king to advance them sufficient money to keep a thousand or fifteen hundred men in wages for a month or two, in order that, while the king's army invaded Scotland, they might destroy the cardinal's towns and houses, "and all the other bishops' and abbots' houses on that side the water thereabouts, and to apprehend all those which they say be the principal impugnators of the amity between England and Scotland; for the which they should have a good opportunity, as they say, when the power of the said bishops and abbots shall resort towards Edinburgh to resist your majesty's army."

Before the English army marched, an agreement between the earl of Angus and his friends, and the king of England, was drawn up, by which the former were, to the utmost of their power, first, "to cause the word of God to be truly taught and preached among them and in their countries, as the sure and only foundation from whence proceedeth all truth and honour, and whereby they shall judge who proceedeth with them godly and justly, and who abuseth them for their own private glory and purpose." In the second place, they were to remain for ever perfect friends and servants to the king and his realm of England, and never to make any agreement, private or public, contrary or prejudicial to them, but to renounce the league with France, and any leagues they might have made with others against the English king, and they promised to serve the English king in his wars for the same wages as his English subjects. Thirdly, the said earls were diligently to foresee and take heed that the young queen of Scots should not be conveyed or stolen away, and do what they could to the uttermost of their power to get her person into their keeping, and thereupon to deliver her into the king's hands, to be educated in

his court with a view to her marriage with the prince. The fourth article was, that the earls were to assist the king in obtaining possession of Jedworth, Kelso, Roxburgh, Hume castle, the Hermitage, and other strongholds. The fifth and last article was, to use the words of the original document, that "the said earls shall, with all their force and power, join and concur with us, and do the uttermost they can to help us to be director and protector of that realm, and so shall use us, accept us, and name us director and protector of the said realm, and in all things obey us accordingly."

In consideration of these services, the king, having already dispatched his armies by sea and land into Scotland, promised that the lands of the earls of his party should be carefully spared from the devastations of war. "Second," the king proceeds to say, "whereas the earl of Lennox maketh suit unto us for the office of governor underneath us, we are contented that, having attained ourself first the direction and rule of the said realm, we will grant him the said office under us, with certain such others to be of counsel with him in the said government as we shall appoint, so as he do accept us for the director and protector, and do from time to time advertise us of all matters of any weight or importance, and do in no wise call or consent to the calling of any parliament, nor do any act contrary to the common law and order of that realm, nor give or dispose anything that shall be confiscate or otherwise grow to the crown, without our express consent." The earl of Lennox, as governor, was to receive such portion of the revenue of the kingdom as should be judged meet and convenient; and the king reserved the appointment of his council, and he was to have in his own custody such of the strongholds "as shall be to us thought necessary, being the director and protector of the said realm, for the stay of the country and keeping the same in good order." The king promised further to aid and assist the earl of Lennox against his rival the earl of Arran. Further, "to the intent that the said earls of Lennox and Glencairn shall extend all their powers and force for the accomplishment of all such things which we have required them to do, we are contented of our liberality to give forthwith to the said earl of Glencairn one thousand crowns, and so to continue in pension, upon condition nevertheless that both he and the said earl of Lennox do first agree unto our foresaid demands, and lay in the hostages for the performance of the same accordingly. And whereas the earl of Lennox, as well by his secretary as other ways, hath made suit unto us to have in marriage the lady Margaret our niece, if the said suit shall be now eftsoons renewed on the behalf of the said earl, and he for his part do and perform such covenants as are to be done and performed by him, and in his doings and proceedings shall use himself according to our expectation, that then, if they our said niece and he, seeing one the other, shall agree and well like together for that purpose, we shall not only agree to such order touching the said marriage as shall be to the said earl's just contentation, but also have such further consideration of his good service towards us as shall appertain."

A private treaty in conformity with these articles was entered into and signed at Carlisle, on the 17th of May; and towards the end of June Lennox repaired to London, where he received letters of naturalization, dated on the 6th of July, and his marriage with the lady Margaret, daughter of queen Margaret and the earl of Angus, probably took place within a few days after. By him she was the mother of the celebrated lord Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart.

CHAPTER XIV.

INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY THE EARL OF HERTFORD; EDINBURGH AND LEITH BURNT; THE EARL OF ANGUS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL; PROCEEDINGS OF LENNOX; BATTLE OF ANCRAM MOOR.

Although Henry's preparations for invasion were notorious, no plan had been formed for resistance, and when, on the 1st of May, the English fleet, of two hundred sail, appeared in the Forth, the Scots seem to have been entirely taken by surprise. It was not till the English ships approached near to Leith, that the citizens of Edinburgh were really aware of the danger which threatened them, and then there seems to have been nothing but terror and confusion. The earl of Hertford was allowed, without interruption, to disembark his troops and artillery during four days, at a place called Granton Craig; and it was only when the English army was on its march to Leith, that the earl of Arran and the cardinal, with a few troops raised by themselves and the earls of Huntley and Argyle, made a show of disputing their progress; but they were immediately repulsed, and then the governor and his friends made a hasty retreat to Linlithgow. The English entered Leith without further opposition, and it was delivered up to the army to plunder. The inhabitants of Edinburgh took up arms under their provost, Otterburn of Reidhall, and barricadoed their gates; but it was determined to attempt to avert the danger by negotiation, and Otterburn was sent to the English camp, to propose an amicable adjustment of the differences between the two countries. Hertford replied that he came as a soldier, and not as an ambassador, and that his commission was to burn and destroy. He stated, as the only condition on which he could withdraw his army, that they must deliver up their young queen to the English monarch. The citizens, thereupon, prepared for their defence, but at this moment they were deserted by their provost, who had, perhaps, been tampered with by the English commander. Nevertheless, when Hertford approached the city, the inhabitants made so obstinate a defence, that he was obliged to withdraw until he could bring up his heavy artillery from Leith. Time was thus given to the citizens to reflect on the folly of resistance, and, during the night which followed, they quietly carried off the principal part of their moveables, and abandoned the town. When Hertford returned next day, he found Edinburgh deserted, except by the garrison, which, under Hamilton of Stenhouse, occupied the castle, which was defended with so much vigour, that the English, after trying in vain to construct a battery, and losing some of their men, were constrained to raise the siege; and in their disappointment they set fire to the city, which is said to have burned during three days. The English army had been reinforced by a body of nearly four thousand cavalry, under lord Eure, which had marched overland from the border, and it was employed for many days burning and plundering the country for a great distance round, without meeting with any effective resistance. At length, as though weary with destroying, the English commander prepared to return, and, after the town of Leith had been delivered to the flames, one portion of the English army was re-embarked in the fleet under the lord high admiral, lord Lisle, while the other marched southwardly, commanded by Hertford in person. The fleet proceeded slowly along the coast, destroying all the Scottish shipping they met with; while the earl of Hertford, equally remorseless, wasted the country on his way, burning the towns of Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton.

The English in this invasion had not received the assistance they had been led to expect from their friends in Scotland. This was, perhaps, partly owing to the precaution of the earl of Arran, who had placed under arrest the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, with one or two of their confederates. Having hastily raised an army, though too late, the governor, as a matter of policy, set them at liberty, believing that they would co-operate with him for the defence of their country; but the first use sir George Douglas made of his liberty was to repair secretly to Leith, for the purpose of giving advice to the earl of Hertford for the further carrying on of the war. Nevertheless, king Henry was provoked at the little assistance he received from his Scottish friends, and in the return of his army, the lands of the Douglases, through which it passed, were ravaged with unrelenting

severity. The earl of Angus and his brother were indignant at this attack, and they immediately joined the party of the governor and the cardinal.

According to the counsel which had been given to Henry before the expedition against Leith set out, the earls of Lennox and Glencairn were sent to the west of Scotland to raise their strength, and draw the attention of the governor from the more serious attack on the other side. Their presence in Scotland had the effect anticipated, for, Lennox having established himself at Dumbarton and Glencairn at Glasgow, Arran found it immediately necessary to raise troops and proceed against them, and he soon advanced to Glasgow at the head of a body of a thousand men. Glencairn had not yet had time to raise his dependents and followers, and perhaps he found them less willing than he expected, but with five hundred men who were with him in Glasgow, he boldly marched out and encountered his opponents on an extensive plain near the city. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, but it ended in the defeat of Glencairn, who lost one of his sons and many of his men. The governor immediately marched into Glasgow, and the city, because the citizens were said to have taken part with Glencairn, was given up to the troops, who plundered it so remorselessly, that they even carried away the doors and window-shutters from the houses. The earl of Glencairn fled to Dumbarton, where he was received by the earl of Lennox, who immediately entrusted that strong fortress to his charge, while he himself proceeded to England to solemnize his marriage with the princess Margaret.

Although Arran was thus successful in the west, the sufferings which the country had undergone, and the little which had been done to prevent it, seemed to have weakened his influence and that of the cardinal. It was at this moment that a coalition was entered into between the queen-dowager and the earl of Angus, which appears to have had the support of the greater part of the nobility. A convention of the nobility was appointed at Linlithgow on the 28th of May, for the purpose of considering the state of the kingdom, and to cause justice to be done to the queen's lieges, "which has not been done but little in times bygone;" and to provide for resisting "the old enemies of England," who were threatening another invasion. The convention was adjourned to Stirling, where the lords assembled in great force on the 3rd of June, and, after long consultation, certain matters were referred to the consideration of "a sage number of lords," "who should pass by themselves, and find the causes why inobedience hath been in times bygone, and justice not done nor executed, and all other things where-through the common weal is hurt, and to find remedies thereunto; and as they find, so to article in special with their aid and counsel." After three or four days' continual deliberation and debate, the committee of lords "finally found that one great part why inobedience hath been within this realm sithens the king's grace's decease, and that other inconveniences have happened, was and is in my lord governor and his council that was chosen to have been with him for the time." The committee made its report on the sixth, and recommended by an unanimous resolution, "for remedy hereof in times coming, and that perfect obedience may be to our sovereign lady's authority, unity, concord, and perfect amity may be had among all our sovereign lady's lieges, and specially among the great men, and that they may convent (*meet together*) at all times to give their counsel in all matters concerning the queen's grace our sovereign lady and her realm, and that justice may be done and executed among the lieges thereof, and that resistance may be made to our enemies, the queen's grace our sovereign lady's mother should be adjoined with my lord governor in the using of the authority of government in all times coming, and should be equal with him thereunto; and that one great council should be chosen of sixteen persons, twelve of them the greatest earls and temporal lords of the realm, and four spiritual men."

After this resolution of the committee of lords had been read, the governor, who was present, was asked to give his consent to it, but he requested time to consider. For this purpose he was accordingly allowed till the evening of the next day, but that day passed over and Arran gave no answer. On the ninth, a formal summons was sent to the governor requiring him to attend the meeting of the lords on the day following, there to give in his adhesion to their resolution, announcing to him that if he failed, "the lords would determine him to be suspended from the administration of his offices and would provide how the same should be

used in time to come, while further remedy were found thereto."

On the morning of the tenth of June, the lords assembled in their usual place of meeting, the refectory of the Grey Friars, and waited for the earl of Arran's reply from ten o'clock to midday, but he neither came himself nor wrote. "Then the lords gave their decrete, decerning (*decreeing*) my lord governor to be suspended, and suspending him from the administration of his offices, while further remedy were found therefor. And because of the urgent necessity of the realm, and invading of the same by our old enemies of England, and for the forthsetting of our sovereign lady's authority and perfect obedience to be had thereto, unity and concord to be had among all them of this realm, both great and small, without the administration of the government were put in some person's hands most convenient therefor; the said lords without variance have thought no other person more convenient thereto than the queen's grace our sovereign lady's mother, for the good and urgent causes before expressed; and therefore have chosen her grace to use and minister in the said office of government, with the advice of the lords of council, comform to the acts and ordinances made thereupon of before, while further remedy be made hereto." The lords present, both temporal and spiritual, thereupon took their oaths to the queen dowager. Among the signatures to the act of this convention, that of Angus stands first, and there can be no doubt that he had been a prime mover in this new revolution, the earlier progress of which is wrapped in the deepest mystery. It did not produce the effect which was expected from it, for it was a coalition of parties without sincerity; "every lord," to use the words of the contemporary Diurnal, "did for his own particular profit, and took no heed of the common weal, but tholit (*suffered*) the Englishmen and thieves to overrun this realm. There was no credit among the nobility at this present."

This revolution only rendered more complicated the embarrassments of the country. The cardinal and the earl of Arran stood aloof, and the latter persevered in using his title and exercising his authority of governor; while, on the other hand, the coalition which supported the queen was in many respects an insincere one. To increase their embarrassments, the highlands and isles were disturbed to such a degree with private feuds, that at last they assumed the graver character of open rebellion, which it required the presence of the earls of Huntley and Argyle to reduce. A contest between two rival clans at Inverlochy in Invernesshire, eight hundred on one side and five hundred on the other, was remarkable for its ferocity. They met to decide a quarrel between lord Lovat and the chief of the Macdonalds, and, on account of the heat of the weather, they fought in their shirts. At the conclusion of the battle, there remained alive only four on one side and two on the other, and the two were slain after the earl of Bothwell arrived to mediate between them. At Perth, the cardinal, in his late ecclesiastical progress thither, had interfered with the internal government of the town. Beaton suspected that lord Ruthven, who was then provost of Perth, favoured the preaching of the reformers in that town, and he deprived him of his office, and ordered the citizens to elect Charteris of Kinfauns in his place. Neither Ruthven nor the citizens were inclined to submit quietly to the orders of the cardinal, and they took up arms to defend their provost, who brought some of his vassals to their assistance. Lords Gray and Glammis, and Norman Lesley, master of Rothes, took part with Charteris, and they collected their followers and made their way into Perth to install the new provost by force; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, that they were ultimately driven out of the city, with considerable loss. Although the apparent object of the cardinal was thus defeated, he had succeeded in sowing dissension between barons who were equally hostile to himself.

While these events were taking place in Scotland, the long-projected expedition, under the earl of Lennox, was preparing in England to sail to the western coasts. Lennox had possession of the important castle of Dumbarton, which he promised to deliver into the hands of the English monarch, with the other strongholds which should be taken in this expedition. Lennox set sail early in August, with a squadron of ten ships, and a small force of hagbutteers, archers, and pikemen. They first directed their course to the isle of Arran, which was attacked and plundered, and they proceeded thence to Bute, which also, with its castle of Rothesay, was taken possession of with little resistance. They

were both taken in the name of the king of England, and were delivered to sir Rise Mansell and sir Richard Brooke. Lennox next proceeded up the Clyde to Dumbarton, where he found an unexpected resistance. On his departure from England, Lennox had entrusted this fortress to the care of one of his retainers, Stirling of Glorat, and he expected that it would be delivered up to him the moment he appeared to reclaim it; but the garrison refused to surrender it to the English who accompanied him, and learning that George Douglas had marched into the town of Dumbarton with a force of four thousand men, that the earl of Glencairn, who was to join with him in this expedition, had deserted his English alliance, and that the earl of Argyle, with a strong force of highlanders, had occupied Dunoon, a castle which commanded the strait between Argyle and Renfrew, it was thought best that the squadron should immediately return down the Clyde. In passing Dunoon, they were fired at by the enemy, on which Lennox landed under cover of the fire of his own ships, and attacking the highlanders, defeated them with considerable slaughter. He then invaded Kentire, and plundered the adjacent coasts of Kyle and Carrick, and thus ended an expedition from which such important results had been expected.

King Henry was at this time at Boulogne, engaged in a new war with France, but he looked forward with anxiety to learn the result of the expedition under Lennox. He was indignant at the conduct of the earl of Glencairn; but well satisfied with the faithful service of Lennox, he soon afterwards sent him to Carlisle, to watch the progress of affairs in Scotland. Although the Douglases pretended to have left their league with England, yet it is evident that their professions were not sincere; and we learn from the instructions given to Lennox by the king, that one of his objects was to obtain a communication with the earl of Angus, who it appears had sent a messenger to England to promise his services. "Then," say the king's instructions, "whether the earl of Lennox himself meet with the earl of Angus or send unto him, neither he nor his messenger shall enter any purpose of the king's majesty's affairs, but only devise and practise with the said earl of Angus upon their own private affairs, how to come to the rule of governor, and to depose him that now is; and for that purpose shall hold up the said earl of Angus with all the best words and means he can set forth, making fair weather with him. Then, in case the said earl of Angus shall break with him concerning the king's affairs, he shall then on his own behalf, and as it were of a good will he beareth to him and his honour, specially having married his daughter, charge him with the great ingratitude he hath used towards his majesty and his realm, rehearsing what kindness and benefits his majesty hath shown and done for him and his blood continually, and how all the world noteth him for the doings he useth against his majesty for the same, being now a principal worker, he and his brother, against his honour and conscience. And, if the said earl of Angus shall set forth the matter of the marriage, and offer that the treaty made concerning the same and the peace shall be observed, the earl of Lennox shall say, as of himself, that he cannot with his honour speak in it, or move it to his majesty, they have had so little regard to their faiths and promises. But, if they would concerning that matter so proceed, as his majesty may have cause to put a trust and confidence in them, he would be glad, both for the affection he beareth to his own natural country, and also for the singular love he is beholden to owe to the king's majesty and this realm, that both the realms were in a quiet; the only way whereunto, and that the foresaid marriage may take effect, he shall say is to deliver the young princess into his majesty's hands. For as touching hostages to be given for the delivery of her hereafter, what trust can his majesty have thereunto, seeing that they have so small regard unto the discharge of hostages? They be bounden already to his majesty, a great sort of them, to re-enter, when they be called for; and have laid hostages for that purpose, some their sons, some their brothers and nephews; whose redemption how little they esteem all the world seeth to their great dishonour. And greater hostages than their children, brothers, and cousins, they cannot lay, which having neglected, as they have done already, how can his majesty give faith and trust to them upon any hostages."

From the time when Lennox started on his unsuccessful expedition to Dumbarton until the date of the instructions just given, Scotland was suffering under all the evils of divided counsels. Arran and the queen-dowager claimed rival powers, and attempted to hold rival parliaments. The earl of

Angus, who professed to have deserted his English leagues and to be acting cordially with the queen, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, on the 14th of July; and a parliament having been called to meet at Edinburgh on the last day of the same month, Arran and his friends, collecting a sufficient force of men, established themselves in the capital to prevent it. Each party now marched about in force, and there appeared the prospect of a civil war totally unconnected with the intrigues of the English agents. We are told in the old diurnal of occurrences, that, on the 17th of August, Arran, as governor, arrested the lord St. John and the lairds of Calder and Dundas, and threw them into prison in the castle of Blackness, upon which sir George Douglas captured lord Borthwick, a stanch supporter of the governor, and imprisoned him in Dalkeith until the laird of Calder was set at liberty. On the 5th of November, the governor held a parliament in Edinburgh, in which the earl of Angus and his brother were charged with high treason, and threatened with all its penalties; while only eight days after, on the 13th of November, the queen held her parliament at Stirling, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, discharging all classes of persons from their allegiance to the governor. This moment was seized upon by the cardinal to negotiate a reconciliation between the two rival parties, which was loudly called for by the melancholy state of the country; for during the whole of the autumn, the southern districts had been exposed to continual invasions from the English, which had reduced them almost to a desert.

No sooner had Angus been appointed to the office of lieutenant, than he made a show of energy by summoning the whole force of the kingdom to be ready to accompany him against "their old enemies of England;" but this bravado seems to have had no result, which was also the case with another similar proclamation in the beginning of October. Better prospects, however, seemed to open, when, in the middle of November, through the intermediation of the cardinal, Arran united with the queen, the immediate consequence of their reconciliation being a proclamation made in the governor's name, by the queen's consent, summoning the lieges to assemble in arms at Dunbar on the last day of November, with twenty days' provision. On the day appointed, seven thousand men mustered at Dunbar, and the artillery being taken from the castle, they marched to lay siege to the church and priory of Coldingham, which had been seized and fortified by the English. But they had hardly commenced operations, when suspicions of treason began to spread through the Scottish army, and to alarm the chiefs. The governor, informed falsely of the advance of an English army from Berwick, and persuaded that it was the intention of his army to deliver him up to the enemy, suddenly left the camp, and with a few of his friends hurried to Dunbar. The flight of their commander-in-chief caused a general discouragement, and the army was already beginning to disperse, when the English, whose numbers amounted to about two thousand, set upon them. The panic was now complete, and the Scots were in an instant defeated and driven from the field. It is difficult, among the contradictory reports of the time, to ascertain the exact causes of this disaster; the one party ascribed it to the pusillanimity of the earl of Arran, while the other imputed it to the treason of the earl of Angus, who, they said, with his friends the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, lord Somerville, and the sheriff of Ayr, having the command of the vanguard, set the example of flight. Bothwell, they say, on the contrary, distinguished himself by his patriotic courage in rallying the rear and resisting the attacks of the enemy. The other party tell us, that it was Angus and his associates who made the best resistance, and that by their bravery alone the artillery was saved.

The country was now reduced to a melancholy state; overrun and ravaged by the English without opposition, and the inhabitants of whole districts, receiving no protection from their own government, sought safety by swearing allegiance to the king of England, and wearing the English badge of the red cross. Those who were still able to preserve their independence, entered into bonds among themselves for mutual defence. The nobility were still occupied chiefly in their personal intrigues. In the beginning of December there was a parliament held in Edinburgh, at which Angus and his friends obtained a reversal of the sentence of treason which had been proclaimed against them. It was then resolved to raise, by means of a land-tax, a sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, to

support a thousand horsemen for three months, to serve under the earl of Angus, as lieutenant-general; but so general were the suspicions under which this nobleman now lay, that neither money nor horsemen could be raised. Angus was equally unsuccessful in his appeal to the chiefs of Lothian to meet him at Haddington on the 17th of December; and he passed thence to Tantallon, where he held the feast of Yule, or Christmas, with his friends, "and took little heed to the country, but let them do for themselves." The opening of the new year brought a renewal of the ravage of the Scottish territory; for while the garrison of Wark crossed the border, and their plundering parties scattered destruction far and wide, the garrison of Coldingham, following their example, issued forth, and burned the towns and villages to a considerable distance. Such was the general distrust of the government, since the alliance with the Douglases, that when, on the 23rd of February, 1645, the governor went to Lauder, and summoned the country by proclamation to join his standard, they would not rise, "because the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas were with him."

That this suspicion was not without ground is evident from the correspondence which is preserved in the English State Paper Office. Early in February sir George Douglas had had a secret interview with sir Ralph Eure, the English warden of the middle marches, and on the 15th he wrote a letter from Edinburgh to Henry VIII., deprecating the king's displeasure, and promising him his service. This letter was accompanied with notes of intelligence on Scottish affairs which had been given to sir Ralph Eure by Douglas, in which he informed him that by his persuasion his brother the earl of Angus had offered to resign his office of lord lieutenant, on the ground "that the promises that were made to him were not kept." He stated that no one would accept the office, which, as we have seen before, Henry insisted that Angus should lay down. "They (the council of state) required of me," writes sir George, "how this country should be defended; and I said the governor should defend it, for it was his office, and he hath both the profit and the pleasure, and was a lusty young man, and meet to be exercised in warfare, and my brother should be ready to serve the queen's authority, similarly as other noblemen of the realm did." Angus's resignation was not accepted. "Nought the less," adds sir George, "I shall cause him to use himself in such a sort, that ye shall have no cause to complain of our kindness, the king standing good and gracious prince to us and our friends." In the conclusion of this remarkable document, sir George Douglas proceeds to advise, "Ninthly, methinks it were good that the king's majesty, if it may stand with his most gracious pleasure, make proclamations on the borders both of England and Scotland, and to send a herald with his coat of armour upon him, declaring to all those that would favour and assist to the peace and contract of marriage that was made at London by the ambassadors of Scotland, having full commission to complete and end the same, and was fully ended on both the parts, and thereafter falsely broken by evil Scotchmen, to the great hurt and damage of the country, and to their great dishonour and manifest falsehood that so did. Nought the less all good true Scotchmen, that will favour and assist to the honour of our sovereign lady the queen's grace, the common weal and quietness of their realm, and to maintain and fortify the foresaid peace and contract, they shall be favoured and defended by the king's majesty of England, both their bodies, lands, and goods, and taken and accepted as true men; and they that will do the contrary shall be persecuted with fire and sword to the most extremity. This article being wisely set forth, I trust surely it shall cause the most part of Scotland to favour the king's opinion, he performing this same in deed, and so put him to no cost nor charges; for ye have been too cruel as well upon your friends as enemies, in so far that the whole people believe that, if ye be masters, there is nothing but death to them all, man, woman, and child. Therefore there must be comfort again to bring their hearts towards you, in hope of gentle handling to those that will assent to your opinions, and to gar (*make*) them understand that it is a common weal, and no particular matter of yours. Wisdom, mixed with force, will help much in great affairs. Tenthly," says sir George, "I am sore slandered for my speaking with you (sir Ralph Eure), both with the queen and governor; nought the less will the king's majesty handle these matters wisely, his highness shall have my service, God nought offended, my poor honesty saved, and that it may stand with the weal of both the realms, and the safety of Christian people,

and quietness of the same; which I pray God send his grace amongst us. Lastly, I desire you heartily to remember my poor friends, and be good unto them, which shall give me occasion to serve with the better heart; for truly I and my friends have had more hurt by England nor any man within the realm of Scotland, I never offending to his majesty, as I take God to my record."

King Henry ruined his best projects by the overbearing tone he assumed in conducting them. Douglas, in his communications with sir Ralph Eure, had made excuses for his conduct "in labouring so much to have the favour of the queen, the governor, and the cardinal;" he had sought the king's indulgence for this, on account of the services he was ready to perform; and among other things he suggested that ambassadors should be sent from Scotland to negotiate a reconciliation between the two countries. The king replied in a letter of the 19th of February: "We let you to wite (*know*)," he said, "that, albeit having done so much both for you and your brother as we have done, and as yourself at the foresaid meeting did confess, and all the world knoweth besides, and in recompense thereof, finding you not only slack in the advancement of our affairs, but more adverse and against the same than any our most mortal foes within that realm have been, and using dark fashions anempst (*towards*) us, in all your doings and proceedings, as we have good cause to conceive an evil opinion of you, and to bear you our displeasure justly for the same; yet, we being a prince of clemency, not desirous of revenge where we see humble submission, forasmuch as we perceive by the information of our said warden that you are sorry for that which is past, and desire of us pardon therefor, showing that it should be much to your comfort to hear from us that we were your good and gracious lord, upon the hope we have that your words proceed from a sincere heart, albeit you have heretofore given us occasion to think the contrary, and that from henceforth you for your part will serve us according to your promise and our expectation, and likewise cause your brother to leave the office of lieutenantship, which he hath taken upon him in hand, we are contented to remit and pardon you of all that is past, and to accept you unto our favour and grace again; trusting you will give us cause to be good lord unto you, like as indeed we determine to be in case your doings be correspondent to your sayings. As touching the coming in of ambassadors, and also the desperation amongst the noblemen of Scotland, for that it is bruited (*rumoured*) that we will no way but an extreme war, and that we intend to conquer the realm, and to make all the noblemen shepherds; surely that bruit (*rumour*) is most unjust, and devised by them which would rather your mischief and your destruction, than any good way between these two realms. And for our part we have never given that whereby you or any other should gather or think by our proceedings any such unjust opinion of us, what just occasion soever hath been ministered unto us to work extremities, and to seek revenge of dishonourable and most disloyal proceedings of those amongst you there with us. Somewhat God hath already plagued that realm, and without short amendment, will undoubtedly plague it more vehemently. Nevertheless, for our part, we were never so much given to seek revenge on that realm, what cause soever we had ministered unto us, but to them that would submit themselves earnestly and seek unfeignedly to redub things bypast, we could be contented to incline our heart to grace and clemency, which you may be bold to notify to the rest on our behalf. And therefore, seeing that the governor, queen, and nobles of that realm make now sute and request to treat with us upon the marriage of our son and pronepte (*great niece*), and the establishment of a peace, if that they mean it effectually, and to the intent there may be amity and concord between both the realms, will shortly, within eight or ten days after the delivery of these our letters unto you, and *bona fide* proceed with us, and send your commissioners, we are contented to grant a safe-conduct to any two or three they will send for that purpose to come to our town of Alnwick, so as yourself be one; trusting you will travel (*labour*) that the other two also shall be men of reason and good disposition to bring the things to a good perfection. Signifying unto you that, when you shall advertise our lieutenant of those which shall be sent out of Scotland be ready to come, appointing the number of twenty in their company, fully instructed and authorized by the governor, queen, and the consent of the whole parliament to commune and conclude upon the said purposes, wherein

we advertise you we look to have more substantialler hostages and more larger conditions than before we agreed unto, when those which be now our enemies were our friends, we will address to our said lieutenant a safe-conduct, with a blank for the names of them to be inserted that shall come, who shall send it unto you upon your request for the same; and likewise will appoint commissioners to meet you at our said town, full authorized and instructed to commune and conclude on our behalf. Requiring you that, unless it be meant there to work sincerely and directly with us, there be none sent; for if you should practise with us to seek delay and win time, you shall lose your credit for ever, both with us and all other, and provoke our displeasure the more against you, purchasing thereby at length your own confusions; whereas dealing uprightly and truly, as beseemeth men of honour and noble blood, winning therewithal reason and indifferent conformity, it cannot be chosen but honour and good will ensue thereupon, and such a quietness, peace, and tranquillity as shall be beneficial to both the realms."

The answer of sir George Douglas to this letter is interesting for the further light which it throws on the character of the men who were thus intriguing between their country and its invaders. "Pleaseth your most gracious highness, that I received your letter at Lauder the 24 of February, dated at Westminster the 19 of the same, which makes mention of the receipt of my letter with certain communication that was betwixt sir Ralph Eure and me, and that I should have confessed that I feared your majesty's displeasure towards me. I was so informed, and is very glad to have your most gracious favour; for I never deserved to have no displeasure, but bade extremely at your majesty's opinion, unto such time that I was put in the castle of Edinburgh in prison, and there kept long, and had lost my life, if God had not provided your grace's army to come in Scotland; and in the present time of my prisonment, your majesty's subjects burnt and destroyed and took away all my goods, and all my friends' goods and servants that longed to me. I had a thousand pounds worth of hurt more nor any Scotchman within Scotland, notwithstanding my true service toward your majesty, which, I take God to my record, that being advertised of your majesty's high displeasure contrair (*against*) me, and of my great hurts that I have taken by your subjects, I was constrained of force to take such a life in Scotland as I might have. Therefore I trust, if your grace had known the truth, ye would not alledge no falsehood in me, which shall be sore to commit any, but always to remember your goodness, and to make such cause as a poor man may to such a noble prince of honour. And, where your majesty's pleasure is to write, that the Scots is informed that ye should stand extreme unto them, if ye were master of this realm, and that ye would make the gentlemen no better than shepherds; I declared such words to sir Ralph Eure, for I hear the report accordingly; and, by reason of the extreme war that is used of killing women and young children, and Scottish prisoners that comes forth from England hear reporting of gentlemen, saying that your majesty will have a plain conquest of this realm, and that ye will kill men, women, and children. This bruit (*report*) puts a great fear in the people's hearts, and turns their hearts clearly from you; while gentle handling and good words will turn the favour of the people, which may be a great help to your majesty's affairs. And farther, where your majesty's pleasure is to write that the queen and governor and nobles of this realm make suit for the intreating of the marriage betwixt the prince's grace, your majesty's dearest son, and the queen's grace our sovereign lady, and to have peace and quietness betwixt these two realms; at my last communing with sir Ralph Eure, he showed unto me that your majesty would not be contented to treat upon these matters, but if ye had the Scottish prisoners first entered, and thereafter ambassadors should have a passport to come to Darneton to your majesty's lieutenant, and there to show their commissions and articles to my said lord. These matters I moved to the governor and lords. The queen was departed from Edinburgh to Stirling or (*before*) my returning; and I found the governor and lords not at the entering of the prisoners, nor at the showing of the ambassadors' commission nor articles to your majesty's lieutenant, and by the reason hereof it proceeded no farther in these matters unto the time that I know your most gracious pleasure; but now according to your mind I shall move these

matters as it come of myself unto the queen, governor, and lords. But I may not send your grace so hasty an answer as ye desire, for these causes; the queen is into Stirling, the governor is in Lauder, within ten miles of Jedburgh, and the lords the most part of them are at home in their own countries. Nevertheless I shall labour as diligently as it shall be to me possibly, to know their perfect mind in these behalfs, and thereafter shall not fail to give your majesty sure advertisement without any driving of time of delays, for I will not fail to do my utter power in the setting forward of these good works, which I trust, by the pleasure of God, shall be the saving of Christian blood unshed, and wealth of both the realms. I shall pray for grace that this purpose may come to a good perfection."

This letter was written on the 25th of February, at Lauder, when Arran was collecting an army to protect the border. For some time the English had met with no resistance in their inroads, and the country for miles had been reduced to absolute desolation; and so confident had the English borderers been made by their uninterrupted course of success, that they talked of conquering the whole country to the Forth. The two wardens, sir Ralph Eure and sir Brian Layton, proposed a scheme for that purpose to the English monarch, and Eure is said to have obtained a grant, or at least a promise, of all the country he could subdue in the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale. These districts contained much of the hereditary property of the Douglases, and it is not to be wondered at if the earl of Angus was deeply offended at this measure of confiscation; and he is said to have sworn that, if Eure acted upon this rumoured grant, he would write the act of entry upon his estates on his back with steel pens and bloody ink. While the earl was in this temper, he learnt that the English wardens had crossed the border with an army of 5,000 men, consisting of foreign mercenaries, English archers, and border Scots who fought under the English badge of the red cross. This inroad was marked by scenes of unusual ferocity. The lady of Broomhouse, with her whole family, was burnt in her tower, or castle; and not content with plundering and burning the town of Melrose, the invaders defaced its ancient abbey, and broke up the tombs of the earls of Douglas, whose family burial-place it was.

This new insult provoked the earl of Angus to the highest degree, and he determined to revenge it. According to the statements of one party, he reproached Arran with pusillanimity and remissness, and urged him to show himself worthy of his country. It is certain that he raised his vassals, and joined the army of the governor at Lauder, whence they advanced to Melrose, but they were there attacked by the English and defeated with considerable slaughter. This disaster was also laid to the charge of sir George Douglas's treachery. The English, having again plundered Melrose, fell back upon Jedburgh, followed at a distance by the forces under Angus and Arran, until the invaders encamped on a level moor above the village of Ancram. The Scots encamped also on a neighbouring eminence, discouraged now by their own inferiority of numbers, but at this moment they were joined by Norman Lesley, who was known as one of the most chivalrous knights of Scotland, and who brought with him twelve hundred lances. The laird of Buccleuch arrived almost at the same moment, with information that he had armed his warlike vassals, and that they were near at hand. It was determined now to await the enemy, and by the advice of Buccleuch, the horses were sent attended by the camp boys to a neighbouring hill, and the fighting men being all dismounted, were placed in the hollow below, so as to be concealed from the English. The effect of this stratagem was to make the English believe that the Scots were preparing to fly in the night, and they determined immediately to attack them, although they were already fatigued by a long march.

The English army was marshalled in three divisions. The first, commanded by sir Brian Layton and sir Robert Bowes, rushed forwards at full speed; the main body followed under sir Ralph Eure; and the third division formed the rearward. When the first division had passed the eminence, breathless, and their ranks disordered by the rapidity of their march, they found to their astonishment the Scots drawn up in array of battle ready to receive them. They were too near to allow the English to halt even to reform their ranks, and their commander led them on bravely to the charge; but the Scots, who were on foot, had all the advantage of their long spears, and after a desperate fight, and the loss of many men, the English in the vanguard fell back upon their main battle and both retreated

together and in confusion upon the rear. The English were fighting under other disadvantages, for they had the sun and the wind in their faces, and their leaders seem to have fallen early in the battle. The consequence was, that they were soon thrown into the utmost disorder, and this was no sooner perceived, than the borderers, who fought under the banner of England, threw away their red crosses, and joined in the slaughter, and even the peasantry of the surrounding districts rose and pursued the English in their flight. About eight hundred are said to have been killed, and not less than a thousand, including many knights and gentlemen, taken prisoners; and the triumph of the Scots was complete, when they found among the slain the bodies of their two most detested enemies, sir Ralph Eure and sir Brian Layton.

The battle of Ancram Moor was fought on the 27th of February, 1545. The governor marched thence to Coldingham, which, having been deserted by its English garrison, he committed to the custody of sir George Douglas. He next proceeded to Jedburgh, and in a very short time recovered the greater part of the Scottish territory which had been occupied by the enemy. He was accompanied by the earl of Angus, to whom and his friends the victory at Ancram was chiefly ascribed. King Henry was highly enraged at the active part which Angus played on this occasion; he accused him of base ingratitude, and threatened to make him feel his utmost resentment. We are told, although on authority which is not quite unexceptionable, that the earl, when he heard of Henry's anger, expressed his astonishment that his royal brother-in-law should be offended at his revenging on sir Ralph Eure the violated tombs of his ancestors; and that he added scornfully, "They were better men than he, and I ought to have done no less; and will he take my life for that? Little does king Henry know the skirts of Kernetable, where I can hold myself against all his English host."

If Angus did speak in terms like this, it was but the outburst of momentary anger, for within a month we find him speaking of the English monarch in a very different tone; and on the 2nd of April following, the earl of Cassillis wrote from Edinburgh a letter in cypher to Henry VIII., excusing Angus for the part he had taken in the late engagement. "And further," writes the earl of Cassillis, "your majesty shall know that the earl of Angus, perceiving by me your majesty's good mind to the weal of Scotland, has this day discharged (*resigned*) his office of lieutenantry, to give occasion to the 'leif' to offer such things to your majesty as may stand with your majesty's pleasure and the weal of this country; whereby your majesty may perceive he minds to have all things furthered to your majesty's pleasure in honourable and good manner for both the realms. And as anent the last business (the battle of Ancram Moor), where your subjects got displeasure, your grace may be sure, on my honour, as I can speir (*discover by inquiry*), it was so far suited (*followed up*) by your majesty's warden on the earl of Angus, that he behoved to fight, or to take great shame. Therefore your majesty will consider their part therein, for in my life, as I can perceive, they are as far minded for the sure performance of the peace and marriage in sure and honourable manner, as any other in England or Scotland."

CHAPTER XV.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF ANCRAM MOOR; ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH AUXILIARIES; RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

The victory at Ancram had infused new courage into the Scots, and roused them at once from the general despondency into which they had fallen. It also gave new strength to the party of the governor and cardinal, which was increased by the arrival of more certain intelligence that the king of France was not only sending troops into Scotland, but that he had resolved to invade England simultaneously, with

a considerable force. Henry himself became alarmed at these preparations, and he seems at last to have perceived the error of the violent course he had hitherto pursued, and to have determined to try the effect of conciliation. His agent in this attempt was the earl of Cassillis, who, under pretence of returning to his pledge as one of the prisoners taken at Solway-Moss, repaired to the English court on the 28th of February, and remained in England during the month of March, at the end of which month he returned to Scotland with the king's instructions. His proceedings there will be best understood from the report which he addressed in cypher to the king from Edinburgh on the 2nd of April. "Please your most excellent majesty," he says, "to be advertised that I came to this town the twenty-ninth day of March, and thereafter the same day I passed to Melrose, where I found the governor and divers noblemen, and on the morn the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and divers other came to him, which were all at the borders to have defended this realm, if the same had been invaded by your majesty's subjects, as was believed here. And so on the last day of March we all returned to this town, where we found the cardinal and the earl Marshal, that was not at the borders; and, when they that were in this town were convened, I showed them that I had communed with your majesty on such things as concerned the weal of this realm; and, if it would stand with their pleasure, I would declare the same unto them. And the governor, the cardinal, and divers others, said that they would not enter into communication of such great matters, unto the time the queen and the earls of Argyle and Huntley be here; and to that effect have appointed them the fifteenth day of April to convene in this town." He found the earls of Angus, Marshal, and Glencairn, with sir George Douglas, the sheriff of Ayr, and others, fully prepared to support the king's proposals for the peace and marriage, which he thought also would be popular generally, though he anticipated considerable opposition from those who were influenced by the queen and the French ambassador. "Wherefore," Cassillis adds, "it will please your majesty that, unto such time as I may be at your majesty after the convention, or advertise your grace the uttermost of all things, to command your majesty's wardens fornent (*towards*) Scotland to make no great invasion on Scotland, since there is none that intends to invade your subjects. And if your majesty does otherwise, ye will gar (*make*) them be together (*united*), for fear of your majesty's army, if any come, ere the convention, that will be sondry in opinions, if the hasty coming of the army be no impediment. But it is best your army be in readiness; that, if the matters proceed not to your pleasure at this convention, your majesty, with them that will assist to your majesty here, may force our enemies to such things as shall be your majesty's pleasure. And were it not I see so good appearance in many noblemen, I would not write so far to your majesty in this matter." Henry paid due attention to both the suggestions of the Scottish earls; the wardens were ordered to refrain from hostilities, while a powerful force was collected in the north under the command of the earl of Hertford.

The haughty tone in which the king appears to have directed Cassillis to make his proposals seems again to have deprived them of the weight which they might otherwise have had. The tenderness which was to be shown to the king's injured dignity was strongly pressed on the earl in a letter from the English privy council written on the 10th of April. "It shall not be needful," they say, "to repeat unto your lordship at this present, how promises heretofore made have been observed, what occasions have been given since that time to his majesty sundry ways to seek revenge by sword and fire. All which notwithstanding, his majesty, of his great clemency, more tendering the unity of Christendom than the revenge of his own injuries, hath been pleased, in respect as well of christian charity as of the weal of that realm, to come to such honourable means of unity as was declared unto you at your late being here; which as then proceeded of his most godly disposition to the quiet of Christendom and the weal of that realm; so, if it shall be thought to your noblemen and council expedient for the common weal there, and they will also make suit for the same, his majesty remaineth of that self-same good disposition which was then declared unto you, notwithstanding that, since that time, great occasions have been ministered to the contrary; the revenge of which although his majesty deferreth for a season, for the respects aforesaid, yet, if things do not now out of hand

proceed to a good conclusion, his majesty trusteth in short time to provide for things in such sort as they shall have no great cause to rejoice much of the death of his highness's late warden at Melrose." This threat was followed by a bitter taunt on the faithlessness of the earl of Angus. "Touching the earl of Angus, his majesty would not that we should either repeat unto you what good occasion he hath in honour to serve his majesty, nor yet to make rehearsal what diversity hath been heretofore between doings and sayings. Only of this much your lordship may be a good witness, that his highness is always more glad of the good amendment of things to come, than desirous of revenge for things by-past; and as my lord of Angus and George Douglas, with the rest, shall in deeds show themselves willing to set forward his majesty's affairs there, so will his highness both forget things by-past, and consider their doings from henceforth in such sort as they shall have good cause to think their labour well employed if they do well."

The convention was held at Edinburgh on the 17th of April, when the earl of Cassillis presented himself as the agent of the English king, and stated to the nobles that, if they consented to the treaties of peace and marriage which had been formerly agreed to, he was authorized to assure them that Henry would forget and forgive all that had passed, and that he would not revenge further the injuries he had received from them. As might be foreseen, the time was past for such language, for the queen and the cardinal were in daily expectation of the arrival of troops from France, and they at once rejected Henry's proposals, and determined to join themselves cordially with his rival Francis. The report of the earl of Cassillis to Henry VIII. on this occurrence is worthy to be given in his own words, as it pictures so forcibly the treacherous conduct of the lords who were now again taking up the English party. "Please your majesty to be advertized," said Cassillis, who again wrote in cypher, "that the lords of this realm convened in this town the seventeenth of this month, and I was put off the council, and deferred of audience, to declare your majesty's good mind till the twentieth day, that I got audience by labour of the earl Marshal and George Douglas. Not the less they, nor I, and others that I find are favourable to your majesty's affairs anent the peace and marriage, find that the matters are so handled by the queen, the governor, and the cardinal, and other great men that assist to them, that we perceive they intend nothing but deferring of your majesty's purpose and the weal of this realm, for their own particular profit. Wherefore, sir, we think that it is force (*reason*) to your majesty to invade all that is within this realm that are contrary to your majesty's affairs, in such substantious manner, with your whole puissance, that your majesty may repress them that are enemies to your good purpose and weal of this realm, and may be a perfect and friendly surety to the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, and all such as shall indeed favour your majesty's purpose; and this with the greatest haste your majesty may goodly, and so provided to remain for to have your majesty's purpose at a perfection, or their returning with the favour I think your majesty shall have in these parts. For if your majesty does not this, we will think in this realm that both your majesty's high courage is failed, and your majesty's substance decreased, that your majesty is not able to follow to such promise as was made to your majesty, like as is said already here by your majesty's enemies; as I hear, and the same I can do no less nor advertise your majesty thereof. Farther, sir, we think that the most displeasant way is to invade your majesty's enemies by sea; and it were best, with your majesty's pleasure, that ye caused sir Ralph Sadler, or some other, repair to the border, with commission to assure the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, and other that are great men, what your majesty intends to do, and how your majesty will stand to them in all sorts, both in helping them in contrair (*against*) all unfriends, and other pleasures, and thank as your majesty will please; and siclike (*similarly*), that your majesty may know in special what help they will make to your majesty's affairs. And, on your majesty's advertisement, they shall cause another come to him with all their minds, and make a clear way betwixt your majesty and them. For my own part, I will keep my promise, do to me as your majesty thinks cause (*right*.) We look after Lorges Montgomery on the west sea with two thousand footmen. Your majesty will provide therefor, as ye think. For the earl Marshal, George Douglas, and I, have laboured that we may, to have the queen our sovereign in keeping of the earl Marshal, or some other of our opinion; but

the same is not granted. I assure your majesty the kindness betwixt the earl Marshal, George Douglas, and the cardinal, is past, since they perceive he is contrair the peace and marriage, and put them in belief of the contrair. And, please your majesty, it is needful to devise some proclamations, how your majesty intends for the weal of our sovereign lady and her realm, and to be sure of the fulfilling of such promises as were made to your majesty, in good form, for to draw the hearts of the people to your majesty, as we shall inform the servant your majesty sends to the border; for otherwise your majesty will tyne (*lose*) the hearts of the whole country. Farther, sir, I believe that suit shall be made for a conduct to commissioners to treat on a peace, and your majesty's friends here think best your majesty grant the same, but abstinence, to show your majesty ay ready to good ways, and to invade, if need be; for so your majesty shall obtain the hearts of the people, give fear to your enemies, courage to your favourers, and come most easily to your majesty's purpose. But haste your majesty's armies, as said is, till ye have a perfect final end of your godly purpose. I pray your majesty do so, that the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, Glencairn, and others that will be friendful indeed have a perfect hope and knowledge of your majesty's good mind toward the weal of this realm and themselves, and that all fear be avoided. And thus I write my opinion to your majesty truly, and shall be glad to take my part of the same, conform to my promise."

This letter, as we have before remarked, gives an extraordinary picture of the unpatriotic conduct of the Scottish nobility at this period, when faction and personal feuds were the principal motives which guided them. The authority of the cardinal, whose ambition seemed to have no bounds, was increased by the arrival of a papal commission, appointing him *legate a latere* for Scotland; but with the increase of his power and his pride, increased also the number and animosity of his personal enemies, and we trace at this time the plots against his life to which he at last fell a victim. Sadler was, according to the suggestion made by the earl of Cassillis, sent to the border, and he there received information from that nobleman of an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." Cassillis had discussed the matter with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Marshal, and sir George Douglas proposed that an English prisoner named Forster, who could visit Scotland without suspicion, should be sent to communicate personally with them. The earl of Hertford, who then commanded in the north, sent the letter to the privy council, and requested immediate directions, whether the offer of assassination should be accepted, and whether Forster should be sent to Edinburgh. The king directed that Forster should be sent into Scotland without delay, but the proposal to slay the cardinal was treated with more caution. "His majesty," write the privy council to the earl of Hertford, "hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter; he shall say, that if he were in the earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not of his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him."

In obedience to these instructions, Sadler wrote to the earl of Cassillis, while Forster proceeded to Scotland, and had an interview with the earls of Angus and Cassillis, and sir George Douglas. Forster's narrative of his proceedings, written after his return to Darlington, on the 4th of July, is so curious that it deserves to be given entire. He stated that, "according to my lord lieutenant's (Hertford) commandment, he entered Scotland at Wark, and so passed to his taker's house in Scotland (the house of the man who had taken him prisoner, and from whom he was absent on bond), as though he had repaired for his entry, to

save his bond; and declaring to his taker that he had occasion to speak with George Douglas, his taker was contented, according to the custom there, that he should go at his pleasure. Whereupon he came to Dalkeith to George Douglas, and showed him the occasion of his thither coming to speak with him and the earls aforesaid, with message from my lord lieutenant and master Sadler, who then willed him to go to Douglas, whereat he would cause the earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. And thereupon, going towards Douglas, he met with the earl of Angus at Dunsiere, whereat he was a hunting, who bade him welcome, saying he would give him hawks and dogs, and caused him to pass the time with him that night, and on the morrow brought him with him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning. Whereupon he and the earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called the said Forster unto them; who then declaring the occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions, as to the first article they answered that they were very glad he was come, and he was welcome to them. To the second article they said, truth it is it was their desires he should come unto them, and that every word of his message was true. And first the said earl of Cassillis said, that he is the same man that he was, and would do as much as he had promised to the king's majesty at his parting from his grace. Whereupon the said Thomas Forster asked of him, how and after what sort he could advance and set forth the king's majesty's godly purpose for the peace and marriage. He answered, saying that it lay not in him to set forth the king's purpose, but that rested wholly in his majesty; nevertheless to his power he would help forward the same, both with his body, goods, and all his friends, to the uttermost of their powers. The earl of Angus for his part then answered to the same article, saying, that by his truth he would stick to the marriage and peace to the uttermost of his power; and further said, that, if it were thought meet to the king's majesty and his council, he should come to the field, or that he should tarry at home, he would do therein according as the king's majesty should will him to do; and, being in the field, he said that he would plainly say that the peace and marriage was for the weal of both realms, which he and his friends would maintain against any he in Scotland, that would be against the same or say to the contrary. Whereunto the said Forster said, that, if he would so do, their offence to the king's majesty was not so great, but his grace's mercy and goodness was much more, and his majesty would forget all that was bypast, so that they would now show themselves indeed according to their words and promises, and willed them frankly to proceed to the same, so that his majesty might perceive their hearts towards him. And then they both said they would perform to his highness all that they had promised, to the uttermost of their powers, both with bodies and goods." Forster then "desired them to show unto him such matter as they would have sent with the gentleman that should have met Mr. Sadler at Alnwick, to the intent he might at his return declare the same to my lord lieutenant. Whereunto they answered, that the effect of that matter was none other than they had already declared; but the earl of Cassillis said that such other matter as should be at the convention, he would write it in cypher, and send it to Mr. Sadler. And so he departed from them."

Forster's mission was as yet but imperfectly fulfilled, and he proceeds to inform us that "returning again to Dalkeith unto George Douglas, he declared to the said George all his conference with the aforesaid earls, requiring him to show him his opinion therein, and what he thought in the same; who answered he would so do at length, but willed him to tarry there at Dalkeith till his return from the convention, and then he would tell him all the whole matter. Who went to the convention within a day or two after, but in the meantime he had no talk with him more, than that the said Douglas said to him that he would be the same man to the king's majesty as he had promised. After George Douglas was ridden to the convention, where he tarried seven days, Forster walked a-foot with two or three Scotchmen to Musselburgh, and so along the sands towards Leith, where he saw the coming in of the Mary Willoughby (as the Scots said), and six other ships with her, laden with wine, sundry small pieces of brass for the field, and some hackbutts, which came about by the Irish seas; and

then returned again to Dalkeith, where he remained till the coming home of George Douglas, which was the seventh day after his going forth. And at his coming home the said Forster demanded of him the news of the convention, and what he would do for his part for the advancement of the king's godly affairs. He answered that for his part he would stand to it with all his power, the rather for that he himself was one of them that procured and promised the same, and that there was never an honest man in Scotland (if he were of any honesty), that would be against that promise, for it was the doings of all the nobles of Scotland, and that the governor's part was therein as deep as the best of them; and therefore it were not for their honours to be against it, and that for his part he would maintain it to the best of his power, according as the earl of Angus had said and promised. Forster asked him what the earls of Glencairn and Marshal would do therein? He said that as for the earl Marshal, he was not at the convention, but he had spoken with the earl of Glencairn, who said he was the same man, and will do according as he had promised the king to be, and that he was willing the peace and marriage should take effect. And George Douglas said that he knew well that the earl Marshal would the same, and do in everything as the foresaid other earls would do. Lastly, the said Forster, declaring the third article of his instructions to the said George Douglas, and also to the said earls of Cassillis and Angus at his being with them, that it should not need them to doubt the king's majesty's favour and goodness towards them, if they would now tender his majesty's affairs, which also they might the better perceive by his grace's letters lately written to George Douglas to that effect, and lastly signified by mouth by the earl of Cassillis; whereunto they answered, and said they trusted none other but that his majesty would be good lord unto them. He also said that George Douglas willed him to tell my lord lieutenant that the queen, the governor, the cardinal, and all the lords of Scotland in manner, had met together in Stirling in the convention, and that they were all agreed and fully resolved and contented to fulfil all such things as Lorges Montgomerie had laid in amongst them, which was that they would keep the old bond and league between France and Scotland. Another thing was that they would raise an army against the 30th of July, and to have them upon Rosslin Moor, three miles from Dalkeith, with a month's victuals, and so passing to invade England, by which time he saith the said Lorges Montgomerie hath undertaken, on the French king's behalf, that the army out of France by sea shall be ready to aid them at their hands, or else or (*before*) that time should invade in some other place of England. The said George Douglas told him also that, if my lord lieutenant thought meet the army of Scotland were stayed, that then it should be well done to send some ships with diligence with three or four thousand men to aid the gentlemen of the isles, which would stay at home, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, and by that means he thinks it would stop the rest of the army from coming forwards; and if he do not so, then to prepare a great power of England to come to the borders against that time, which must come very strongly, for all the lords and power of Scotland (as he saith), will be wholly there as they have promised, and by reason of the encouragements of the Frenchmen, and the fair behests (*promises*) that the French king hath promised them by Lorges Montgomerie, they are fully bent to fight, as he saith. But he saith, though that he must needs be also there with them, he will do them no good, but will do all that he can to stop them, and saith, that if they may be stopped, since they have made so great brags and avaunts to do much, it would (as he thinketh), pull away all the commons' hearts from them for ever. Also he saith that, many and sundry times, George Douglas said to him, that such men as have promised to be true to the king are greatly desirous to know what the king's goodness should be unto them, if it should chance Scotland to have the overhand of England, they taking his part and setting forth his affairs, who being then known to follow his desires, might not tarry in Scotland, and therefore are desirous to know how they should be used in such cases."

The next subject on which Forster touched was the plot to assassinate the cardinal. "He said also that the said George Douglas willed him to tell my lord lieutenant that, if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that ad-

venture would be proved; for he saith the common saying is, that the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead by that means, how that reward should be paid; but he saith, if that reward were promised, if the thing were put in adventure and not done, there should be no reward given, nor none demanded."

"The said George Douglas," Forster proceeds to say, "willed him also to tell my lord lieutenant in case the king do send a main army to the borders, which must come very strongly, that it should be well done that there were open proclamations made, that, whosoever would stand to further and assist the king's godly purpose for the peace and marriage, which was promised by the lords of Scotland, for the weal of both realms, that they should sustain no manner hurt, neither in body nor goods; and, who would be against that, to have the extremity of the wars with fire and sword shown to them. The said Thomas Forster also saith that, lying at Dalkeith, he saw sundry the Frenchmen's great horses, which he saith be very fair pieces; and lying there he spake with one Gawin Hume, a Scotch gentleman, being one of the French king's guard, who told him, and would lay his great horses upon a wager with him, that the Frenchmen would be in England by such a day as he would appoint; for the furniture whereof he said there was great store of ordinance brought already to Newhaven; which Forster said he heard also of sundry their mouths, that be of the French king's guard and now in Scotland. . . . Finally, he said that George Douglas told him, that there is commandment given, and proclamation made through all Scotland, that all men between sixty and sixteen years be in their best array, upon pain of death, with victuals for a month, at the said Rosslin Moor, the said twenty-eighth day of July."

We trace the further progress of the plot against the cardinal, in a letter from sir Ralph Sadler to the laird of Brunston, about the 11th or 12th of July. The Scottish lords seem to have felt no delicacy with regard to the commission of murder, if it were to carry off an enemy, and they made their proposals without disguise and without hesitation. The design appears to have been again pressed by the laird of Brunston, and the reward was only to be a "small sum of money." Sir Ralph Sadler replied to him much in the same style as he was previously directed to write to Cassillis. "In one part of your said letters," Sadler writes, "I note chiefly that certain gentlemen, being your friends, have offered, for a small sum of money, to take him out of the way that hath been the whole worker of all your mischief, and the principal impediment and let (*hindrance*) of all good purposes there, so that they might be sure to have the king's majesty their good lord, and that his majesty would reward them for the same. Of this I judge that you mean the cardinal, whom I know to be so much blinded with his own affection to France, that, to please the same, he seeth not, but utterly contemneth, all things tending to the weal and benefit of his own country; and, indeed, hitherto he hath been the only cause and worker of all your mischief, and will, if he continue, be undoubtedly the utter ruin and confusion of the same. Wherefore I am of your opinion, and, as you write, think it to be acceptable service to God to take him out of the way, which in such sort doth not only as much as in him is to obscure the glory of God, but also to confound the common weal of his own country. And, albeit the king's majesty, whose gracious nature and goodness I know, will not, I am sure, have to do nor meddle with this matter touching your said cardinal, for sundry considerations, yet, if you could so work the matter with those gentlemen your friends, which have made that offer, that it may take effect, you shall undoubtedly do therein good service both to God and to his majesty, and a singular benefit to your country. Wherefore, like as if I were in your place, it should be the first thing I would earnestly attempt, thinking thereby, for the respects aforesaid, chiefly to please God and to do good to my country, so I shall give you mine advice to travel (*labour*) in the same effectually with the said gentlemen your friends, and to cause them to put the matter in execution; assuring you that I know the king's majesty's honour, liberality, and goodness to be such (which also is not unknown to you), as you may be sure his majesty will so liberally reward them that do his majesty honest service, as they shall have good cause to be contented. And, if the execution of this matter do rest only upon the reward of the king's majesty to such as shall be the executors of the same, I pray you advertise me what reward they do require, and if it be not unreasonable, because I have been in

your country, for the christian zeal that I bear to the common weal of the same, I will undertake it shall be paid immediately upon the act executed, though I do myself bear the charge of the same, which I would think well employed. For surely, if he were taken away, who is the root of all your misery, your country would soon flourish with God's word and his truth, and many good purposes, whereof he hath been the only stay, would then proceed to an end, and take such effect as should be to your wealth and quietness for ever, which it is every good man's part to advance to his power; as I doubt not for your part you will further it accordingly. Thus I write to you mine own phantasie and mind in this matter, as one that would be glad to give you such advice, as whereby you should do that service to God, the king's majesty, and your own native country, as might also be to your own profit and good fame; not doubting but you will consider it like a wise man. And what you may and will do therein, I pray you advertise me with as much speed as you can." The indirect encouragement thus given seems to have been unpalatable to the conspirators, and we hear no more of the design at this time. Perhaps the cardinal or his friends had obtained some intimation of it, and had taken measures of precaution. He escaped on this occasion, but the weapon of the assassin was already prepared for him.

This extraordinary plot against the person of the cardinal, has led us somewhat out of the regular course of events. On the last of May, 1545, the long-promised aid from France arrived at Dumbarton, under the sieur Lorges de Montgomerie, and was received with the utmost joy. These auxiliaries consisted of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and they brought with them not only munitions of war, but a considerable sum of money, a body of a hundred archers to serve for a body-guard to the governor, and the insignia of the order of St. Michel, to be presented to the earl of Angus. It was immediately proclaimed that a convention of the nobility would be held at Stirling on the 24th of June, when it was resolved to renew the ancient league with France, and to commence hostilities against England without delay. As it has been already stated, the whole force of Scotland was summoned to assemble on Rosslin Moor on the 28th of July. The islands were at this time again in a state of insurrection, and when the day of the muster arrived, it was found that the earl of Argyle was detained in the north by the turbulence of the islesmen. By a new proclamation, the day of muster was prorogued to the 9th of August, when a Scottish army of thirty thousand men, with the French auxiliaries, assembled on Fawnerig Muir, and the same day they passed into England, and burnt a few villages and hamlets, and took one or two small border fortresses. The Scots were weakened by their own dissensions, and their suspicions of each other, and the vanguard, which was commanded by the earl of Angus and the other lords in the English interest, impeded their progress by the slowness and apparent reluctance of its movements; while the English had made excellent preparations to resist them, and strong bodies of well-disciplined Spanish and Italian auxiliaries, in king Henry's pay, assisted in protecting the English border. On the 13th the whole Scottish army, without having performed any exploit worth recording, made a hasty retreat, and, as soon as it had reached Scotland, dispersed, each chief returning to his home. Three days after this disastrous conclusion of a campaign commenced with so much ostentation, the principal lords of the English party, the earls of Angus, Cassillis, Marshal, and sir George Douglas, then at Melrose, addressed the following letter to the English council in the north:—"Right worshipful, after most hearty commendation; ye shall understand that we have communed together, and are determined all in one of union to serve the king's majesty at the uttermost of our powers in setting forwards of the peace and marriage, which we know surely stands with the pleasure of God, the king's majesty's contentation, and the common weal and quietness of both realms. Therefore, we think for our opinion (if it stands with the king's majesty's pleasure), that his grace should hastily prepare his substantious armies in this time of harvest, both at the east and west borders, provided to remain a good time; for, without long remaining, there can no high purpose be made to the king's majesty's pleasure. Therefore look well on that point; and when the king's army comes in this realm, ye must set forwards your proclamations, declaring how that your purpose is not to hurt this realm, nor no subject that is in it, that will assist to the sure performing of the peace and marriage. And, if any nobleman please to commune with you on the causes aforesaid, ye shall make

them sure to their own reasonable contentation. Further, if the king's majesty finds this opinion of ours good, it will please his grace to send full power with his lieutenant, to the effect that we may know his highness's special good mind to us, and he our service to the causes aforesaid. For we are sure (if the king's majesty stand not good prince to us), it will return to our great damage. If the king's armies come forward, it may please his grace to cause them follow part of our counsels which shall be (will God) to the king's majesty's honour and pleasure. Further, as to this last journey of ours; it was devised by the queen, cardinal, and this French captain Lorges Montgomerie. Huntley fortified his army at his power, notwithstanding (at short) all that they devised was stopped by us that are the king's friends. Their whole intent was to have besieged the king's houses, unto the time they had gotten bargain (*terms*), but all was stopped, whereof they stood nothing content. This captain Lorges will not remain on our borders; wherefore the people think it a sure argument that he is not come into this country for our weals, but only to put forwards the pleasure of France, and to cause us make battle together. We pray you make us the most hasty answer that possibly may be had, so as we may know the king's majesty's mind in all these affairs; and, that we may be in a readiness conform to his majesty's pleasure, we doubt not but you will make us hasty answer. And thus we pray God ye fare well."

That there were good grounds for the boast that these lords had defeated the object for which the Scottish army was assembled, is evident from the general opinion at the time, as recorded by the old diurnalist, who says the retreat was caused by "the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard." Their professions of friendship were received by the English with suspicion, for they had so long played a double game, that they enjoyed the confidence of no party. The council of the north, in sending the above letter to the king, speak of it as a communication "whereof we judge many things; either that indeed they be afraid of our invasion, hearing percase of some preparation to be made here for the same, and would therefore make their own way with your majesty before; or else, supposing that your majesty is not furnished at this present to invade with any main power, they would seem to be your majesty's friends, in giving your highness advice to do that thing which they think that your majesty is not able to do at this time. This we conjecture the rather, for that they have been so cold in their proceedings towards your majesty all this while, because they would see what the Frenchmen were able to do, and whether they would land here on this coast, as they bragged; whereof we think, if it had so come to pass, they would have been content to have taken the advantage; but now that they perceive nothing to come of the French brags, these men, we think, remembering what promises they have made to your majesty, and knowing that they cannot continue against your highness's force, do the rather devise means how to persuade your highness to believe that they are your majesty's friends. And yet it may be that they mean well at this time; not doubting but your majesty will weigh it by your high wisdom, and use all their practices to your best commodity; and in our poor opinions this journey and enterprise intended to Kelso will thoroughly decipher them. It seemeth also, that they be partly of our opinion in the setting forth of the proclamation, which surely we think can do no hurt, and may percase do much good; referring nevertheless the whole unto your majesty, in whose gracious hands it remaineth to have done therein as to your high wisdom shall seem convenient."

The earl of Hertford was at this time preparing to take bitter vengeance for the recent invasion of England by the Scotch. At the beginning of September he moved his army forwards, and as he approached the border four French deserters were brought in who came to offer their service to king Henry, "and," says Hertford, "much they reprehend the misery and evil treatment which they have sustained and had in Scotland, and specially by evil payment of their wages, saying that they think a great number of their companions will come away from Lorges to serve the king's majesty, if they knew they might be received here." He adds, in the conclusion of the letter, "I am now advertised from Wark, that there is another Frenchman come hither, a soldier, to offer his service to the king's majesty, and saith that two or three hundred of his companions will do the like, which if they do, I would gladly know the king's majesty's pleasure how I shall order them." The reply to this communication shows the spirit in which these hos-

tilities were carried on. "And whereby your said letters you advertize of certain Frenchmen of Lorges' band, which have already rendered themselves unto you, desiring to know his majesty's pleasure what you shall do if any greater number of them shall sue to make the like submission; his majesty, thinking it scarcely good policy to give credit to any men of that nation, with whom his highness has mortal wars, except something was by them first done that might give good occasion thereunto, thinketh good that, if they shall make any means to you for that purpose, you shall give them such answer as is aforesaid, and therefore advise them to do some notable damage or displeasure to the enemies before their coming there; as trapping or killing the cardinal, Lorges, the governor, or some other man of estimation, whereby it may appear that they bear the hearty good mind to serve in deed; which thing, if they shall have done, your lordship may promise them not only to accept their service, but also to give them such reward, as they shall have good cause to be therewith right well contented."

It was the king's wish, on this occasion, that the Merse and the adjoining districts should be reduced to subjection to the English crown, and occupied permanently; and Hertford's instructions were that he should first take in Kelso, and that if, on a careful survey of the position of that place, it was found convenient for the purpose, he was to erect there a strong fort. Roxburgh was also to be surveyed with the same object, and garrisons were to be placed in Hume castle and the town of Duns. The English army began its march on the 5th of September, Hertford having first sent word to the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, and to sir George Douglas, directing them to join him with their vassals. On the afternoon of the 8th, Hertford came before Kelso. The town was occupied without difficulty, but about a hundred Scots, of whom twelve were monks, had taken possession of the strong abbey, and set the English at defiance. A body of Spaniards had rushed forwards rashly to the attack, but it was found necessary to withdraw them, and Hertford, having brought up his ordnance, made a breach in the walls. The Spaniards again marched to the assault, and having forced their way into the church, drove the Scots into the steeple, where they held out till the next morning, when the steeple also was taken by assault, and its defenders put to the sword. On examining the place Hertford was convinced that Kelso was not a fit place for a fortress, and the reasons which he alleges show the strength and importance of its ancient abbey. "We find here," he says, "so great and superfluous buildings of stone, of great height and circuit, as well about the church as the lodgings, which, to make any convenient fortress there, must of force be down and avoided, and that the taking down and avoiding thereof only, will ask at the least two months." He adds that, "as well the Italian fortifier, as the rest, do affirm unto me that they had liever undertake to make two fortresses in less time in the plain fields, than they would to make one of the said abbey. Therefore," he continues, "first we have resolved to raze and deface this house of Kelso, so as the enemy shall have little commodity of the same, and to remain encamped here for five or six days, and in the mean season to devaste and burn all the country hereabouts, as far as we may with our horsemen. As to-morrow we intend to send a good band of horsemen to Melrose and Dryburgh, to burn the same, and all the corns and villages in their way, and so daily to do some exploits here in the Merse, and at the end of the said five or six days to remove our camp, and to march to Jedworth, to burn the same, and thence to march through a great part of Tevyotdale, to overthrow their peels (*castlets*) and stone houses, and to burn their corns and villages, with all the annoyance to the enemy that we can; which in our opinions will be such a scourge and impoverishing to the enemy as they shall not be able to recover a long season."

All these professed intentions were fulfilled in the most barbarous manner, and the inhabitants escaped from none of the miseries of war. It is stated that in some instances Irish plunderers were employed in the work of devastation, because the English borderers showed a disposition to relent. The Douglases and their friends again evaded the summons to join the English forces, who, in return, visited their extensive territories with fire and sword. Henry had fitted out an expedition against the western islands, which compelled the earls of Argyle and Huntley to remain with their forces in the north; and Arran, unable to raise a sufficient force to protect the districts which were exposed to the English invaders, was obliged to hold

himself aloof, while they were ravaged without resistance. He however succeeded in raising a body of ten thousand men, who were probably most of them undisciplined, and the inconstant Douglases again marched under his banner. They attempted to make a diversion, by crossing the English border near Norham, but they had done no more than burn a village, when an alarm was given, and they fled and dispersed. This retreat was again attributed to the treachery of the earl of Angus.

The English army began at length to be straitened for provisions, in a country which it had literally reduced to a desert. Hume castle was reconnoitred, but the earl of Hertford considered it so strong, that it was not worth the labour and delay of a siege; and, after having, according to an official calculation of the time, burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towns, five market-towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals, he withdrew his army. He reached Horton, near Morpeth, in Northumberland, on the 23rd of September, and there dismissed his English forces, and sent the Spanish and Italian mercenaries to be distributed in the various border fortresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

STATE OF SCOTLAND; DESIGNS OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST THE WESTERN COAST AND THE ISLES; VIOLENT PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN SCOTLAND; GEORGE WISHART; ASSASSINATION OF THE CARDINAL.

No sooner had the English army disappeared, than a parliament was called to meet at Linlithgow on the 28th of September. Recent parliaments had been but slightly attended by the nobility, but on this occasion, understanding that it was intended to attaint the earl of Lennox, and confiscate his extensive estates, the barons came in great numbers, drawn together, as it was observed satirically, by the prospect of prey. Accordingly, one of the first acts of this parliament was to declare the earl of Lennox, and his brother the bishop of Caithness, guilty of high treason. The largest part of the property of Lennox was given to the earl of Argyle, who was, with the earl of Huntley, one of the chief supporters of the existing government; and the latter nobleman received the rest of Lennox's estates, with the bishopric of Caithness for his brother. It was determined at the same time that, for the defence of the kingdom, a force of a thousand men should be maintained on the border, for the support of which a land-tax of sixteen thousand pounds was ordered to be levied. It was also proposed to send the cardinal, with the commander of the French auxiliaries, Lorges, to France, to obtain a much larger force from that country.

But whatever attempt at vigour was shown by the government, it was neutralized by the secret treason of the lords of the English party, who, in spite of the injuries they had received during the recent invasion, continued to offer their advice and assistance to the invaders. Their conduct in many respects is quite inexplicable. The earl of Hertford was followed in his retreat from Scotland by a messenger from sir George Douglas, bringing him a letter in cypher, which he forwarded to the king from Newcastle on the 27th of September, the day before the meeting of the Scottish parliament. In this letter sir George Douglas gave the following as "his opinion" of the steps most likely "to bring the king's majesty to his purpose." "In the first, that there be two armies to come in Scotland, one at the west parts, the other at the east parts; their victuals to come up the Firth by ships, and if it will be thought that there is danger to the ships by reason of the long nights, there is as good roads for all manner of winds as is in Christianity (*Christendom*), and therefore they may be sure of their victuals at all times conveniently; for the one army shall come from Berwick along the sea-side to Edinburgh, the other land at Dunbarton, and meet at Stirling, both the said armies; but they must be provided to

remain in this country while they win the strongholds, and thereafter to put garrisons in the same; that being done, with other discreet handling of the noblemen, with gentle proclamations to be made, will obtain the hearts of the people, which will be a great advantage to the king's majesty's affairs in these parts." There can be no doubt that Douglas's counsel in this point was wise and prudent, and that the English king's cause was ruined by the barbarous manner in which his armies treated the Scots. "Secondly," continues sir George, "it should be done this year, ere they had support forth of France or other countries, and the sooner that the king might be provided, he shall with the more ease come to his purpose; and good it were the earl of Lennox come in at the west parts with that army, for he will find many favourers in those parts; that country loves him, and has hatred to the governor and cardinal; and that will make the king's majesty's affairs to go the better forward." Sir George next proceeded to stipulate especially for the protection of the king's friends in Scotland. "Thirdly," he says, "ye must advertise me with a full power of the king's majesty's, that how many noblemen and gentlemen that will assist to the peace and contract of marriage, shall be unhurt in their bodies, lands, or goods, and that they shall be rewarded after their good service, for they must be well treated that make good cause, and sharply put at that is in the contrary. There are noblemen that lie in far parts, that I trust shall be persuaded to this effect; they lie in divers parts of the realm, and therefore we must have knowledge of the king's purpose before the time of coming of the two armies. The king's majesty must give us trust, if he will we serve him; we must needs know before, for serving of the king's majesty according to our honours. I desire you to have pardon of my homely writing, for, if ye will use counsel, ye shall the rather come to your purpose. Fourthly, ye have been sharp at this time to gentlemen that would have done service to the king's affairs, and ye have spared the king's enemies; ye may ken (*know*) the friends from the enemies; and ye should not have been angry at this time with no man that would have been your friends; for if ye had made us of counsel, and then thereafter they had failed, ye might have done your pleasure to them. Ye must not be so sharp to your favourers, if ye will have the service of them that stands of good mind toward the king's majesty's affairs. Fifthly, wise men should use their friends gently, to give occasion to them to serve well, and that others should follow the same tread; for all things may not be done by force, but mixed with wisdom. The king's majesty will never recover this country with fire and sword, but with gentle handling of his friends, which I trust might be done with no unreasonable charges. And I take unto my record Almighty God, how my mind has been to the union of these two realms, and saving of Christian blood unshed; and, if it be your pleasure, that I may know your mind in writing with this bearer, who is trusty enough." With regard to himself, sir George Douglas said, "I will desire no thanks for the good-will and service I have done at this time, but, if it were known to you perfectly, ye would say that I am worthy gramercy; for, as I am true gentleman, I stopt the whole purpose of them that was in your contrary (i.e. *opposed to you*), which I fear shall be shortly to my displeasure. Therefore I desire you to advertise me surely, what the king's part shall be towards me and the rest of his friends here, if we be troubled for his cause; for we can have as great favour in this country as any man of the whole realm, we declaring us extreme enemies towards you, which shall never be in our default."

Such an invasion as sir George Douglas suggested might indeed have been fatal to the independence of Scotland, for the government had already shown its incapacity for defence, and the whole kingdom had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder. Many began to waver in their allegiance, for the overbearing and persecuting spirit of the cardinal had rendered him unpopular, and the Scots were already tired of their French auxiliaries. Fortunately, the English were not inclined to renew the invasion immediately. When, in the beginning of October, the earl of Hertford, who was well-informed of the state of things in Scotland by his spies and agents, was asked if he anticipated any attack on the English border, in case his own army were separated, he gave a melancholy picture of the weakness of the Scottish government. "You shall understand," he writes to the secretary, Paget, "that, touching the Scottish army that was assembled at my being in Scotland, the same, as I have been certainly informed since my return from thence,

exceeded not the number of six thousand men, Frenchmen and all, although the governor did as much as he could for his life to assemble a power for our resistance, as well by proclamations throughout the realm, upon pain of death, as otherwise, which was nothing obeyed. And upon, or rather before my return out of Scotland, they were all scaled (*dispersed*), and the governor himself departed sick out of the field, for very melancholy, that he could not assemble a sufficient party to resist us; of the which sickness, although I sent you news as they came to my hands that he should be dead, yet I have perceived since that the same is not true, but rather that he is recovered. Now, to tell you my opinion what likelihood there is of any attemptate or notable incourse to be made into this realm by the enemies; when I do consider the state of Scotland, what disobedience is used there to the governor, as well by the nobles and gentlemen, as also the commons, which do little or nothing esteem him, what diffidence, jealousy, and contention is among themselves, as now I am credibly informed that the earl of Angus and the governor are at great difference, and part-takers on both sides, and also considering that now, at my being in Scotland with the king's majesty's army, they were not able to assemble any greater power for our resistance than as before his mentioned; it persuadeth me fully to resolve and think, that they cannot assemble or call any force together, specially this winter, able to make any incourse or notable attemptate into the realm. And though they were able to assemble any force for that purpose, yet their country being so divested, and their houses, corn, and fuel so burnt and destroyed as it is, it is impossible for them, in mine opinion, to come with any number to their frontiers, where they can have neither forage for their horses nor victuals wherewith to sustain them. And now the gentlemen and surnames of the Merse and Tyviotdale, as well those which were burnt and harried of late, as others which I did forbear upon such respects as I advertized, and also some of Lothian, do make special sute and means for assurance, and to be received into the king's majesty's protection and defence as his highness's subjects and servants, as they were in sir Ralph Eure's time, which I think they would not sue for, if they saw any likelihood that the governor were able to make any power to defend them, or to annoy the king's majesty's frontiers. Also the Frenchmen do find such misery and scarcity in the country, that both they be weary of the same, and likewise the Scots be weary of them; and Lorges himself, as I am credibly informed, wisheth himself in France, and agreeth so ill with the Scots, and they with him and his whole band, that he seeketh and deviseth all the means he can to convey himself home." This statement of king Henry's lieutenant in the north confirms fully the opinion of sir George Douglas, that, by a more conciliatory policy, the Scots might at this time have been induced to agree to a union between the two countries.

It appears that the cardinal's personal enemies were still plotting against his life. This is distinctly intimated in a letter written on the sixth of October in cypher to the king, by the laird of Brunston (Alexander Crichton), who had already on a former occasion been active in a similar design. Brunston gives the king information of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, and of the report that the cardinal was to be sent immediately to France to obtain further assistance, adding, "but I hope to God his journey shall be shortit (*cut short*) to his displeasure." The laird of Brunston stated further, in this communication, that the cardinal was anxious to get the two queens into his castle of St. Andrews, and that he tried to gain over the governor to this measure by offering to bring about the marriage, so often talked of, between the young queen and the governor's son, "and the queen dowager makes her angry withal, but I believe she dissembles." On the 20th of October, the laird of Brunston addressed another letter to the English monarch, requesting a secret interview with sir Ralph Sadler at Berwick, for the purpose of consulting on matters of great importance for the advancement of Henry's designs on Scotland. He urged the necessity of secrecy, as he had matter to communicate in which he risked his own life and property in Scotland, and as the answer was to be returned to Coldingham, which belonged to sir George Douglas, we can have little doubt that the Scottish earls of the English party were acquainted with Brunston's communications.

We are unacquainted with the result of this application of the laird of Brunston; we only know that the earl of Hertford and sir Ralph Sadler had left the north and were then in London, and that Henry himself was occupied with an attack on the

western coasts, which had been retarded during the invasion by the earl of Hertford. The expedition itself, which was placed under the command of the earls of Lennox and Ormond, was fitted out in Ireland, and promised the most important results. Not long before it set out from Dublin, the king had obtained possession of a fortress in the west of Scotland, which he had long been anxious to obtain. Lord Maxwell happened to be in England, as Henry's prisoner; he had been one of the most zealous of his Scottish partizans, but his conduct had since been so faithless and vacillating, that in his displeasure the king even threatened to commit him to close imprisonment in the Tower of London. Lord Maxwell was possessed of three strong castles in Scotland, Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrave, and, anxious to return thither, he at last reluctantly agreed to place the English in possession of Caerlaverock, which was delivered to them on the 24th of October. But Henry was soon disappointed of the advantages he expected to gain by this acquisition. The governor, when he heard of the occupation of Caerlaverock by the English, borrowed some of Beaton's energy of character, held a sudden council, at which the only persons present with himself and the cardinal were eight bishops and abbots, and by their advice a proclamation was issued summoning "all manner of men" to meet the governor at Caerlaverock on the 2nd of November, with ten days' provisions. The garrison seems to have taken alarm at these preparations, for when the governor came to meet his forces at the day appointed, he found that the castle was deserted, and he took possession of it, and placed in it a captain of his own, named Bannatyne. Not content with this success, Arran determined on a new "raid," as it is called by the writer of a contemporary diurnal, against the possessions of the lord Maxwell. Having assembled a strong force at Dumfries, on the 21st of November, he laid siege to Lochmaben and Thrave, which were commanded by two of Maxwell's sons, who held out two or three days, and then surrendered them. The lord Maxwell himself was taken soon afterwards, with some of his English confederates, and thrown into prison on a charge of treason. It was remarked, that the earl of Angus did not accompany the governor in this expedition, and he is said to have excused himself on the ground that the lord Maxwell was his godfather.

It was near this time, on the 17th of November, that the long-threatened expedition against the Scottish islands set sail from Dublin. Donald, lord of the isles, who, in his hatred to the Scottish government, had become the devoted partizan of the English king, had passed over to Ireland with his fleet in the preceding August, to join his forces with those to be assembled under the earl of Lennox; but the expedition having been delayed while Lennox was employed with the English army in the lowlands, Donald, in the interval, returned to his own dominions, and died there. His successor, James Macconnell of Dunyveg, partook in his political prejudices, and looked with impatience for the arrival of his English allies. Lennox's departure was now hastened by an intimation from the earl of Glencairn that the moment was favourable for gaining possession of the castle of Dumbarton, and having sent his brother, the bishop of Caithness, to Dumbarton, he himself opened a communication with the new lord of the isles. Dumbarton castle was still held by Stirling of Glorat, Lennox's constable, who having before refused to deliver the castle to Lennox himself, now persisted in declaring that he would hold it in spite of all claimants until the young queen should be of age to receive it from his hands, but he admitted the bishop into the fortress. This alarmed the governor and the cardinal, and a strong force was again raised, with which Arran, assisted by Huntley and Argyle, laid siege to the castle; but this strong fortress defied their utmost efforts. The attack was now made under another form, and, after some secret tampering, the cardinal and the earl of Huntley succeeded in corrupting both the bishop and the keeper of the castle. The former deserted his brother on being promised restoration to his see; and Stirling was bribed by the prospect of a great reward to surrender the castle. This occurrence seems to have disconcerted entirely the expedition to the isles, and as we have no further account of it in contemporary records, it is probable that Lennox and Ormond returned with their fleet to Ireland.

We must turn from this abortive attempt at invasion, to scenes of a different description which were now about to be exhibited

in Scotland, where the animosities between Romanists and reformers were becoming every day more bitter. The cardinal was a fierce persecutor, and the earl of Arran, though in the earlier days of his government he had professed the doctrines of the reformation, and had kept two protestant chaplains, had apostatized, and was now willing to countenance the cardinal's excesses. Had the influence of the crown been at this time unbroken, the reformation in Scotland would no doubt have been in the utmost danger; but amid the general spirit of insubordination which prevailed throughout the kingdom, Beaton could only indulge his taste for religious persecution at intervals, while the notorious profligacy of his own life and of that of others of his ecclesiastical friends, tended to throw disgrace on the establishment which he was endeavouring by such violent means to support. On the other hand, the reformers were protected by the open support of the nobles and gentry who were hostile to the cardinal's influence, such as, with the Douglases, the earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshal, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, the laird of Brunston, Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, Douglas of Lang Niddry, and many others, who held out the overthrow of papal tyranny and the salvation of protestantism as one of the chief causes of their leaning to England.

One of the names most distinguished among the Scottish reformers at this period was that of George Wishart. He is believed to have been the son of James Wishart, of Pittarro, justice-clerk to James V., and was patronized in his youth by one of the most celebrated early Scottish protestants, Erskine of Dun, from whom perhaps he imbibed his hatred to popery. George Wishart is first known as the master of a school in Montrose, of which town Erskine was provost, and having provoked the catholic clergy by his attempt to introduce the study of Greek, to escape persecution he fled to England. There he first established himself in Bristol, where he preached openly against the offering of prayers to the Virgin Mary, and proceedings having been taken against him for heresy in 1538, he was obliged to save himself by a public recantation. He remained in England, where a rapid change in opinion was going forward, and we find him in 1543 residing at Cambridge, where he was remarked for his great learning, his profound and apparently sincere devotion, and his meekness and charity, although, when excited in controversy against the partisans of Rome, he exhibited a fierceness of zeal which astonished those who knew his gentleness at other times. During the negotiations for the peace and marriage in 1543, he returned to Scotland with the commissioners, and under the direct protection of the earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshal, sir George Douglas, and the lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, he began to preach earnestly against the errors of popery and the profligacy of the ecclesiastics, in the towns of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, and Ayr. He was listened to with the greatest enthusiasm, and at Dundee the excited multitude proceeded to acts of violence against the catholics, and destroyed the houses of the Black and Grey friars. Similar outrages were attempted in Edinburgh, and in other places. It is not to be wondered at if this man became an object of bitterest hatred to the cardinal, who, fearing to attempt openly to seize him, is said to have kept watch upon his movements in order to entrap him into his power, and even on one occasion to have hired assassins to make an attempt upon his life. From this time, when he went to preach, a two-edged sword was always carried before him by one of the most zealous of his followers, and when he held forth, his audience was composed in part of armed barons and their retainers.

During more than two years, George Wishart escaped all the attempts of his enemies to arrest him. At the close of the year 1545, while the governor was keeping his Christmas with the cardinal at St. Andrews, the earl of Cassillis invited Wishart to meet him and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham at Edinburgh, where they expected to obtain for him the occasion of publicly disputing with the bishops. For some reason or other, the earl and his friends were detained, and when the preacher arrived in Edinburgh, he found it necessary to remain for awhile in concealment; but finding himself well protected by the barons of Lothian, and sir George Douglas, he resumed his courage, and preached with his usual earnestness at Leith and Inveresk. Towards the middle of January, 1546, the governor and the cardinal returned to Edinburgh, and then the lairds of Brunston and Ormiston, considering Leith no longer safe, removed Wishart into West Lothian, where

he might remain concealed till Cassillis arrived. At this time Wishart was fully aware of his danger, and he appears to have had an almost prophetic anticipation of his approaching fate. Nevertheless, he preached an impressive sermon at Haddington, in which he warned his audience of the misfortunes which were hanging over his country; and, as he departed on his way to the house of Ormiston, escorted not only by the laird of Ormiston himself, but by his friends the lairds of Brunston and Calder, where John Knox, who had recently made his acquaintance and attached himself warmly to his person, offered to carry the two-edged sword, he begged him to depart, observing that one sacrifice was sufficient for that occasion. During the evening Wishart appeared remarkably cheerful; after supper he addressed the friends assembled round him in an impressive manner, taking for his subject the death of God's children. He then sung a psalm, and retired to rest. This was the 16th day of January.

On his return to Edinburgh, the vigilance of the cardinal had been aroused by the reports of Wishart's recent preaching, and when, on the 16th, information was brought him that he had preached at Haddington, and that he was lodged at Ormiston, he determined that his victim should escape him no longer. The earl of Bothwell, with a strong party of soldiers, was sent forward, and, reaching Ormiston at midnight, surrounded the house, while the cardinal himself, with a force of five hundred men, stood at a distance of about a mile, ready to assist him if necessary. Wishart was roused from his slumber by the clang of arms in the court below, and the voice of Bothwell was soon heard summoning the inmates to make no resistance. The call was obeyed, after some little negotiation, and, on Bothwell's assurance that his life and person should be safe, the preacher yielded himself into the hands of the soldiers. He was carried to the cardinal at Elphinston; but when Beaton was informed that he only had been arrested, he sent in haste to take the lairds, his friends, against whom his hostility was, perhaps, greater than against Wishart himself. Brunston had made his escape, but Ormiston and Calder were captured, and committed to close confinement in Edinburgh castle. The earl of Bothwell considered Wishart as his own prisoner, and carried him to his house at Hailes; but, though at first he seemed resolved to keep his promise of protecting him from violence, he soon yielded to the expectation of a high reward, and sold the victim to the cardinal.

Beaton now called a convention of the bishops and dignified clergy, who met at St. Andrews on the 28th of March. It appears that the intervening time had been spent in endeavouring to overcome the scruples of the governor, who was unwilling to lend the authority of the civil power to sanction the proceedings of the clergy. Even the weakness of Arran became firm in resisting such a bold act of persecution, though it is said that he owed his resolution partly to the earnest admonitions of a relation and friend in whom he was accustomed to place confidence, David Hamilton of Preston. This baron is represented by Buchanan as pleading in words to the effect, that he should be amazingly astonished if the governor permitted such an arbitrary proceeding against the servants of God, accused of no crime except preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, and deliver up innocent persons to be tortured by men of the most flagitious turpitude of conduct, and more than brutal ferocity of manners; persons whose integrity of life even their enemies unwillingly confessed, and whose doctrine he himself was not ignorant of, for he had lately been warmly devoted to it. It was that, he said, which had recommended him to the supreme power; he had publicly professed his attachment to it by edicts, and had undertaken openly to defend it, and he had exhorted the people in general to read and acknowledge it, and to exemplify it in their lives and conduct. "Reflect, therefore," he continued, "what men will think and say of you in future; reflect upon the mercies showered upon you by Providence. The late king, an active man and your enemy, was cut off in the midst of the same career which you are now pursuing; and they who hurried him to his fate by their counsels, are endeavouring to drive you on to your ruin. They opposed you at first with the whole weight of their power, and now they would beguile you into a snare by their deceitful advice. Recal to your remembrance the victory obtained over your countrymen, without murder or bloodshed, and over your enemies, trusting to their great superiority of force, a deed redounding so much to your glory and to their disgrace. Remember for whose favour you desert your God, and oppose your friends; awake at last, and dissipate the shades thrown by wicked men around you; place

before your eyes Saul, the king of Israel, raised from the lowest situation to the supreme power; mark how the favour of God followed him while obedient to his law, and in how much misery he was involved when he neglected his precepts; compare your successes with his prosperity; and, unless you change your counsels, expect no better, but rather a worse end, for he only intended what you now are doing, and that to conciliate the favour of bad men, who can neither hide their vices, nor even will they attempt to do it."

Listening to such counsels, the governor refused to authorize the cardinal's proceedings, and the latter determined to act on his own authority. On the day above mentioned, the 28th of March, Wishart was arraigned before the spiritual tribunal. We are told that a learned preacher, named John Winram, who was secretly attached to the doctrines of the reformers, was employed to deliver a sermon on this occasion, and that he preached in equivocal language, his rebukes applying rather to the judges than to the accused man. A bigoted priest named John Lauder was next brought forward as public accuser, and stated in violent and odious terms the charges against Wishart, who defended his opinions meekly, but firmly, and exhibited a profound knowledge of the holy scriptures. The result was, however, what might be expected; Whishart was found guilty of heresy, and condemned to be burnt. He was carried back to the castle, where, Buchanan tells us, "he spent the night in the governor's apartment, employed during the greater part of it in prayer. Next morning the priests sent two Franciscans to him, to acquaint him that the time of his execution drew near, and to ask if he wished to confess his sins to them, as was customary. He replied, that he had nothing to do with friars, nor would willingly converse with them; but if they would gratify him so far, he wished to converse with the learned man who had preached the day before. Winram, when he had obtained permission of the bishops, came to the castle, and held a long conversation with George Wishart, intermingled with many tears. At length, after he had ceased weeping, from which he could not at first refrain, he kindly asked him whether he would not wish to partake of the sacrament of the supper. 'Most willingly,' replied Wishart, 'if, according to Christ's appointment, it be shown forth in both kinds, namely, in both bread and wine.' Winram, on this, returned to the bishops, and having informed them that the prisoner solemnly affirmed his innocence of the crimes with which he was charged, and that he did not say so to deprecate his impending death, but only to leave a testimony to men of that innocence which was known to God, the cardinal, inflamed with rage, replied, 'As for you, we know very well already what you are.' Winram then asked whether he should be allowed the communion of the holy body and blood of the Saviour? on which the other priests, after consulting awhile together, gave it as their opinion, that it did not appear proper that an obstinate heretic, condemned by the church, should enjoy any ecclesiastical privilege. This answer being returned to him, when, at nine o'clock, the friend and servants of the governor assembled to breakfast, George was asked whether he would partake with them. He answered: 'willingly, and with more pleasure than I have done for some time past; for I now perceive that you are good men, and fellow-members of the same body of Christ with me, and because I know this will be the last meal I shall partake of upon earth. And I beseech you,' he continued, addressing the governor, 'in the name of God, and by that love which you bear towards our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to sit down at this table a little, and attend to me, while I address an exhortation to you, and pray over the bread which we are about to eat, as brethren in Christ, and then I shall bid you farewell.' In the mean time, the table being covered, as is the custom, with a linen cloth, and bread placed upon it, George began a short and clear discourse upon the last supper, and the sufferings and death of Christ, and spoke about half an hour. He especially exhorted them to lay aside wrath, envy, and malice, that their minds might be filled with love one to another, and so they might become perfect members of Christ, who daily intercedes with the Father, that we through him, our sacrifice, may obtain eternal life. Having thus spoken, when he had given God thanks, he brake the bread, and gave a little to each, and in like manner he gave the wine, after he himself had tasted, entreating them now to remember in this sacrament for the last time along with him, the memorial of Christ's death; as for himself, a more bitter portion was prepared, for

no other reason except preaching the gospel. After which, having again returned thanks, he retired into his chamber, and finished his devotions."

During this time, the preparations for his execution had been actively going on, and not long after Wishart had left the breakfast-table, two officers came to take him into their charge, who clothed him with a coarse black linen shirt, and affixed bags of gunpowder to different parts of his body. A scaffold had been erected on a pile of wood in the court before the castle, and upon this a stake was raised. Everything had been done to make it a grand exhibition of ecclesiastical triumph. The windows and battlements of the castle which looked on the place of execution were covered with tapestry and silk hangings, on which cushions were placed for the cardinal and his friends, that they might witness the spectacle, and receive the congratulations of the assembled crowd. The whole garrison was placed under arms, and all the cannon belonging to the castle were brought out and displayed ostentatiously, pointed direct to the scaffold, the gunners with lighted matches standing beside them. A flourish of trumpets announced the arrival of the victim, who mounted the scaffold firmly, and made a short address to the people, in which he exhorted them earnestly not to let the sufferings he was about to undergo, turn them from the truth of the gospel; and he declared that he freely forgave his judges and all his enemies. The executioner then approached him, and falling on his knees, begged that he might have his forgiveness, especially as he was not guilty of his death. Wishart kissed him, and forgave him, adding, "Now be of good courage, my heart, and do thy office, for thou hast received a token that I forgive thee." He then knelt, and prayed aloud, repeating three times, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me; Father of heaven, into thy hands I commit my spirit." When he had done this, he rose from his knees, and surrendered himself to the executioner, who fixed the hooks in an iron chain that was girt round his loins, and he was thus raised on the gibbet. Fire was then applied to the faggots, and at the same time the rope was tightened round his neck, and he was thus strangled before the flames reached him. The fire was kept up until his body was reduced to ashes.

Few occurrences ever produced so great a sensation in Scotland as the martyrdom of George Wishart. The boldness of his preaching had itself made him popular, while the absence of the sanction of the civil authority caused the sentence generally, except by the violent kirkmen, to be regarded as equally unjust and illegal. Brunston and his friends determined to take vengeance, and they were soon joined by men of higher character, who thought that in ridding the world of such a persecutor they were performing a deed that would be acceptable to God. John Lesley, the brother of the earl of Rothes, declared openly that he would have blood for blood; and his nephew Norman Lesley, (the master of Rothes), with Kirkaldy of Grange, and others, shared in his resentment. People in general were impressed with the belief that some great calamity hung over the cardinal's head.

Beaton, nevertheless, paid little attention to the public sentiments, secure in the belief that his late act of severity had cast terror into his enemies. He was at this time busily engaged in strengthening himself by private alliances with the nobility, and soon after Wishart's death he proceeded to Findhaven castle to be present at the marriage of one of his illegitimate daughters, Margaret Bethune, with whom he gave a princely dower, to David Lindsay, master of Crawford. While there, the cardinal received intelligence from some of his agents that the king of England was preparing for another invasion, and that the attack was this time to be directed against the coasts of Fife. As this would expose his castle of St. Andrews to danger, he hastened thither to strengthen its fortifications, and at the same time he summoned the gentry of the neighbourhood to meet him for the purpose of consulting on measures for defending their lands from the terrible devastations which had fallen upon other parts of the kingdom. At this meeting, Norman Lesley claimed of the cardinal the fulfilment of an agreement relating to an interchange of lands between them, and, receiving an equivocal answer, he went away in great anger, and carried the tale of his grievances to his uncle John, with whom it was resolved that the design which had been for some time harboured against the cardinal should be carried into immediate execution.

The numerous labourers employed on the new works of the castle rendered access to it at this moment much more easy than

usual, and the conspirators determined to seize upon this favourable opportunity. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of May, Norman Lesley came with five followers to take up his lodging at his usual inn in St. Andrews, where Kirkaldy of Grange had already arrived, and they were joined after nightfall by John Lesley, whose known hatred to the cardinal rendered it necessary that he should avoid observation. At daybreak next morning they proceeded to the castle, and when the drawbridge was lowered to admit the masons, Norman Lesley and three of his followers passed in with them and entered into conversation with the porter. While they were thus engaged, the rest of their party, including James Melville and Kirkaldy of Grange, entered unnoticed, or at least unsuspected, and they were followed by John Lesley, who purposely came last. When the porter saw John Lesley, his suspicions were excited, and he attempted to raise the drawbridge, but he was anticipated by Lesley, who leaped across. The conspirators in an instant dispatched the porter with their daggers, took from him the keys of the castle, and threw his body into the fosse. They then proceeded silently and deliberately to turn the workmen out of the castle, and having disposed of fifty gentlemen of the household in the same manner, they closed the gates, lowered the portcullis, and became entire masters of the fortress. Kirkaldy, who was well acquainted with the castle, having stationed himself at a private postern which offered the only chance of escape, the other conspirators proceeded to the apartments of the cardinal, who was roused from his sleep by the unusual bustle. He immediately threw on a nightgown, and inquiring from the window the cause of the disturbance, was told that Norman Lesley had taken the castle. He then rushed to the postern gate, but finding it guarded, he returned to the room he had left, seized his sword, and with the assistance of his page barricaded the door in the inside by placing the furniture against it. He had hardly done this, when John Lesley came to the door, and demanded admittance. The cardinal asked who was there? and on being told Lesley, he exclaimed, "Is it Norman? Norman Lesley I must have, for he is my friend?" It appears that the cardinal had taken from Norman Lesley and other barons a bond of manrent, on the force of which he now reckoned; but he received for reply, in a fierce tone, "Nay, I am not Norman, but John, and with me you must be contented!" At the same time Lesley called for fire to burn the door, and Beaton, perceiving that further resistance was useless, threw it open, and earnestly pleaded for mercy. Lesley and another of the conspirators, Carmichael, rushed upon him, stabbed him in several places, and would have dispatched him at once, but they were reproved and restrained by Melville, who urged that a judgment of God like that with which they were intrusted should be executed with gravity. Beaton had now fallen back upon a chair, and Melville, whose character was deeply tinged with religious fanaticism, placing the point of the sword at his breast, accused him of his numerous crimes, and especially of the death of George Wishart, and bade him repent of the innocent blood he had shed. He then said impressively, "Remember that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and his holy gospel;" and then thrusting the sword through his body, the cardinal sank back on the chair and expired.

By this time it was noised abroad that the cardinal's enemies had gained possession of the castle, and the alarm having spread through the town, the common bell was rung, and the populace, with their provost, rushed tumultuously to the castle gates, and shouted from the outside of the fosse that they wanted to see their prelate. Some of the conspirators, who had mounted the battlements, recommended them to go to their homes, assuring them that he whom they called was not able to come to them. As they became more clamorous, insisting that they must speak with the cardinal, Norman Lesley presented himself, and reproved them with their folly in wishing for an audience of a dead man; and at the same time the corpse was dragged to the place, and was hung naked and bleeding over the wall. "There," said Lesley, "is your god; and now that you are satisfied, go home to your houses." The crowd dispersed immediately, and the conspirators proceeded to take possession of the castle, and of the wealth which the cardinal had laid up in it, consisting not only of money, but of a large quantity of plate and jewels.

CHAPTER XVII.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ASSASSINATION OF BEATON; CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS HELD BY THE CONSPIRATORS; DEATH OF HENRY VIII.; WAR WITH ENGLAND; BATTLE OF PINKIE.

The removal of the cardinal from the stage, could not fail to create a great change in the acting of the political drama. Beaton's temper was violent and overbearing, and he was personally far from popular, except with the extreme papal faction. His death was a great blow to the ecclesiastical party, and it opened a door for conciliation among the nobles, which had been shut before; for many feared his offers of friendship, lest it should be a mere trap to ensnare them. The first consequence of the assassination of the cardinal was a coalition between the governor and the Douglases. During the recent troubles and intrigues, many of the nobles had entered into manrents or bonds with Arran, to promote the marriage of his son with the young Scottish queen, while others had entered into similar bonds with the queen-mother to oppose this ambitious design. Arran now formally relinquished this design, and the bonds on both sides were by mutual consent annulled. The earl of Angus and his friends promised zealously to support the interests of the queen-mother; they relinquished all further support of the marriage with England, and renounced for ever their alliance with king Henry VIII. Twenty nobles were chosen to form a secret council, four of whom were to act in rotation each successive month, and be in attendance on the governor for that purpose. One of the five principal lords of the late English party was to be included in the council of each month: sir George Douglas first, the earl of Angus second, and so on in succession the earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, and Marshal. Lord Maxwell was restored to the office of warden of the western marches, and to the possession of the strong castle of Lochmaben; while Beaton's office of chancellor was given to the earl of Huntley. It was agreed to take advantage of a clause in the treaty of peace just concluded between England and France, which stipulated the comprehension of Scotland, if that country were willing to agree to it; and Adam Otterburn, with Paneter, bishop elect of Ross, were sent as ambassadors to England. All these arrangements were brought about in a convention held at Stirling, on the 10th of June.

While the Scottish government was thus composing itself, another scene was enacted in the castle of St. Andrews. The early reformers had adopted extensively the belief, that the slaughter of an enemy of God's word was a justifiable act, and the cause of those who had murdered Beaton met with great sympathy. They retained possession of the castle, which had been so strongly fortified by the cardinal, that it might be defended by a few men, and they not only had possession of the cardinal's riches, and his stores of various kinds, but they held as a hostage the eldest son of the governor, who had been taken and kept by Beaton as a pledge for his father's fidelity to his league with the ecclesiastical party. The actual perpetrators of the murder were but a small party, but others soon joined them, some from an honest belief in the goodness of their cause, and others from the love of riot and plunder, so that within a few days their numbers amounted to no less than seven score Scottish gentlemen. Among those who entered into the castle from conscientious feelings were the celebrated John Knox, and John Rough, Arran's protestant chaplain who had been turned away when the governor joined the cardinal's party. The Scottish government at first attempted to negotiate with these men, who, from their holding the castle were termed the Castilians, for its delivery, but in vain; and a parliament was called on the 29th of July, by which they were declared guilty of treason. A proclamation was made forbidding all persons from aiding or encouraging them, and it was decreed that the kingdom should be divided into four parts, and that the military force of each should be brought in rotation to carry on the siege. The people of Lothian commenced on the 1st of September; but, although the governor directed the siege in person, and no means were left untried to force the garrison to capitulate, the walls of the fortress set at defiance all the engines which the besiegers could bring against it.

A recent historian of Scotland, Tytler, has attempted, we think unsuccessfully, to show that the murder of the cardinal was a plot which originated in England, and was urged on and fostered by English influence. It seems clear that the first proposal of assassination originated with the laird of Brunston and his confederates, although when communicated to the English king, he showed an earnest desire for its success. No doubt the knowledge that their design was secretly approved in England, encouraged the conspirators to carry it on; but wherever we trace its progress, we are convinced that every new step originated with the conspirators themselves, and that it was only communicated to the English government to obtain a promise of reward. The hostile proceedings against Brunston and his friends in the affair of George Wishart, with the events which followed, are quite enough to account for the final catastrophe. Yet when the deed was performed, the intelligence was welcomed on the southern side of the border, and it was to England especially that the Castilians, as they were called, looked for support. The younger Kirkaldy of Grange was sent to the English court, and, among other inducements, they offered to give up the earl of Arran's son to king Henry as a hostage. The Scottish parliament had provided against the inconvenience which might arise from the circumstances in which the heir of Arran was placed, by passing, with the consent of his father, a rather singular act, by which Arran's eldest son was declared to be disinherited until he should recover his liberty, and the earl's second son was made heir in the mean time. The English monarch, assenting at once to the application of the conspirators, directed a fleet to be sent to their aid, under the command of his admiral, William Tyrrell; and in the instructions given to this commander, the assassins of the cardinal and their colleagues are spoken of as "certain of our friends and servants in Scotland, who now remain besieged within the castle of St. Andrews, and, for their better defence against the malice of the adverse party, not concurring with them in the advancement of our godly purpose to the universal benefit of their country, require some aid to be ministered to them on our behalf." This expedition appears to have been got ready but slowly, and in the mean time Henry caused the Scottish ambassadors, who had then arrived at his court, to write to Arran, and he also wrote to him himself, requesting that the siege of St. Andrews might not be persevered in. On the other hand, remonstrances were addressed to Henry both from Scotland and France, against any interference on the part of England in favour of the besieged.

Meanwhile the Castilians had received confidence from the promise of assistance made to them by the king of England, while the siege was carried on languidly and ineffectually. It was not till the month of November that Arran showed any real vigour in his proceedings; but then, having sent pressing demands to France for aid, he determined to push the siege forwards. The resolution of the little garrison was not shaken, and they made great havoc among Arran's gunners. But the castle was now closely blockaded, and, provisions running short, sickness began to thin the ranks of the besieged, while the continual fire of the besiegers had considerably injured their principal defences. At this time both parties showed an inclination to come to an agreement, the intentions of each being, as it appears, equally insincere. The garrison, reduced to the last extremities for want of provisions, sought only for the opportunity of revictualling the castle, while it was Arran's object to gain time for the arrival of assistance from France, as the Scottish nobles were all wearied with the slow progress of the siege. An armistice was accordingly agreed to, the besieged promising to deliver up the castle as soon as a papal absolution should be obtained for the murder of the cardinal, which was to be accompanied in Scotland with a free pardon, and in the mean time they were to retain the fortress, and the governor's son, James Hamilton, was to remain in their hands as a hostage. This cessation of hostilities was finally agreed to on Sunday, the 19th of December, and immediately afterwards the conspirators despatched a messenger to their envoy in England, with instructions to explain to the king the real posture of affairs, and to state that their only object in consenting to a truce was to gain an opportunity of recruiting their stores and victuals; declaring, at the same time, their resolution to co-operate with the English forces, when they should be sent into Scotland. "It is necessary," they said, "ye cause his grace to consider, that we must have support and aid of money, and this money to be sent to us by

sea, in such sort of gold as may not be suspected to be of his grace, but of the coins of France or other countries; by the which the said castle shall not be victualled only to the keeping thereof; but also we shall give our friends such part thereof, as well as of our substance recovered of the cardinal, that they without suspicion shall be ready with us, when his majesty's force come, to do such things as his grace shall give us commandment of. This appointment shall cause ourselves provide victuals, and relieve the king's majesty of great labours and expenses." It was suggested "to solicit the king's majesty to write to the emperor, causing him to write to the pope for the stopping and hindering of our absolution, which makes the longer continuing of all things in our hands." "*Item*," it is added in these instructions, "his majesty must send the support of money to us by sea in a ship, which must come to St. Andrews, and shoot a boat when they desire to speak us, and so deliver the money in quiet manner; and we incontinent (*immediately*) after their departing, to send to the governor, showing him that they come to offer us support of victuals, which we refused; and so there shall be no suspicion of any support, by the which our provisions may be and shall be made the starker (*stronger*) among our friends." "For," they proceed to say, "ye shall consider that the clause and condition inserted in the contract, not to receive Englishmen, behoved to be granted, or else the siege had not been withdrawn; but our minds you know well, and cause show the same to the king's majesty."

The governor, on his part, sent another messenger to France, to hasten the assistance promised by the French king, and requiring especially to be supplied with some experienced men skilled in the attack and defence of fortified places, and in the ordering of battles; for the late operations against the castle of St. Andrews had convinced him of the inefficiency of the Scottish army in these respects. Meanwhile the Castilians in St. Andrews took advantage of the truce to make excursions into the surrounding country, plundering and oppressing the wretched inhabitants, who were mostly the tenantry of their opponents. Having gained confidence from the forbearance of the governor, and consisting partly of turbulent chiefs who had no very settled principles, they indulged in riot and licentiousness to such a degree, as to merit the denunciations of Knox and those who had joined them from conscientious motives. It was at this time that Knox first assumed the character of a preacher. He had entered the castle along with the lairds of Ormiston and Lang-Niddry, and their sons, whose education had been entrusted to his care, and he taught his pupils and delivered lectures on the scriptures to such as chose to attend in the chapel of the castle. The little congregation thus formed urged him to assume the ministry, and preach publicly to the people, but he refused, alleging his unwillingness to go where God had not called him. His refusal only made his auditors more anxious to overcome his scruples, and it was at length agreed that John Rough, Arran's protestant chaplain, who, as already stated, had joined the conspirators in the castle, should undertake the office of convincing him. One day, when the garrison were assembled to hear Rough's preaching, that minister chose for the subject of his discourse, the power resident in a congregation to elect their minister, and the danger of rejecting their call; and, after dwelling with great earnestness and feeling on this theme, he suddenly turned to Knox, and addressed him solemnly in the following words: "Brother, I charge you in the name of God, in the name of his Son, and in the name of this congregation, who now call upon you by my mouth, that you take upon you the office of preaching, and refuse not this holy vocation, as you would avoid God's heavy displeasure." Knox was deeply moved, and, rising, left the assembly in tears. He passed some days in great mental anxiety, and then, laying aside his scruples, yielded to the wishes of the congregation, and without further formality assumed the public office of a preacher of the gospel. In this character he reproved violently the vices and excesses of the garrison, and denounced against them God's anger, declaring that the Almighty would not be mocked, but that he would soon inflict upon them severe punishment, by those whom they least feared, on account of the profanation of his laws.

It was in the midst of these occurrences, on the 28th of January, 1547, that Henry VIII. of England died, leaving his crown to a child, Edward VI., and not long afterwards the grave also received his great rival, Francis I. of France. The new king of France, Henry II., was influenced by the councils of the house of Guise, and he determined at once to support in every way

in his power the catholic party in Scotland. Monsieur D'Osell, a creature of the Guises, was sent to Scotland as ambassador to confirm the old league, and he remained there to assist the queen dowager with his counsels in the difficulties with which she had to contend. On the other side, the English monarch is said to have recommended on his death-bed that his ministers should persevere in the war with Scotland, until they had forced that country to fulfil its engagements with regard to the marriage. Henry's policy of seeking a union between the two countries was a wise one, had he not overthrown it by the violent manner in which he attempted to enforce it; and the people of England, still labouring under old national prejudices and animosities, looked upon the opposition of the Scots as little better than rebellion, and were strongly excited against what they looked upon as their faithlessness and inconstancy; and it must be confessed that the conduct of the Scottish nobility tended to confirm them in this opinion. The people of England, moreover, now took a warm interest in the religious disputes, and we need not be surprised that one of the first acts of the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset and protector of the young king, was to continue the friendly communication with those who held the castle of St. Andrews against the government of Scotland. The Castilians, as they were called, no sooner heard of the death of Henry VIII., than they sent Balnaves as their envoy to the English court, where he was received with great favour, and all the promises made by the late king were confirmed. It was also determined to send money to the garrison of St. Andrews, to enable them to hire troops, and Somerset made no secret of his intention of assembling an army for the immediate invasion of Scotland. Balnaves was sent home to treat with the Scottish nobles who had formerly promised to aid the king of England in his designs, and he found many of them ready to repeat their old treasons. The garrison of St. Andrews, trusting to Somerset's promises, refused to fulfil their agreement when the papal absolution arrived.

Under these circumstances, it was to be expected that the two countries would not long remain at peace. The first act of hostility was the capture of a Scottish privateer, called the Lion, by an English ship named the Pevensey; the English, in answer to the complaints of the Scots, declared that the Lion had been the aggressor. In April, an English army of five thousand men assembled on the western border, invaded Scotland, reduced and plundered the country, carried away the laird of Johnston and other captives, and seized and garrisoned many of the small Scottish fortresses in the country which they had thus overrun. The governor was indignant at this attack, and having assembled hastily a considerable force, marched to the border, and stormed and destroyed the castle of Langhope. Buchanan tells us that on his march, when encamped at the Meggat river, Arran was importuned by the friends and relations of the cardinal to bring to trial Norman Lesley's father, the earl of Rothes, who was with him, and whom they represented as dangerous from his doubtful fidelity. Arran consented, and the judges were chosen in the usual manner, but the earl of Rothes was unanimously acquitted.

After the capture of Langhope, Arran was preparing to reduce the other strongholds which had been occupied by the English, when he received intelligence that the long-expected French fleet had entered the firth. He immediately marched with such haste to St. Andrews, that the garrison found themselves besieged before they expected, and some of their party were shut out of the castle, while others who did not belong to them were obliged to remain inside. The French fleet consisted of sixteen armed galleons, commanded by Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, a knight of Rhodes, who was well known for his skill in warlike operations. He drew up his ships to the shore in such a manner that, at full tide, they commanded the outworks towards the sea, while the great ordnance he had brought with him was landed. Some large cannons were planted on the steeples of the abbey church and the college of St. Salvator, while others were formed into a battery against the walls.

The besieged, meanwhile, did not lose their courage, but, when John Knox reproached them with their excesses, and in prophetic denunciations threatened them with speedy defeat and ignominious captivity in foreign lands, they only pointed to their walls, and said scornfully, that they were strong enough to hold them till the arrival of their English friends. They had, however, miscalculated their strength, for the

well-directed artillery of the foreign engineers soon produced its effect. The cannon from the two steeples swept the court of the castle, so that it was impossible for the besieged to venture out into it without the greatest peril; and in a short time the whole of a new curtain wall was broken down by the fire of the besiegers, which made an effectual breach. The besieged now held a counsel of war, at which it was proposed to make a desperate sortie; but after some discussion this plan was abandoned, and it was determined at last to send a flag of truce, and offer to surrender if their lives and property were granted them. This proposal was instantly rejected, and they were told that they could hope for nothing but their lives, and those could only be granted conditionally. They seem most to have feared the vengeance of their own countrymen, and refusing to acknowledge the authority of the governor, who they said had acted treacherously towards them, they offered to surrender themselves prisoners to the king of France. They probably expected thus to obtain more lenient treatment; and we are told by some of the old historians that this was promised to them. They were accordingly marched out of the castle, and carried on board the fleet. The plunder of the castle, which was seized by the victors, consisted not only of the personal goods and treasures of the cardinal, but of those of some of the conspirators who had brought them there for safety, and it is said to have amounted altogether to not less than a hundred thousand pounds. The prisoners did not meet with the indulgence they expected; those who were landed in France, were distributed in the dungeons of the various castles in Brittany, while the rest were kept chained on board the galleys, and treated with the utmost rigour. Among the latter was the preacher Knox. Before Strozzi set sail to return to France, he, by the consent of the governor, totally dismantled the castle. Some say that this was done in obedience to a law of the Romish church, which ordered the destruction of any house in which a cardinal had been murdered; but others represent it as a mere precaution, to render the fortress useless to an enemy who might succeed in possessing himself of it.

The triumph of the government seemed only to be the signal for new divisions and intrigues. Among other articles in the chamber of Balnaves, who had been an active agent between the conspirators and the English ministers, a register book was found, containing the autograph subscriptions of two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, including those of the earls of Bothwell, Cassillis, and Marshal, lord Kilmaurs, and lord Grey, binding themselves secretly to the service of England. Bothwell had agreed to give up his castle of the Hermitage to the English, and to renounce all allegiance to the governor, so soon as the English army entered Scotland, and he was to receive as a reward the hand of the duchess of Suffolk, the aunt of the young English king. Sir George Douglas had also again given a secret assurance of his readiness to join with the English. Lord Grey had been tampering with the earls of Athol, Errol, Sutherland, and Crawford, who showed themselves willing to serve the English king for a due consideration. Glencairn professed his readiness to cooperate in the invasion with his friends and vassals, and he proposed to raise two thousand men, to be ready either to join the English army or to keep possession of the districts of Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew. He asked for money to equip a troop of horse, with which he promised to hold the governor in check until the arrival of the English army; and he gave information and advice on the best means of holding in subjection the country through which it had to march. He also assured the protector of the devotion of the earl of Lennox, who was now in Scotland. It must not be concealed in defence of the conduct of many of these noblemen, that they pleaded as their excuse the necessity of protecting God's word and the true followers of the gospel from popish tyranny. Angus alone seems at this time to have remained true to his allegiance.

Arran was embarrassed in the highest degree by the discovery of the register book of Balnaves, and the imperfect knowledge he thus gained of the extensive confederacy forming against his government, and he seems to have hesitated as to the course to pursue. To have proceeded openly against all who were suspected of disaffection might have raised a spirit of opposition that would have been full of peril at a moment when the country was threatened with a formidable invasion, and the governor was not aware of the secret communications we have just described; but he chose the most dangerous of all courses, in arresting one only of the nobles, the earl of Bothwell, who was

committed to prison, while the others, left at large, were thus warned of the governor's intention towards them. The governor meanwhile took the best steps he could for the defence of the kingdom. A line of beacons was established on the hills near the coast, so as to form a chain of communication from St. Abb's Head to Linlithgow, and horsemen were kept at each station to carry intelligence. An appeal was next made to the people in a superstitious form which was derived from the most remote antiquity, and had never been resorted to except on some awful crisis. Two rods of hazel were formed into the shape of a cross, and the extremities were burnt in the fire, and, while still blazing, extinguished in the blood of a goat slain for the occasion. This was called "the fiery cross;" it was placed on the end of a spear, and transmitted from place to place by the heralds and pursuivants; and the call thus made was felt to be one of such a nature as few dared to disobey. In a very short time, an army of thirty-six thousand men was assembled in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh.

During this time the protector Somerset had made his preparations for war with deliberate foresight. He had sent an envoy to summon the Scots to fulfil their original agreement with regard to the peace and marriage, but he received only a direct refusal, and it was intimated that the young queen was to be sent to France. Upon this, Somerset directed his army, which was admirable in spirit and condition, to rendezvous at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he arrived to take the command in person on the 27th of August. A fleet under lord Clinton, consisting of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports, attended on his movements. The English army now consisted of ten thousand foot, and about six thousand horse, which was divided into three principal wards or battles. The vanward was commanded by Dudley earl of Warwick, one of the most distinguished commanders of his age; the protector in person led the main battle; while the rear was entrusted to the aged veteran lord Dacre of the north. Lord Grey of Wilton, high marshal of the army, commanded the cavalry, under whom served a body of mounted Spanish carabineers led by Don Pedro de Gamboa. Each division of the army was accompanied by wings of horse, and by a certain number of pieces of artillery, each with its guard of pioneers.

The English army began its march on the 2nd of September, and advanced steadily along the coast, in sight of the fleet. While at Newcastle, the protector had received a friendly visit from the laird of Mangerton, and it would seem that the disaffection of the southern barons to Arran's government led them to offer no opposition to the progress of the enemy. On the 4th of September, Somerset reached the defile called the Peaths, a difficult pass on the northern extremity of Berwickshire, where it had been rumoured that the Scots would make an attempt to stop his march. It consisted of a valley six miles in length, stretching towards the sea, with declivities on either side so steep that it could only be passed by paths leading slope-wise, from which circumstance it was said to have received its name (the Peaths, or paths). When the English army arrived here, they found no force collected to resist them, though the Scots had attempted to impede their progress by cutting trenches across the paths. These were not deep enough to do much mischief, but a whole day was spent in leading the army through the pass, and conducting it into the county of Haddington. The castle of Douglas, commanded by a son of the lord Hume, was surrendered without a blow, but the strong forts of Thornton and Innerwick made more resistance, and were only surrendered when their walls were beginning to give way under the fire of the English artillery. All these fortresses were dismantled. The protector, continuing his march, left Dunbar within gun-shot on his right, and encamped that night near Angus's castle of Tantallon. Next morning he advanced to East Linton, and the infantry crossed the river Tyne by a narrow bridge, while the horse and artillery passed at a ford. The castle of Hailes opened upon them an ineffectual cannonade, as the English army passed, and soon afterwards a body of light horse under a noted borderer called Dandy Car, advanced to reconnoitre, but they were quickly dispersed by a party of English cavalry under lord Warwick. The same evening—it was the 7th of December—Somerset encamped at Lang-Niddry.

Next morning, the eighth of September, Somerset communicated by signal with his fleet, which lay at anchor near Leith, and the admiral, lord Clinton, came on shore to him. The protector was aware that the whole Scottish army lay encamped near Musselburgh, and he directed that the

larger ships should cast anchor near that town, while the transports and victuallers should keep close in to the shore to attend on the movements of the army. After these directions had been given, the English commenced their march from Lang-Niddry. The vicinity of the enemy was proved by the frequent appearance of bodies of light cavalry, who approached on hills near enough to watch the proceedings of the invaders. The rugged character of the road obliged the army this day to march slowly, and at night they had only reached the now celebrated little town of Preston-Pans, where they encamped in a good position, having on the south the hill of Faside, not far distant, the firth of Forth to the north, and the Esk to the west; on the other side of which, distant about three miles, and within sight of the English position, the Scottish army lay encamped in a very strong position at Edmonstone edge.

Early on the morning of the ninth, a force of fifteen hundred light horse under the command of the lord Hume, forming the main body of Arran's cavalry, showed themselves on the neighbouring hills, and rode up close to the English vanguard, shouting and doing everything in their power to provoke the English to attack them. It appears to have been their design, as on several other occasions during the previous day, to draw the English cavalry into an ambush, and they had concealed near them a body of five hundred foot. Somerset was led by the boldness of the lord Hume's horse to suspect that he was better supported than he seemed to be, and he gave strict orders that none of his troops should leave their ranks to interfere with them. Their forbearance seems to have emboldened the Scottish cavalry, who rode up close to the English ranks setting them at defiance. At length lord Grey obtained leave of the protector to attack them, and just as they came within a stone's-throw of the English line; and were wheeling about to return, he dashed forward with his own demi-lances and a thousand men at arms. The Scots faced about, and bravely withstood the charge, and the conflict lasted about three hours, but it was fatal to the Scottish cavalry, of whom thirteen hundred were slain, the English pursuing them for three miles, till they came close to their own camp. The lord Hume was himself severely wounded, and his son, the master of Hume, was taken prisoner. The loss of the English was very trifling; it is said but four killed. This imprudent affair was disastrous in every sense to the Scots; it not only deprived them of a very important part of their force, but it spread discouragement through the whole army, while it encouraged their enemies. It is said that they complained that the English on this occasion gave no quarter, and that the latter in reply reproached them with their cruelty at the battle of Ancram Muir, in which sir Ralph Eure was slain.

Immediately after this affair, Somerset, anxious to reconnoitre the enemy's position, took with him the earl of Warwick and three hundred horse, and descending the hill of Faside, rode along a lane which led north to the church of Inveresk, and which gave him a view of the whole front of the Scottish camp. It formed nearly a square, of about a mile in circumference, defended on the right by a morass extending to the south; on the left by the firth of Forth, parallel to the shore of which a turf wall was raised, defended with a few field-pieces; to the west, the retreat lay open to Edinburgh, and in front the river Esk flowed between the two hostile armies. The bridge of Musselburgh, by which the river was to be passed, was occupied with artillery. Somerset saw at once the strength of this position, and that it would be perilous in the highest degree to attempt to attack the Scots while they held it; but it did not escape his military eye that it was partly commanded by the hill of Faside and by several points of the lane, and he determined to occupy these points next morning with his ordnance, in the hope of compelling the Scots to dislodge from their position. When he had made these observations, the protector and his party returned, and they had ridden about half-way to the English camp, when they were overtaken by a Scottish herald with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpeter, and bringing a message to the duke of Somerset. The herald stated that he was sent by the governor of Scotland, first, to ask for an exchange of prisoners; and secondly, to state that his master, wishing to avoid the shedding of Christian blood which must result from the battle that now seemed unavoidable, was willing to allow him to return home with his army without molestation, if he would retreat without doing further injury. When the herald had delivered his message, the trumpeter

stepped forward, and said that his master, who was the earl of Huntley, had charged him to say that, in order to bring the quarrel to a speedy issue, and with less injury to both armies, the earl was ready to encounter Somerset twenty to twenty, or ten to ten, or, if he preferred it, in single combat. To the herald the protector said, that he had not come into that land in order to march back without effecting anything, but that his object was to obtain a solid peace for both countries. He said that his quarrel was just, and that God would prosper it, and since so many former demands had been made, and conditions offered, in vain, it must now be decided by an appeal to arms. Then turning to the trumpeter, "Tell thy master," he said, "that he seems to be somewhat wanting in discretion, seeing that he is himself so much inferior in dignity, to send his challenge to one who has the whole government of a kingdom placed in his hands; though, if I had been my own master, and not the bearer of so important a charge, I would not have refused a personal encounter. Meanwhile," he added, "there are many in my army who are equal in nobility and rank to Huntley, whom, if he think fit to challenge, he will find perhaps readier to fight than he wishes." Upon this Warwick stepped forward, and offered to accept the challenge, but Somerset interfered, stating that he also was higher in rank than Huntley, and then turning to the herald, he said, "Tell the governor and Huntley both, that the army I have with me, compared with the forces under their command, is small and weak; nevertheless, if they will come out here and give me battle, they shall both have fighting enough." Warwick and others still pressed forward, and urged to be allowed to accept Huntley's challenge, but the protector refused, and, dismissing the governor's messengers, he returned to his camp. There, after consultation with his officers, the protector determined still to make an effort to avert further hostilities, and he addressed a letter to the governor, offering to withdraw his army from the Scottish territory, on the sole condition that the Scots should agree to keep their young queen in her own country, and enter into no treaty with France relating to her, until she should be of an age to judge for herself, and decide whether she would accept the English marriage or not. It is said that Arran, on receiving this letter, showed it to his confidential friend Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews, who, in his bigoted zeal for the Romish church, urged him to listen to no further proposals from the enemy; and the governor himself, persuaded that the letter was only a proof that the English army was afraid to risk a battle, gave ear to his arguments. It was determined between them that the contents of Somerset's letter should be entirely suppressed, and a report was sent abroad that an arrogant message had been received from the English commander, requiring the Scots to deliver up their queen, and submit to his mercy. Thus the last hope of an accommodation was destroyed.

Pains, however, seem to have been taken to convince the Scottish soldiers that the English would not venture to fight, and both the men and their commanders adopted the mistaken notion that the ships had been brought near the shore in order that the English army might embark suddenly, and so escape without the dangers of a march overland. They were now anxious that their enemies should not escape, and it is said that, to prevent them, they formed the project of attacking their camp by surprise during the night, but that when they examined the approaches, they found that Somerset was too skilful and prudent a general to let his army be exposed to a danger of that kind. But the opinion that Somerset meditated a flight seemed confirmed when, early on the morning of the 10th, he broke up his camp, and began his march towards the hill of Inveresk, where he intended to plant his ordnance on the eminence which commanded the Scottish position. Arran was convinced at once that the English had commenced their retreat to the fleet, which now lay in the bay of Musselburgh, and that it was their intention to embark, and, resolving to anticipate them by throwing himself between them and the shore, he gave orders for the whole army to leave the camp and pass the river. Many of his best officers urged him not to quit his present strong position until he was more certain of the enemy's intentions, and the earl of Angus, who commanded the vanward of the Scottish army, refused to obey, until he was charged to march on pain of treason.

The Scottish army was divided, as cus-

tomary, into three divisions, of which the vanward, ten thousand strong, consisted of the forces of Fife, the Mearns, Angus, and the west country, commanded, as we have just stated, by the earl of Angus. It was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery, and on the left by four hundred light horse. With it marched a large body of priests and monks, who carried a white banner, on which was painted a figure kneeling with dishevelled hair before a crucifix, with the motto, *afflictæ ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris*, [forget not the afflicted church.] The men of Lothian, Fife, Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the barons of Scotland, formed the main battle. It was covered on the right by four thousand west highlanders under the earl of Argyle, and its left wing consisted of men from the isles, under Macleod, Macgregor, and other chiefs. It was defended on both flanks by artillery.

The English army was on its march to occupy the position at Inveresk, when, to the surprise of everybody, the Scottish forces were seen passing the river, and approaching rapidly to encounter them. Somerset immediately formed his army in order of battle, and quietly watched the movements of his opponents, uncertain of their intentions. It was soon evident that the design of the Scots was to throw themselves between the English and the sea, but as they moved for that object, one of the English war-galleys drew in near to the shore, and opened its fire on the wing of the rearward with so much effect, that the master of Graham and others were killed, and the whole body of the highlanders were thrown into disorder. On receiving this check, the Scots altered their plan, and turning to the southward, they made a rapid march towards the west end of the hill of Faside, in order to gain that eminence and attack the enemy with the advantage of the ground. Somerset immediately gave directions for a corresponding movement in order to defeat their purpose. At this time the protector was standing with the earl of Warwick, watching the advance of the Scots. When the latter saw their enemies also moving towards the hill, they suddenly halted in the middle of the course, to the surprise of Somerset, who expressed to Warwick his opinion that they would advance no further, and that there would be no battle that day. But that experienced commander thought differently, for he judged rightly that the Scots had not halted from fear, but in order to recover themselves from the fatigue of their rapid march, that they might not come upon the enemy breathless. Accordingly, after a very short pause, they resumed their march, moving so quickly that many who saw them could hardly be convinced that they were not cavalry.

The protector and the earl of Warwick now congratulating each other on the certainty that the Scots would fight, separated, each proceeding to his respective post. Lord Grey and sir Ralph Vane, who were stationed at the extreme left of the English army with the veteran cavalry known by the name of the Bulleners, and the demi-lances under lord Fitzwaters, were now ordered to move forwards and charge the right wing of the Scots, and keep them in check till the English vanward should advance further on the hill, and till the other divisions should come up to form the line. Lord Grey executed this movement with the utmost gallantry. After halting for a moment on the hill, he dashed down at full gallop against the left wing of the division under the earl of Angus. This consisted of footmen, armed with spears eighteen feet in length, who, forming according to the usual practice of Scottish warfare, presented a front which is compared by the old writers to the bristles of a hedgehog. It was impossible for any cavalry to make much impression on an obstacle like this; nevertheless Grey and the division under his command pressed forward. Before they reached the enemy, they came unexpectedly upon a wide muddy ditch or slough, which lay between them, through which they struggled with difficulty. They had no sooner cleared it, than lord Grey, with the foremost companies, charged the Scots. But the advantage of infantry over cavalry was soon experienced in this encounter. Two hundred of the English, including many of their bravest officers, were thrown from their horses, and dispatched with the short daggers, or whingers, which the Scots carried at their girdles. Andrew Flammock, the standard bearer, saved the colours with the utmost difficulty, leaving the staff in the hands of the enemy. The horses, many of them desperately wounded, became furious, and increased the disorder, and the confusion of the whole body of the men-at-arms became so great that lord Grey, himself severely wounded, had the utmost difficulty in withdrawing them without much

more serious loss. If the earl of Angus's division had been properly supported, the consequences might have been very serious to the English army. But the Scottish centre and rear were still at a considerable distance, and Angus now felt the want of the cavalry which had been so rashly sacrificed on the preceding day. The English had retreated with the utmost confusion up the hill, but Angus's division, unsupported, was hindered from pursuing them by the fear of exposing themselves too far in face of the English forces, and the earl of Warwick, with sir Ralph Sadler, who now held the office of treasurer of the army, galloped up, and after great exertions, restored order among the disordered ranks of their cavalry, which had become intermixed with the infantry sent to support it. The Spanish carabineers, a fine body of men, perfectly disciplined, and covered both man and horse with mail, were now brought forwards, and advancing to the edge of the ditch which had been passed by the cavalry in the former encounter, discharged their pieces in the faces of the Scottish infantry, when they were within half-musket range. They were supported by the foot hagbutteers under sir Peter Mewtas, and by the English archers, who discharged upon the ranks of their opponents a destructive shower of arrows. At the same time a battery of artillery, which had been placed on the hill, opened its fire upon the Scots with great effect. Unable to support this combined attack, Angus gradually withdrew his men from their exposed position.

It was at this moment that, as on so many former occasions, the Scots were ruined by the rashness and indiscipline of the troops from the north. The highlanders in Angus's division had already, according to their practice, broke from their ranks, and scattered themselves over the field to strip and plunder the slain; and as usual, when they saw their companions giving way, they imagined that the Scots were already defeated, and, anxious to secure their booty, fled in all directions. This sudden panic communicated itself to the other troops, and they all began to separate and run off in the utmost disorder. Angus himself was struck down, and only escaped by lying still between the furrows of the ground, till one of his followers brought him a horse. The centre division, which was still a quarter of a mile behind, followed the example of the van, and the general confusion was increased by the conduct of the governor, who commanded it in person, and who, instead of attempting to rally his troops, shouted out, "treason! treason!" It is said that he dismounted from his horse, and, slipping through the broken ranks, till he had disentangled himself from them, mounted another and fled unobserved. All was now lost; for the whole Scottish army was almost in an instant broken up and scattered over the plain, every man throwing away his arms and other encumbrances, and endeavouring to make his escape in the best way he could. The ground is described by those who witnessed the battle, as being covered with pikes like a floor strewed with rushes, and among them lay scattered in every direction steel-caps, helmets, bucklers, swords, and daggers. The flight began at one o'clock in the day, and the pursuit continued till six in the evening. The English cavalry, irritated at their first defeat, and still more so when on advancing they beheld the bodies of their companions, stripped by the highlanders, lying naked and mangled about the ground, swept over the field and slew without mercy all they overtook. When any of them seemed to slacken in their vengeance, their companions called on them to remember the slaughter of their companions at Ancram Muir, or, as that battle was often called, Peniel Heugh. The English writers tell us that fewer were saved owing to the circumstance that they were all dressed meanly, and few bore any kind of ornament or ensign to distinguish the chiefs from their men, and the English spared none but those from whom they expected to obtain a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three different directions; many of them directed their course towards Edinburgh, others rushed into Leith as the nearest place of refuge, while the greater number fled to Dalkeith, in the hope of receiving protection from the morass on the right of their camp. Great numbers were drowned in the Esk, the waters of which were red with blood. Many who sought to conceal themselves among the rushes, by immersing themselves in the water up to the mouth, were dragged out by their pursuers and put to death. The number of the slain is differently stated at from ten to fourteen thousand men. Those who were present state, that the ground for five miles, in a breadth of four miles, was covered with the bodies of the dead as thickly strewn as cattle in a well-stored

pasture field; and it is said, that no less than three hundred and sixty widows were made that day in Edinburgh alone. The priests were slaughtered without mercy, and their sacred banner was found trampled in blood and dirt. The prisoners taken in this battle were estimated at not more than fifteen hundred. Among them were a few nobles, who seem to have escaped slaughter by accident. The earl of Huntley, surrounded by hostile soldiers, against whom he was defending himself with difficulty, was rescued and taken prisoner by the timely arrival of sir Ralph Vane.

This great and unexpected disaster was called at the time, from the neighbouring town, the battle of Musselburgh, but it has since become more usual to call it, from the spot on which it was fought, the battle of Pinkie. It was near night when the English army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish camp, and they there gave one long and loud shout, which was said to have been heard in the streets of Edinburgh, and then encamped on an eminence near, called Edgebuckling Brae. All the Scottish artillery, baggage, camp, and many of the colours, fell into the hands of the victors. The governor reached Stirling in safety, where he found the two queens, and if Somerset had pursued him thither, they would probably have fallen into the hands of the English. Fortunately, however, for Scotland, the protector had received intelligence of intrigues against his authority in England, which made him anxious to return. His first movement, after the battle, was to seize upon Leith, where he quartered his horse, and he immediately afterwards received the submission of the earl of Bothwell, who had been released from prison. Meanwhile his forces ravaged the country around in a cruel manner. They burnt the town of Kinghorn, and several smaller fishing ports on the coast of Fife, and placed a garrison in an old monastery on a small island called Inchcolm, in the firth. The English remained in their position at Leith about a week, and on the 18th of September, after setting fire to that town, and having already plundered and unroofed the abbey of Holyrood, Somerset commenced his retreat. The fleet, in its way home, took possession of the strong castle of Broughty, at the mouth of the Tay, which was delivered up to lord Clinton by lord Gray; and the chiefs of the Merse and Teviotdale, including the lairds of Cessford, Fernyhirst, Ormiston, Mellerstair, and many others, surrendered their castles to the protector as he marched through those districts, and took the oath of allegiance to king Edward. The protector seized the strong castle of Hume, and placed a garrison in it, and he erected a new fort on the ruins of the dismantled castle of Roxburgh. It is said that, in his anxiety to complete this latter work, Somerset himself, with his lords and officers, laboured with their own hands, and that within a few days it was ready to receive a garrison.

Scotland had at this time been exposed to invasion from another side. Two days before the battle of Pinkie, a body of five thousand men, under the command of the earl of Lennox and lord Wharton, entered by the west marshes, took Castlewick, which was given to the charge of sir Edward Dudley, and ravaged the country around. They destroyed the town of Annan, and blew up its church with gunpowder, because it had been bravely defended against them by an officer named Lyon, with the master of Maxwell and the lairds of Johnston and Cockpool. The whole of Annandale now submitted to the English, and the chiefs gave pledges for their fidelity to king Edward. In fact everywhere the population had sunk into despair; and without any hope of assistance from their own government, they saw that the only hope of safety, for themselves and their families, as well as for their goods, was to submit to the invaders.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CLOSER ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE; ARRIVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS; MARY STUART SENT TO FRANCE; PACIFICATION OF 1550.

The disastrous result of the battle at Pinkie cast a gloom over the minds of the catholics, as well as of all patriotic men throughout Scotland, but the courage and high spirit of the queen-dowager at this moment formed a rallying-point for the nobles of the party. These assembled immediately at Stirling, and it was determined that another army should be raised, and that ambassadors should be sent in haste to France, to press urgently for assistance. The young queen, under the charge of her governors, the lords Erskine and Livingston, was hurried for safety to the monastery of Inchmahome, on a little island in the lake of Menteith; and her mother, no doubt prompted partly by the French ambassador, D'Oysell, who remained with her, seized upon the occasion for urging the necessity of a closer alliance with France. As soon as the retreat of the English army was known, the queen-dowager and the governor called another council at Stirling, and it was proposed that her daughter should be sent to France for her education; and the suggestion was then made by Mary and the French ambassador, that, in order to defeat entirely the English designs with regard to the marriage, a treaty should be entered into for a matrimonial alliance between the young queen and the dauphin of France; a scheme which was unpalatable to the governor, who had not yet relinquished the hope of securing the royal match for his own son; but his influence was now rapidly declining, and the somewhat imperious will of Mary of Guise seems to have been predominant in the Scottish councils.

The nobles, however, had not learnt from the recent disaster to compose their differences, and join together in the national cause. Many of them, probably from an honest fear of the ill effects of French influence, secretly withdrew their support from the governor and the queen-dowager, and many others, with less honourable motives, renewed their old practices with England. Among these were the earls of Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and Lennox, the lairds of Ormiston and Brunston, and many others, most of whom had signed the secret articles with England, and many of them had given hostages for their fidelity. Some even of those who professed the greatest attachment to the queen, were not found true at the hour of need. Among these was the earl of Argyle, a nobleman of great power, who had been looked upon as one of the main supports of the existing government. In the January of 1548, he raised a strong force, and marched to reduce the castle of Broughty, and drive the English from that part of the country. But he advanced no farther than Dundee; there he agreed to accept a bribe of a thousand crowns and embrace the service of England, and he retired from Dundee on the 5th of February, without committing any further act of hostility. The earl of Huntley, who had been looked upon as the great support of the catholics in Scotland, and whose challenge of the protector on the eve of the battle of Pinkie has been already mentioned, was taken in the battle, and carried a prisoner to England; he, also, embraced the service of his captors, and was sent to Newcastle on a solemn promise that he would promote the views of the English government. Lord Maxwell, another prisoner, but whose previous conduct had been more wavering, followed his example. The earl of Bothwell, also, professed to be the firm ally of England. Sir George Douglas had again proposed a plan of invasion, which he asserted must lead to the entire reduction of the country to subjection to England.

Relying on all these promises of support, the English again prepared to enter Scotland in force, but they soon found how little the engagements of such men could be trusted in. On the 18th of February, the English warden, lord Wharton, assembled the power of the English marches, and crossed the border, when he was joined by Lennox, who commanded the Scottish borderers in the service of England. They were to have been joined by the master of Maxwell and the Douglases, but the former was bribed to desert the English alliance, by a promise of a rich marriage, and the Douglases, after making a slight demonstration, broke their agreement. Lord Wharton

was enraged at the faithlessness of these Scottish allies, and determined to take revenge by treating the country with more than usual severity. Lord Wharton's army at this time consisted only of three thousand men, which he incautiously separated, sending on the cavalry, under his son, in advance, while he followed more slowly with the foot. At this moment, the earl of Angus, in spite of his secret engagements to England, collected a strong body of Scots, and, having first dispersed the English cavalry, attacked and defeated the English foot. Fortunately, the cavalry had rallied, and came to their assistance, but the Scots in the English service, when they saw their countrymen likely to be victorious, threw away their red crosses, and joined in the slaughter of their allies, and it was not without great exertions, and considerable loss, that Wharton succeeded in rescuing his men, and making good his retreat to Carlisle. The Scots, although victorious, suffered severely, for no less than six hundred of them are said to have been slain, or drowned in the river Nith, and several of their chiefs were made prisoners in an unexpected charge of the English cavalry.

While Wharton undertook this unfortunate expedition, lord Grey had entered Scotland on the eastern border, and advanced as far as Haddington. The barons in the districts through which he had passed were more faithful to their promises, and he was joined on his march by the lairds of Ormiston, Brunston, and others, who brought him a force amounting together to about a thousand horse. But when Grey received intelligence of the defeat of lord Wharton, as his own force was a very small one, he found it necessary to retreat also. He appears to have treated the districts through which he passed as a friendly country, and to have received everywhere the submission of the inhabitants.

In the meantime the Scottish governor had recovered his courage, and assembling as strong a force as he could under the melancholy circumstances in which his country was placed, made an attempt to wrest Broughty castle from the English, but after losing some of his followers by the fire of the garrison, he was obliged to make his retreat. He received, about the same time, a small reinforcement of French soldiers. As soon as Arran was assured of the retreat of the force under lord Grey, he marched into the country of the Scottish barons who had joined the English, and seized and plundered their houses, indulging in many instances in an impolitic stretch of vengeance. Ormiston was burnt to the ground, and Saltounhall having offered some resistance, the house was razed, and every man of the garrison hanged. This cruelty produced an equally severe retaliation. Lord Wharton, exasperated at the proceedings of the Scots, held a court at Carlisle, for the trial of the hostages which had been given by the Scottish chiefs for their fidelity, many of them youths of good family, and condemned ten of them to be hanged. Six were respited, but four were immediately led to execution, in spite of the earnest expostulations of their friends.

The queen-dowager, who ruled the councils of the Scottish government at this moment, and who regulated her policy in a great measure by the advice of the French ambassador, D'Oysell, was now resolved to accomplish the French marriage. After the retreat of the English, she had taken the young queen from her asylum in the monastery of Inchmahome, and carried her to the castle of Dumbarton, from whence she might be easily embarked for France before the fact could be publicly known. The intention of sending her away was, however, now well known in England, and the protector attempted to hinder it by new negotiations. At the beginning of February, 1548, he addressed a manifesto to the governor, in which he declared that, far from wishing to subjugate or oppress the country, his only desire was to unite the two countries by marriage upon a footing of perfect equality; and it was his wish that the two names of England and Scotland, which had been so often opposed to each other in hostile array, might be sunk in the common name of Britain. It was, no doubt, a wise policy, and might have led to incalculable benefits, but it was prevented by national prejudices and by foreign interference. There is little doubt that a great portion of the people of Scotland would have been willing to support it, and that they looked at this time with great jealousy and mistrust on the proceedings of the queen and the governor, nor were they desirous of the French marriage. Most of the nobility, indeed, were either intriguing with England, or held themselves aloof. But the dreadful reverses of the war with England had spread

such an entire discouragement through the kingdom, that the government had fallen entirely into the hands of the French and Romish party, who now, with the queen and the governor, did everything at their pleasure. It was against this party that the English government professed to be making war, and when the governor refused to listen to Somerset's manifesto, the latter prepared to invade Scotland again.

At the end of February, lord Grey entered Scotland with a strong force, and overran the country up to the gates of Edinburgh. The Douglases and their friends were again acting the double part which drew upon them distrust and hatred from both sides, and now as before they broke their engagements, and would not act with the invading army. Lord Grey, who appears to have remained in Scotland from the end of February to the month of June, determined to take vengeance on the arch-traitor, sir George, who lay secure, as he imagined, in his strong castle of Dalkeith. Grey was obliged to imitate, in his dealings with him, the cunning of this able and crafty leader. "I pretended," he says, in one of his dispatches, "no manner of enmity against him, but that still I had hope of his conversion, to breed in him such trust, that the less doubting, the sooner I might be revenged, or get him into my hands." Meanwhile, sixty of the Spanish mounted hagbutteers, under their leader, Pedro de Gamboa, were employed in plundering the country in his neighbourhood, and under pretence of joining with them, an English party of six hundred foot and one hundred horse, under captain Wilford, unsuspected by Douglas, suddenly pushed across the Esk, and presenting themselves before the castle of Dalkeith, summoned it to surrender. Although taken by surprise, and unprepared for such an attack, sir George placed himself at the head of his pikemen, and boldly went forth to encounter his opponents, but he was soon overcome by superiority of numbers, and was driven back into the castle through a postern. After a desperate struggle, in which forty of the Scots were slain, the English made themselves masters of the base court, and they were proceeding to undermine and blow up the walls, when the garrison surrendered. Sir George Douglas escaped, but his lady, the master of Morton (his eldest son), the abbot of Arbroath (his illegitimate brother), Home, laird of Wedderburn, and many of the Douglases, were taken prisoners. Much wealth was found in the place, for all the country round had brought their goods thither, "thinking that nothing could prevail against George's policy." The English razed the castle of Dalkeith, as well as that of Musselburgh, and before returning to England, Grey placed a strong garrison in Haddington, which, as well as Lauder, had been taken and fortified. No small part of the population, and especially some of the towns, seem to have been aiding and abetting the English in this invasion; and the spirit which actuated many of them at this time, is shown in a letter written in the preceding November by the chief citizens of Dundee, who were stanch protestants, and who declared for England, offering to hold their town resolutely against the governor, and requesting some good preacher to be sent them, with a supply of English bibles and other godly books.

During these proceedings, Henry II. of France, who had taken up warmly the project for the marriage of his son with the young Scottish queen, and who seems to have looked forwards from the first to the ultimate reduction of Scotland to a mere foreign province of his hereditary kingdom, was preparing, at an immense expense, a formidable expedition to support the queen-dowager. The French king was regularly advertised of the events which were now going on in that country by his own agents there; and some of their letters, recently published, throw considerable light upon Scottish affairs at this time. We are told by Buchanan, that the queen-dowager rejoiced secretly at Arran's defeat at Pinkie, as an event which broke his personal influence, and threw him more entirely into her power; but, although it was probably already determined that he should be sacrificed in order to place the government entirely in the hands of the queen-mother and the French faction, it was still felt necessary to blind him with the appearance of favour. With this view, in the February of 1548, Henry II. had conferred upon him the title of duke of Châtellerault. One of the French envoys, M. de la Chapelle, in a letter written to the duke of Aumalle from Edinburgh, in the month of March, speaks strongly of the danger of the Scots submitting to England, unless immediate succour arrive from France; for, he says, in describing the effects of the battle of Pinkie, "they would more easily have waited for help four years,

before the said battle, than they would now four months." In answer to these urgent applications, Henry had equipped an army of six thousand chosen men, under some of the best officers in the French service, and commanded by an experienced general, André de Montalembert, sieur d'Essé. Lord Grey was still with his army in Scotland, when he received intelligence that the French fleet, which had been retarded by contrary weather, had entered the firth, and that, on the 16th of June, the French army had disembarked at Leith, and he immediately retreated to Berwick.

The French force included three thousand Germans under the Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians led by the two Strozzis, Leo, prior of Capua, and Peter his brother; the first of whom commanded an excellent train of artillery to assist in the sieges, and the other was the captain-general of the galleys. They were received with the utmost joy by the queen-dowager and her friends, and it was determined that, without delay, the foreign auxiliaries should invest Haddington, while Peter Strozzi drew up a plan for the fortification of Leith, as a post to be held for the foreign troops, and submitted it to the approval of the governor. At the same time it was determined to raise immediately six thousand Scots to cooperate with the foreigners, and the three estates were summoned to meet without delay, in order to confirm the proceedings of the government. The French king had insisted that the principal fortresses of Scotland should be delivered into his keeping; and, this having been agreed to by the queen and governor, the castle of Dunbar was surrendered to a French garrison, and it was promised that that of Blackness should also be delivered without delay. Arrangements were at the same time made for the secret embarkment of the young queen, now in her sixth year; and by means of promises of great rewards from France, the queen-dowager had obtained privately the agreement, under their hands, of the earl of Angus, sir George Douglas, the earl of Cassillis, and others of their party to this plan. It is evident that she feared the opposition of the Scots, no less than that of the English, to the departure of her daughter.

The Scottish parliament assembled on the 17th of July, and the French commander delivered to them a friendly message from the French king, expressing his great anxiety to rescue them from their English enemies, and his willingness to help them with any further aid of troops, money, or arms, which might be found necessary for that purpose. He then stated that the king was desirous of drawing closer the old alliance between the two countries, by a marriage between the dauphin and Mary Stuart, and proposed that they should send her over to France, where he would carefully direct her education at his court. To these proposals the Scottish parliament, which had thrown so many difficulties in the way of the English match, offered no objection, and the only condition they made, was that the French king should solemnly promise to preserve the laws and liberties of Scotland as they had existed under its own kings. Measures were now taken to send away the queen, and four galleys under Villegagnon, having sailed from Leith, as though on their return for France, after clearing the mouth of the Forth, suddenly changed their course, and passed round to Dumbarton. Mary was there delivered by her mother to M. de Brézé, who took her on board one of the galleys, with her governors, the lords Erskine and Livingston, her natural brother the lord James, who was in his seventeenth year, and four Marys, children of the same name and age as herself, selected as her companions from the families of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingston. The little squadron set sail on the 7th of August, and, in spite of the vigilance of the English fleet, reached the harbour of Brest in safety on the 13th of the same month. The young queen was carried thence to the palace of St. Germain, where she was received by the French monarch, and an establishment appointed for her according to her rank.

Meanwhile, before the meeting of parliament, the French army had invested Haddington, but they found that the reduction of that place was by no means so easy a matter as they supposed. It had been well, though hurriedly, fortified by the English, and was held by a brave garrison of fifteen hundred foot and nearly five hundred horse, commanded by a skilful and resolute captain, sir James Wilford. When the French first appeared before the town, a sortie was made by a small party of the garrison, but they were driven back by a superior force of the enemy, commanded by an officer of some reputation, named Villeneuve, who was slain in the encounter,

and Peter Strozzi was himself severely wounded. Batteries were subsequently opened against the fortifications, but they appear not to have produced the effect which was expected from them. The queen and the governor came both to the French camp, where the parliament was held, in the full confidence that the garrison would soon be obliged to surrender. But the latter defended themselves vigorously, and slew daily many of their assailants. It had been determined to hold the parliament in the camp, and thither the queen-dowager, as well as the governor, proceeded, very soon after the siege was commenced. Arran, or as he was now called by the French, the duke of Châtelherault, accompanying the French commander to view the walls, narrowly escaped with his life, several of his attendants having been killed by the fire of the garrison. Two or three days after this occurrence, the queen herself proceeded to view the town from behind a church which stood without the walls, when a sudden discharge of the artillery of the garrison slew many of her attendants, and frightened her so much that she fainted, and was carried away.

The siege now dragged on slowly, and the French and the Scots seem to have begun already to be dissatisfied with each other, for we find the former complaining that their allies, to whose assistance they had come so far, were always backward when any exploit was to be done. At length, on the 15th of July, French and Scots together marched to the assault of the town, but they were driven back with considerable loss. The next day, we are told that there was a violent altercation between the governor and M. d'Essé. The former, "seeing nothing but words and delays, without effect, began to murmur, and say that all the French did was to spoil and destroy the country; upon which Monsieur d'Essé, in a great rage, replied that the fault was his, who had suffered the English to work and fortify, when he might easily have hindered them, and declared that benefits were thrown away upon people so ungrateful as the Scots. And in this manner there were many high words between them. And the Scots are already so tired of these delays, that not less than a thousand of them have deserted and left the camp secretly this morning." In the midst of these disagreements, news arrived that lord Grey was on his march to relieve the English garrison, and the French and Scots drew off their forces to a short distance from the town. The English troops in Haddington were thus emboldened to make frequent sorties, and skirmishes occurred almost every day. On the 16th of July, however, a strong party of English cavalry, sent forward by lord Grey, under the command of sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer, advancing incautiously, were surrounded, and most of them killed or made prisoners by the French.

The siege of Haddington was thus carried on in a very ineffective manner, to the great disappointment of the Scots, who began to accuse their foreign allies of being nothing but boasters. The duke of Somerset, when he heard of the arrival of the French, ordered an army of twenty-two thousand men to be raised, which was placed under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury. The English forces reached Haddington at the end of August, when the French raised the siege, and retired to Musselburgh. The garrison of Haddington was thus fully supplied with provisions and ammunition, and it was strengthened with the addition of a body of four hundred horse. The English on this occasion burnt Dunbar, and took Dundee, and they began to erect a strong fort at Dunglas, which was left in the hands of three thousand Germans in the English service. Broughty was also strengthened and reinforced. While Shrewsbury marched into Scotland by land, an English fleet, under lord Clinton, appeared in the firth, and took and destroyed some of the French shipping, but attempting a descent on the coast of Fife, the English were defeated with considerable loss. After remaining a short time in Scotland, Shrewsbury commenced his retreat, and then the Scots and their French allies resumed their courage, and returned to the siege of Haddington. For a while the garrison of this latter place, emboldened by the presence of lord Grey and a strong English force under his command, issued from their stronghold, and harassed the country around with continual plundering excursions. The French had retired to Edinburgh and Leith, where they lived in so bad intelligence with the Scots, that on the 7th of October there arose a great tumult in the capital between the foreigners and the citizens, in which many were slain on both sides, and it required all the influence of Arran and the French commander, D'Essé, to restore peace. The

provost of Edinburgh, a Hamilton, was severely wounded, and his son was killed, and the Hamiltons, in general, from this time nourished a hostile feeling towards the French.

Early on the 9th of October the French attacked Haddington by surprise, and succeeded in establishing themselves in the base court of the fortress, but after a desperate struggle they were driven out with considerable loss, to the great joy of the Hamiltons. After this check, the foreign troops retired to their quarters at Leith, where they remained during the winter in a state of comparative inactivity. At the beginning of February, 1549, they passed to Jedburgh, and took the castle of Fernyhirst from the English. The French remained in Jedburgh about two months, during which time they made an excursion into England, and plundered the country about Flodden; but early in April they were driven out by the English, who burnt Jedburgh, and then retreated into England. About this time the French troops in Scotland received a reinforcement of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, under M. de Thermes, an experienced officer, who now assumed the chief command, and M. d'Essé was recalled. The summer of 1549 was consumed in hostilities of no great importance, and which are passed over almost in silence by the old historians. The political intrigues in their own country hindered the English from showing much activity, while in Scotland the French and the governor appear to have acted with little unanimity. The English had built and garrisoned a fort at Inchkeith, but they were attacked by the French, and compelled to surrender on condition of being allowed to return to their ships.

After being unsuccessful in all their attacks on Haddington, the French turned the siege into a blockade, and at length, in the month of September, the garrison was so reduced by famine, and by the effects of a pestilence which had broken out among them, that it was found impossible to hold out any longer. The English warden, informed of their condition, marched into Scotland with a strong force, and appeared before Haddington on the 19th of September, 1549. The French proposed to hazard a battle, but, according to their own account of the affair, finding themselves deserted by the Scots, they were obliged to retreat. The English then withdrew the garrison, which had been greatly reduced in number, and having burnt Haddington before they left it, commenced their retreat the same day, and repassed the frontier in safety. Thus was Haddington recovered from the English, after a siege, with interruptions, of more than a year.

The English government was at this moment embarrassed with political troubles at home, and the Scottish queen-dowager, with the French commanders, determined to seize the opportunity of leading an army across the border. A force of between eight and nine thousand men marched from Edinburgh for that purpose, and were to be joined at the border by six thousand Scots. To oppose this attack, the English had at the moment only six thousand foreign troops, which were distributed in the border garrisons, and four thousand of their own borderers. But when the Scottish army reached the Tweed, they found the river so swollen with floods, and the weather altogether so unusually severe, that it was found necessary to relinquish the further prosecution of the design. This determination was partly to be ascribed to the illness of the French commander, M. de Thermes, who, as the queen complained in a letter to her brothers, the duke d'Aumale and the cardinal de Guise, was generally seized with an attack of the gout, when his services were wanted most, and when in that condition he was incapable of performing his duties. Before dispersing the army, it was determined to make an attempt upon Lauder and Dunglas, but both these places were found to have been so well fortified and provided by the English, that this design also was relinquished.

It was now the middle of November, 1549, and the state of Scotland, with the prospect of a severe winter, was most deplorable. Whole districts had been laid waste by the incursions of the English, who still held several strong posts in the country. The government was virtually conducted by the queen-dowager and the French officers, who studied but little the comforts and happiness of the people. The hostile feeling between the Scots and their foreign allies was increased by the excesses of the latter, who acted as though they were in a conquered country, and committed almost as much ravage as the English enemies. In some interesting letters of the queen-mother to her brothers in France, written at this period, she gives a strong picture of this

lamentable state of affairs.* In a letter dated on the 12th of November, Mary complained that the French troops, especially the cavalry, lived among the country people at discretion, that they burnt their household furniture for fire-wood, and that they treated them in so tyrannical a manner, that they often killed themselves in despair. The disorder among the French troops had become so great, that it was no longer in the power of the superior officers to restrain it, and the finances were dissipated in the most profuse and extravagant manner. In a letter of the 29th of November, Mary recurred to the same subject. "I have thought it my duty," she says, "not to conceal from you what I see of the king's affairs here, which are not in such good order as they ought to be, for, in consequence of the oppressive conduct of soldiery, the people are driven to such despair, that they attack us and rise in rebellion, and where they used to love me, they now would like to see me dead, looking upon me as the cause of all their sufferings. For this reason we are constrained to have the soldiers in garrison in the town, at least the cavalry, where they can do us no service, being so far from the frontiers; but it is absolutely necessary, for a time, until money come for them. This part of the country is so entirely destroyed, that I believe there will be no seed sown this year, any more than if the enemies were in it. And although my health is very bad, and I have been expecting every day to be able to go away to take some repose, as I wrote to you before, I have been obliged to remain here till now, lest our people in my absence should kill one another. The governor is much grieved at it, for the people have the same animosity against him as against me. He made a remark to me which I think very reasonable, that he thought all those who loved the service of the king ought to labour to make themselves loved, in order to draw the hearts of the people to love him as the person who was to be their prince, and not to irritate them at the beginning." At this time Mary was in the best possible agreement with the governor. "If it be true," she writes to her brother the duke d'Aumale, on the 10th of January, 1550, "that an unfavourable report has been made to the king of my cousin the governor, and his brother [Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews], I assure you there are not two more faithful servants than they are; and as to me, it is my fault if they do not do well, for whatever I want of them I have, and there is not a gentleman of my house from whom I receive so much honour and obedience as from them."

Hostilities had ceased during the winter, with the exception of an attack upon the castle of Hume, which was taken from the English in the middle of December. At the beginning of February, Broughty castle was compelled to surrender, the garrison being allowed to retreat to their ships. The war was at the same time carried on with some activity on the border, but without any very decisive advantage. At the latter end of March the foreign troops under M. de Thermes and the governor, laid siege to Lauder, which, in a fortnight, was agreed to be surrendered, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march away with their weapons, unmolested, till they arrived in the English territory. But before this agreement could be carried into effect, intelligence arrived that a peace between France and England had been concluded at Boulogne, and that Scotland was to be included in it. Hostilities were immediately suspended, and the castle of Lauder was left in possession of the English garrison until the terms of the treaty should be known and agreed to. When, however, it was found that the English had agreed to evacuate Scotland, to demolish the forts they had raised at Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Eyemouth, and to surrender Lauder and abstain from any invasion unless some new provocation were given, the governor and the Scottish council no longer hesitated in giving in their adhesion. The master of Erskine was sent to France as the Scottish commissioner to sign the treaty, and peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 20th of April, 1550. In the course of the next month a part of the foreign troops returned to France.

* These very interesting letters, which are preserved in the National Library in Paris, have been recently published by M. Alexander Teulet, in his valuable collection of documents relating to the history of Scotland, printed for the Bannatyne club.

CHAPTER XIX.

VISIT OF THE QUEEN-DOWAGER TO FRANCE; RESIGNATION OF THE GOVERNOR, AND MARY OF GUISE MADE REGENT.

It had been the evident aim of Mary's policy, not only to secure the triumph of the catholic party in Scotland, but to subject the kingdom entirely to French influence, if not to render it a mere dependence on France. She now resolved to advance a step further, and remove a probable obstacle to her designs, while she indulged her own ambition, by depriving the duke of Châtellerault of the government, and obtaining her own appointment as sole regent. But to effect this it was necessary to act with the utmost caution. To declare her intentions abruptly, or to have attempted forcibly to remove the governor, would probably have raised an opposition among the Scottish nobility, already dissatisfied with the behaviour of the French officers, which would have proved fatal to her design. She judged it best, therefore, to gain her object by intrigues, and no sooner was the peace concluded, than, under pretence of visiting her daughter, but in reality to consult with the French king and with her brothers on the best means of getting rid of the governor, she announced her intention of repairing to France. Accordingly, six galleys of the king of France, under the command of Strozzi, prior of Capua, came to Scotland in the autumn, and Mary embarked at Newhaven, in company with De Thermes, La Chapelle, and other French officers, and taking with her as many of the Scottish nobility as she thought might be most easily brought over to further her purposes by persuasions or by bribes. Among these were the earls of Huntley, Marshal, Sutherland, Cassillis, and Menteith; the lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell; the bishops of Caithness and Galloway, the abbot of Dunfermline, the lord James (who now held the dignity of prior of St. Andrews), the governor's eldest son, who, since his father had been raised to the dukedom of Châtellerault, assumed his second title of earl of Arran, and many others. They landed at Dieppe on the 19th of September, and, proceeding thence to the court, which was at Rouen, they were received with extraordinary marks of distinction. About the same time two ambassadors, the master of Erskine, and Mr. Henry Sinclair, were dispatched to Flanders, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the emperor, Charles V.

Left to himself, by the departure of the queen-dowager with the French commanders and so many of the Scottish nobility, the governor now turned his attention to the unhappy state of the country, and he proceeded with a vigour he only showed on rare occasions. The final arrangements of the peace with England were left almost entirely in the hands of the commissioners of France, and, owing to numerous disputes which had arisen with regard to the borders, and of various reclamations made on both sides, it was not finally settled until the end of the year. About the same time the treaty was concluded with the emperor, and thus Scotland was at length left at leisure to look to its internal condition. Arran attempted to enforce the administration of justice throughout Scotland, which had been too generally neglected through the long period of war, and in a convention at Norham, wise regulations were established for the security of pacific intercourse with England. In the spring of 1551 the governor held a parliament at Edinburgh, and a second was held in the ensuing winter. The proceedings in these parliaments were, it is true, not of a very important character, but they were distinguished by some attempts towards a reformation of manners. Acts were passed for fixing the prices of wine and provisions, and for restraining the luxury of the table, and it was ordered that no archbishop, bishop, or earl, should have more than eight dishes at his table, that no abbot or prior should have more than six, that barons and freeholders should not exceed four, or wealthy burgesses three, each dish to contain but one kind of meat. Another act was directed against the sins of adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship, which were declared to be extraordinarily prevalent. The press was subjected to a censorship, and printers were compelled to obtain a licence from the queen and the governor, as

they were accused of publishing, in great numbers, "lewd rhymes and ballads," with "scandalous songs and tragedies."

Meanwhile, in France, the designs of the queen-dowager had been warmly approved by the princes her brothers, and through them laid before the French king. They pointed out to him the necessity of preserving the French influence in Scotland and the ancient religion, and they contended that this could not be done unless the supreme power were taken from the governor and placed in the hands of the queen-dowager. It required a strong hand, they said, to check the progress which heretical opinions were then making in that country; and they added, that as Ireland was ready to separate from England, the king might have the glory of having protected the orthodox faith in both countries. The king was easily persuaded by such representations, and he agreed to use his influence in supporting the queen's designs, but it was thought better to obtain the governor's resignation by fair means. To promote this object, he loaded with favours the Scottish nobility who had accompanied the queen-dowager to France, more especially such as were relatives or friends of the Hamiltons; and by his position with regard to the young queen, he was enabled to confer honours in both countries. The governor's son, James Hamilton, who assumed, after his father's promotion to a dukedom, the title of earl of Arran, was made commander of all the Scottish soldiers in the pay of France, with the promise of a large annuity. The earldom of Murray, which had reverted to the crown of Scotland, was conferred on the earl of Huntley, whose son had married the governor's daughter. Norman Leslie and his brothers-german, having been set aside for the share they had taken in the murder of cardinal Beaton, the earldom of Rothes was given to a younger brother by another mother, who had married the daughter of sir James Hamilton, of Avendale, the governor's cousin. These and others were, from time to time, sent back to Scotland, and were employed to work upon the governor's weak disposition, and prepare him beforehand to listen favourably to the queen-dowager's proposals. But the agents more especially employed for this purpose were the Scottish ambassador in France, Panter, bishop of Ross, with sir Robert Carnegie, an intimate friend of the governor, and Gawin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning. They proceeded to Scotland to break the matter to the regent, and they artfully represented to him how, if he retained his office until the young queen came of age, he would probably be made answerable for a long series of dilapidations of the revenue and possessions of the crown, which had taken place during his government, whereas by acceding to the wishes of the king and the queen-dowager, and resigning the government into her hands, they would acquit him fully of his charge, and screen him against future inquiries. They were authorized to assure him of the grant of the dukedom of Châtellerault, which appears to have been left imperfect, and that his son should be splendidly provided for at the court of France. Liberal promises were made to all the Scottish nobles who would support the views of the French monarch.

The arguments of the king's envoys overcame the governor's scruples, and he is said to have yielded the more easily on account of the absence of his brother the archbishop, who was at this time sick, and, as it was supposed, on his death-bed. That prelate, a busy intriguing man, was known to be opposed to the designs of the queen-dowager, and he possessed a firmness of character unknown to the earl of Arran. The latter, not without reluctance, gave a conditional promise to resign his office, at the time when it should be thought advisable to require him to do so. The queen-dowager, having at last effected the grand purpose of her visit to France, prepared for her return. Having obtained a safe-conduct from Edward VI., which was dated on the 12th of May, 1551, Mary of Guise passed over to England, accompanied by M. d'Oysel, her French counsellor, and she was received with so much distinction at the court of the young English monarch, that she is said to have often in after times spoken of him in terms of the greatest admiration. In her progress through England to the north, she was ceremoniously escorted by the principal English nobility and gentry. In her visit to England, she had shown a determination to cultivate friendly relations with that country, and after her arrival in Scotland, she set herself sedulously to compose the differences among the nobility, and to re-establish order and justice. Her enemies said that she aimed only at gaining popularity for the purpose of undermining with greater certainty the governor's power, who was generally looked upon as having, by mis-

government and bad counsels, been the chief cause of the misfortunes which had fallen upon the country. He made a progress, after her return, through the northern parts of Scotland, holding courts of justice in the principal towns, and afterwards Mary accompanied him in a similar progress in the western and southern parts of the kingdom, in which she effectually seconded his efforts to restore order and good rule. It is said she looked with secret satisfaction at every injudicious act that lessened the governor's popularity, while she succeeded so well in attaching to her party men of all ranks and orders, that the governor seemed to be entirely deserted.

It was now the spring of the year 1552, and Mary judged it a favourable moment to call upon the governor to fulfil his promise of resigning his office. But Arran was again ruled by the counsels of his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrews, who had by the care of the celebrated Cardan recovered his health, and he refused to surrender his power. He could refer with pride to the ardour with which he had laboured in the service of his country since the peace with England, and he naturally asked on what ground he should be deprived of an office, the duties of which he had executed to the satisfaction of all parties? With the help of his brother, who represented to him the folly of retiring from so advantageous a position, when nothing but the life of a child stood between him and the throne, he organized a determined opposition to the queen-dowager, and nearly a year was spent in mutual recriminations and intrigue. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable to him. The French party was not only powerful in the position it then held, but in the prospect of still greater influence when the young queen came of age, and few of the Scottish nobles or statesmen were willing to sacrifice their future hopes in order to support the declining power of a man who possessed so little stability of character as the earl of Arran. At length the primate was almost the only man of influence who stood by him, and the queen, confident in the strength of her own party, threatened to call a parliament to inquire into the state of the royal revenues. At the same time her daughter was made to give her signature to the appointment of the king of France, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Guise, as her guardians, and these having resigned their authority to the queen-dowager, this act, although illegal in itself, gave her a new authority. The governor saw that it was in vain to resist, and, in the spring of 1554, after stipulating for the conditions originally offered him, especially that of acquitting him of the dilapidations in the crown revenues, he agreed to resign his office.

Arran's consent to his resignation had no sooner been obtained, than a parliament was called to receive it, and the estates met at Edinburgh on the 12th of April, 1554. Here the conditions required by the governor were first duly performed. An instrument was produced, completing the grant of the duchy of Châtellerault, and he received a full acquittal of all liabilities with regard to the application of the revenues of the crown during his government. He was to retain in his own hands the castle of Dumbarton until the young queen had attained her majority; and he was declared to be the second person in the realm, and the nearest heir to the throne in case of the queen's decease. This part of the agreement being completed, the governor solemnly resigned his authority into the hands of the queen-dowager; and then an instrument was produced, by which the young queen of Scots appointed her mother regent of the realm. Mary of Guise rose from her seat, and accepted the office, and the nobility present immediately tendered her their homage. She was taken thence in solemn procession to Holyrood House, to enter upon the duties of her office.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY OF GUISE TO THE REGENCY, TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE YOUNG QUEEN; PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION; THE CONGREGATION.

Of Mary of Guise, who was now sole regent of Scotland, it is sufficient to say that she shared fully in the great political talents of the family to which she belonged. When left to herself, she acted usually with wisdom and moderation, but she had now given herself up entirely to French counsels, and the ambassador, M. d'Oysel, chiefly directed her actions. She began her government with appointing Frenchmen to the great offices of state, which had always before been filled by natives. The earl of Huntley, who, captured at the battle of Pinkie, had escaped from his imprisonment in England, was looked upon as the head of the Scottish catholics, and he had contributed much towards placing the queen-regent in the influential position which she now held. Huntley filled the office of chancellor, which he was allowed to retain in name, but all the power attached to the office was given, with the custody of the great seal, to a Frenchman named Monsieur de Rubay, who was appointed vice-chancellor. Another influential office, that of comptroller, was given to Monsieur de Villemore. Such appointments gave great dissatisfaction to the Scottish nobles, and their secret murmurs reached the ears of the regent; but, guided by her French advisers, she acted towards them with harshness, rather than with conciliation. It was on the earl of Huntley that her vengeance fell first, but the true cause of the rigorous proceedings against this nobleman is wrapped in great mystery. The occasion was offered by a rebellion in the highlands.

The leader of this rebellion was John of Moidart, the leader of the powerful and turbulent clan Ranald. When the governor and the queen-dowager held their court at Inverness, in 1552, this chief treated with contempt their summons to appear before them, and he now again set the government at defiance. It had been the usual custom in cases of this kind, to commission one of the great northern barons, such as Argyle or Huntley, to proceed against the rebels, and the latter now received a commission of lieutenancy for this purpose, and was sent against John of Moidart with a strong force, the larger portion of which consisted of lowland barons. The earl of Huntley was at this time unpopular among the highlanders, who accused him of the murder of William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, an event of which Buchanan gives the following rather romantic account. When the queen-dowager was preparing for her visit to France, Huntley, who had held the chief of the clan Chattan, a young man liberally educated by the late earl of Murray, confined in his own house, threw him into the common jail, although he had no charge to make against him, except that he had refused to acknowledge his superiority. It appears that, on account of the hostile feeling which he had provoked, Huntley thought it unsafe to leave him at liberty in his absence, yet he could find no just reason for putting him to death. Wherefore, through the medium of his friends, he persuaded the unsuspecting youth to throw himself entirely upon his mercy, as the only method by which his honour and young Mackintosh's safety could be secured. Huntley, thus become sole arbitrator of his enemy's life, dissembled himself, and directed his wife to put the highland chief to death in his absence, thinking to transfer the odium of the crime to her. But his crafty disposition was well known, as was the exemplary character of his wife, and her uniform submission to his orders, and the crime of the execution of Mackintosh was generally laid to his charge.

To this circumstance, and the indignation raised by it among the highlanders, Huntley's friends ascribed the failure of his expedition againt John of Moidart. He had marched as far as Abertarff in the shire of Inverness, when it became necessary to pursue the rebels into their strongholds in the mountains. The lowland barons refused to accompany him, alleging that the country was impracticable for cavalry. This encouraged the highlanders to give vent to their feelings regarding the murder of the chief of the clan Chattan, until the disaffection became so general, that the earl found it necessary to separate his army, and return to court. He was there immediately accused of treason, for having neglected his duty in leaving the rebels unpunished, and he was thrown into prison. It is said to

have been only to the determined resistance offered by the Scottish nobles to the counsels of the Frenchmen on this occasion, that he owed the mitigation of a more severe sentence to that of banishment for five years to France. Even this was afterwards remitted, but he was compelled to resign the earldoms of Mar and Murray, with other recent grants of territory, and instead of banishment, he was confined to his own estates, and subjected to a heavy fine. He was allowed to retain the title of chancellor, though stripped of all its powers; but the government of Orkney was taken from him, and given to another Frenchman, Monsieur de Bontot. The only glimpse of light thrown on the cause of this extreme severity, is found in a letter from M. d'Oysel to the duke of Guise, written on the 30th of March, 1555. After stating his opinion, founded on personal observation, that there were no people so humble and subservient, when well mastered, as the Scots, and none who were so ready to find a loop-hole for asserting their liberty and independence, adds, "of which we have a recent example in the case of the earl of Huntley, who, being one of the greatest in the kingdom, from serving the others as an example of disobedience, now holds them all in very great respect." Such were the principles on which the French influence in Scotland was now supported.

The queen-regent, meanwhile, determined to proceed with rigour against the rebellious highlanders, and she went in person to Inverness, and caused courts to be held in the usual places, in which many of the offenders were brought to exemplary punishment. She appointed the earl of Athol to march against John of Moidart, and he soon reduced the highlanders to obedience, capturing the chieftain and his family. But he subsequently escaped from prison, and again filled the highlands with turbulence and bloodshed, which rendered it necessary to proceed against him with greater rigour than before. In other respects, the conduct of the queen-regent was marked with moderation. She attempted to conciliate the different factions, by showing indulgence towards the protestant portion of her subjects, and she recalled some of those who had been banished for being implicated in the murder of cardinal Beaton. A parliament which met at Edinburgh in the June of 1555, passed some wise acts for the regulation of law and justice. Mary's foreign relations at first took a very pacific character. The death of Edward VI. of England, on the 6th of July, 1553, with the accession of Mary to the English throne, and the consequent re-establishment of Romanism in the south, had modified the hostile feeling between the two courts, and the two queens entered into friendly correspondence, in which Mary of England professed the utmost anxiety to maintain a good understanding with Scotland, and the queen-regent solicited the good offices of the English queen to promote a peace between the French king and the emperor. Commissioners were appointed on the part of each country, who met and established wise regulations for maintaining tranquillity on the border.

But the queen-regent's attachment to the French interests soon led her into hostilities with England, and into disagreements with the Scottish nobility. The French had always professed the utmost contempt for the Scottish soldiery, and it was now one part of their policy to keep a French army in Scotland, not only as a check upon the English, but to keep the Scots themselves in subjection. A plan was formed, no doubt by the suggestion of the French advisers, for raising a property-tax on the Scottish landholders to support this force. The queen-regent proposed to take an inventory of every man's estate and substance, and to impose a tax in proportion to them, in consideration of which the Scottish barons and their feudal retainers were to be relieved from their old services in the defence of their country, which was to be entrusted to a standing army of Frenchmen. This plan met with immediate and stern opposition, and excited a violent feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country. No less than three hundred of the Scottish barons and gentlemen assembled in the church of Holyrood at Edinburgh, and they chose two deputies, Sandilands, laird of Calder, and John Wemyss, to present their remonstrance to the queen-regent. They said that their ancestors had been able to defend their country against invasion, and to retaliate by destructive expeditions against their enemies, and that they were not so far degenerated, but they could do it again without the aid of foreign mercenaries. They represented the indignity which was offered them by the very proposal of such a tax, protested against the vexatious inquisition to which their private

affairs must be subjected in order to regulate it, and the danger of placing their country in the possession of a foreign army. Other reasons were urged, which, with the resolution shown by the remonstrants, determined the queen-regent to relinquish her project; and in doing so, she is said to have artfully thrown out hints that it originated with one of the chief Scottish nobles, which was supposed by many to mean the earl of Huntley.

The discontent caused by this affair had died away, and a new treaty of peace had just been concluded between England and Scotland, when, in the summer of 1557, war broke out between England and France. At the bidding of the French king, Mary of Guise determined also to proclaim war against England, but she found the Scottish nobles averse to the proposal. But the regent, now acting entirely by the counsels of her French advisers, determined to force the country into a war by provoking the English to hostilities. The Scottish borderers under lord Hume, were encouraged to invade the English territory, where they committed great ravages, but they were at last defeated with considerable loss at Blackbrey. By the last treaty, it was agreed that the Scots should dismantle the fort at Eyemouth, which had been intended as a check upon Berwick, and that no fort should be constructed there in future. But in direct contradiction to this article, the French agent, M. d'Oysel, proceeded to raise a new fort, and to store it with ammunition. When the English were made aware of this infraction of the treaty, they marched from Berwick, and attacked the Scots in their works. The queen-regent made this the pretext for an immediate declaration of war, and an army was assembled at Kelso for the purpose of invading England. It was now that the discontent of the Scottish nobles, provoked by the tone of superiority assumed by D'Oysel, first found a vent. When the queen proposed to march across the border, she was answered by a direct refusal, the Scottish nobles declaring that enough had been done to defend the national honour, and they were not willing to enter into a war which might prove disastrous, during the minority of their queen, merely to gratify the ambition of France. The queen attempted again to precipitate the war, by sending D'Oysel and his French soldiers to attack the castle of Wark, but he had hardly passed the river with his cannon, when he received imperative orders from the Scottish nobles to return. Upon this the queen-regent, in great anger, dismissed her forces.

From this moment Mary of Guise appears to have laid aside her former prudence and moderation, and she seemed to be possessed only by a bitter feeling of hostility towards the duke of Châtellerault, the earls of Huntley, Cassillis, and Argyle, and the other leaders of the Scottish party who opposed the counsels of France. It was under these circumstances that the division originated which continued to agitate Scotland for so many years afterwards; and it is curious to see, in the first formation of the adverse factions, how unsettled were the sentiments by which individuals on each side were actuated. Among the supporters of the French party we find the lord James (afterwards the regent Murray), sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, and young Maitland of Lethington, all of whom became subsequently the great supporters of the reformation.

The queen-regent, with the French party, became alarmed, and various projects were thought of for breaking the power of the Scottish nobles, but the one finally determined upon was to hasten the marriage of the young queen of Scots with the dauphin, and thus bring the government of Scotland more immediately under the direction of the king of France. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, 1558, a letter from the king of France, recommending that this marriage should be carried into effect without further delay, and requesting that commissioners should be sent over to settle the preliminaries, was presented to a Scottish parliament assembled at Edinburgh. The parliament assented without difficulty, and they chose for their commissioners Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow; Reid, the president of the session; the earls of Cassillis and Rothes, the lords Fleming and Seton, the lord James, and Erskine of Dun. Their instructions were to demand, as an absolute condition of the marriage, a promise that the integrity of the kingdom should be preserved, and that its ancient laws and liberties should be fully guaranteed. It was further required that the government of Scotland should be delegated to a regent. All the circumstances attendant on the departure of these commissioners seemed to presage misfortune. They met in their passage with a dreadful storm, in which two ships of the fleet were sunk, and it was looked upon as

especially ominous, that one of the vessels which perished contained the queen's bridal furniture.

At length the commissioners landed at Boulogne, and they were conducted thence to the French court, where they were honourably received. As the king consented at once to the required guarantees of the independence of the kingdom, they lost no time in arranging the conditions of the marriage, and it was agreed that the eldest son by this marriage should be king of France and Scotland; that the dauphin was to bear the title of king of Scotland immediately after the marriage, and was to quarter the arms of that kingdom with his own. On the death of the king, and the accession of the dauphin to the throne, he was to bear the title and arms of both kingdoms united under one crown. If daughters only were the fruit of this marriage, the eldest was to be queen of Scotland, and to have, as a daughter of France, a portion of four hundred thousand crowns; and she was not to marry without the joint consent of the estates of Scotland and the king of France. If the young queen became a widow after her husband became king of France, her jointure was to be six hundred thousand livres, but if he died before his father, it was to be only half that sum. The commissioners agreed, on the part of Scotland, that immediately after the marriage they would swear fealty to the dauphin, in the name of the estates of Scotland, as the husband of their sovereign the dauphiness.

While the treaty of marriage was thus openly conducted with the Scottish commissioners, there was a secret transaction of the most treacherous character, which augured ill for the future prospects of Scotland. Ten days before the marriage, the young queen of Scotland was induced by her uncles to sign three secret papers, by the first of which she made a free gift of the kingdom of Scotland to the king of France in case she died childless. By the second she assigned to the French king the possession of her kingdom until he should be reimbursed the sum of a million pieces of eight, or any other greater sum which he might have expended upon her education in France. This was equivalent to a gift of the kingdom, and was intended to be used in case the Scots resisted the free gift. By the third deed she was made to declare that these two deeds were made by her free will, fully understanding what she was doing, and that they were to be affected by no future declarations which she might be induced by her parliament to publish.

The marriage ceremonies were celebrated with a splendour which had seldom been witnessed on similar occasions before. The marriage was solemnized by the cardinal Bourbon, in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, on Sunday the 24th of April, 1558, in the presence of the king and queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood, and a great number of the French nobility. After the marriage had been completed, the Scottish commissioners were brought before the council, and required not only to swear fealty to the dauphin, but to agree that he should receive the ensigns of royalty over Scotland. This they refused, excusing themselves on the plea that it was not in their instructions, and adding that it was contrary to their duty to do that which they believed would be prejudicial to their country. The princes of the house of Guise concealed their anger, and, requesting that the commissioners would at least support their interests in the Scottish parliament, they allowed them to pursue their journey homewards; but they had no sooner reached Dieppe, than Reid, bishop of Orkney, the earls of Rothes and Cassillis, the lord Fleming, and several of their followers, were carried off by a sudden and unknown disease. The lord James was attacked, but with difficulty recovered. As there was no pestilence at the time, nor any other means of accounting for this catastrophe, it was generally believed that the Scottish commissioners had been poisoned by order of the Guises, who feared that they would, on their return, oppose their ambitious projects.

The surviving commissioners arrived in Scotland in October, and a parliament was immediately summoned. It met in Edinburgh at the beginning of December, and approved and ratified the terms of the marriage; and at the same time it was resolved that the dauphin should have the crown matrimonial, and enjoy the name of king of Scotland during the marriage, and that the style used in records, &c., in Scotland, should be "Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scotland, dauphin and dauphiness of Vienne."

Thus was completed at last the grand object of the queen-regent's policy, and from this time she began to be less conciliating towards those who were opposed to



JOHN KNOX.

OB 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

the French and Romish party. Nevertheless, the indulgence which Mary of Guise had been obliged to show towards the protestants, in order to obtain their support, had been highly favourable to the reformation in Scotland. Its great champion, Knox, having been carried a prisoner to France on the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews in 1547, had remained in captivity until 1550, when he was liberated at the intercession of Edward VI., and proceeded to England, where he was treated with much distinction at the protestant court of that country. But on the accession of queen Mary, in 1553, he was obliged to seek safety in flight, and he became minister of the English refugees at Frankfort. But here Knox, who was a zealous adherent of the doctrines of Calvin, became involved in a violent dispute with his flock on the subject of the English service-book, and, compelled again to quit his post, he repaired to Geneva. While there he became conscience-struck for having so long neglected his protestant brethren in his native land, and he determined to return to Scotland, where he arrived in 1555. He found many zealous preachers occupied in teaching the people, among whom some refugees from England were especially distinguished, but they were inferior to Knox in that fervency of zeal, and that persuasive eloquence, which rendered him so powerful an opponent of the church of Rome. Among the most remarkable of these men was a Scottish Franciscan friar, named John Willock, who, having been converted to protestantism, had, like Knox, resided in England during the reign of Edward VI., but after the death of that monarch, he had sought refuge in the dominions of the duchess of Friesland, who treated him with great favour, and employed him in 1555 and 1558 on embassies to the queen-regent of Scotland. He was allowed on both occasions to hold communications with the Scottish protestants, by whom he was much respected, and to whom he preached in a private congregation. It was on his second visit to Edinburgh, in 1558, that the Scottish protestants began more generally to destroy popish images, and a tumult occurred in Edinburgh, which holds a prominent place in the history of the Scottish reformation. On the 1st of September, the inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate with great feasting and ceremony the holiday of their patron saint, St. Giles, and it was usual to carry an image of St. Giles in procession with great pomp through the city. On the present occasion some disturbance was apprehended, to prevent which the queen-regent announced her intention of conducting the ceremony herself, to the great joy of the papists, and the infinite disgust of their opponents, who, to prevent the anticipated triumph of the Romanists, stole the image, which was of wood, from the church in which it was kept, and after ignominiously dipping it in the north loch, committed it to the flames. The queen-regent was provoked at this riotous proceeding, and resolved that the procession should go forward. Another image of St. Giles was procured from the Grey Friars, and, to secure it from accident, it was fixed to a wooden barrow, which was supported on men's shoulders. The procession then formed, Mary of Guise placed herself at its head, and it proceeded with a great noise of tabors and trumpets, down the High-street towards the cross. It thus passed through the principal streets of the capital, until the regent, much fatigued, retired to her palace. No signs of disturbance had yet been seen, but no sooner was Mary gone, than groups of citizens began to form in the streets, and some youths, offering their assistance to carry the barrow, rudely took hold of it, and threw St. Giles down on the pavement, where he was quickly demolished by the protestants, who crowded tumultuously to the spot. The scene has been described by Knox himself. "The priests and friars," he says, "fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch; down go the crosses; off go the surplices, round caps, coronets, with the crowns. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within this realm before." As soon as the tumult was over, the monks and friars, ashamed of their behaviour, assembled together to devise some method of revenging themselves on their opponents, but they effected nothing.

The preaching of Knox had produced a wider division between the catholics and the protestants in Scotland. The latter, satisfied with the indulgence shown to them by the regent, had been in the custom of attending the mass as well as their own ministers; and even some of them, while they held the opinions of the reformers as to doctrine, doubted if it were proper to separate them-

selves entirely from the church of Rome, and they had the support of the regent's secretary, Maitland of Lethington. Knox first raised his voice against this practice in a private meeting of friends, at the house of a burgess of Edinburgh, and men's consciences became immediately so much alarmed, that a solemn disputation on the subject was appointed between Knox and Lethington, which was held in 1555, before a meeting of the leading protestants, at a supper given by Erskine of Dun. Knox's arguments prevailed, Maitland acknowledged his error, and the congregation who heard them resolved upon an immediate and public separation from the catholic church in Scotland. The catholic clergy soon became alarmed at Knox's proceedings, and they determined to put him down, but they were restrained by the regent, who could not yet afford to break with the protestant party. The clergy had summoned Knox to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in Edinburgh, but when he presented himself at the time appointed, they did not appear to accuse him, and he found none but friends to address. The vengeance of the priests, however, remained unsatisfied, and Knox's life appears to have been at this time in so much danger that, partly to avoid it, he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the reformed congregation at Geneva.

The bishops and friars took courage on the departure of Knox, and, when he was no longer there to answer for himself, they summoned him to take his trial, and he was condemned in his absence, and burnt in effigy at the high cross in Edinburgh. This violent proceeding was intended to strike terror into the Scottish protestants, and it probably contributed to make them act with greater caution and moderation. They knew that with the temporary indulgence of Mary of Guise, they were far from enjoying her favour. Knox retired to Geneva in 1556, and for nearly a year after his departure the Scottish protestants appear to have been almost without public preachers. At length, in 1557, the protestant chaplain of the earl of Argyle, John Douglas, a converted carmelite friar, ventured to preach against some of the popish superstitions within the precincts of the court, and other preachers sprung up in different parts of the country. The catholic clergy immediately took the alarm, and the queen indulged them by issuing a proclamation, summoning the preachers to repair to Edinburgh, to answer for their conduct. But in doing this, Mary had not calculated on the sort of resistance she was to encounter. The preachers willingly obeyed the order, but their congregations, which consisted chiefly of barons and gentlemen, resolved to accompany them, and they assembled in the capital in such formidable numbers, that the regent herself now became alarmed, and she issued another proclamation, commanding all who had not been expressly summoned to the capital, to repair to the border. The barons treated this order with contempt, and surrounding the palace they succeeded in obtaining an audience. Chalmers of Gathgirth, one of the most courageous of the western barons, was chosen as their speaker, and he addressed the queen-regent nearly in the following terms:—"We know, madame, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all along with them. We will not suffer it any longer." We are told that when this bold speech was ended, the assembled barons, who had stood respectfully uncovered, all placed their steel caps on their heads with an air of defiance. Mary was intimidated by this demonstration, and she revoked the proclamation, and promised indulgence. The great leaders of the protestants, the earl of Glencairn, the lord Lorn (son of the earl of Argyle), Erskine of Dun, and the lord James (the prior of St. Andrews), taking courage, met together, and dispatched a letter to Knox in their joint names, inviting him to return to his native country. Knox obeyed without hesitation, and, resigning his charge at Geneva, hastened immediately to Dieppe, to take ship for his native land.

At Dieppe Knox was arrested by another letter from the protestant leaders, informing him that the feelings of the Scottish protestants had undergone a change, and that they were now averse to attempting any public demonstration. Knox was indignant at what he considered as the pusillanimity of his friends, and he addressed to them a warm letter of admonition, which produced an immediate effect. The Scottish protestants suddenly exhibited a courage and decision which they had never shown before, and their leaders having met and consulted, they drew up at Edinburgh, on the 3rd of December, 1557, a bond of union, by which

they formed that celebrated association which was immediately afterwards known by the title of THE CONGREGATION. In this document the Scottish reformers denounced the Romish bishops and priesthood as members of Satan, who sought only to destroy the gospel of Christ; and they declared that they would resist them even unto death. For this purpose, they said, they had entered into a solemn engagement in presence "of the majesty of God and his congregation," to promote the knowledge of God's word, and to protect and defend their ministers and themselves against the tyranny of Rome. The bond was signed by the earls of Glencairn, Argyle, and Morton, the lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others of the protestant leaders, who, following up the intentions declared in it, passed a resolution declaring that the book of common prayer authorized by Edward VI., should be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days in the parish churches; and that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of scripture, should be used quietly in private houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers." The lords of the congregation, as the protestant leaders were henceforth called, lost no time in putting in effect these resolutions, wherever they had the power to do it. Many of them caused their protestant chaplains to preach openly in their houses; and in the November of 1558 another invitation was sent to Knox, pressing him to return to Scotland without further delay. On the other side, the catholic clergy were seized with the utmost alarm, and urged the regent to take vigorous measures against what they represented as an open act of treason against the crown; but at this moment Mary of Guise was anxiously intriguing to obtain the consent of the Scottish parliament to the assumption of the matrimonial crown, as it was called, by her son-in-law, the dauphin of France, and she could not venture to quarrel with the protestant lords. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who was a prelate of loose morals, but not of a cruel temper, was also inclined to moderation; but a large body of the catholic clergy were actuated by very different sentiments, and an act of cruel persecution which occurred at this time tended to embitter the hostile feelings of the two religious parties. A parish priest, of Lunan in Angus, named Walter Miln, an early convert to the doctrines of the reformation, had been seized and thrown into prison by cardinal Beaton, but he made his escape, and lay for a long time in concealment. At length the indulgence shown to the protestants by the queen-regent drew him from his hiding-place, and, although upwards of eighty years of age, he began to preach openly. The threats of the Romanists obliged him to seek concealment again, but in the year 1558 he was discovered, and being brought to trial before the clergy at St. Andrews, he was found guilty of heresy, and condemned to be burnt. Miln showed a spirit at his trial which none expected from a man of his age, and his case excited so much public sympathy that, in spite of the solemn sentence of the clergy, no secular judge could be found to confirm it, and they were obliged to employ a dissolute retainer of the archbishop to sit in judgment upon him. Even in the midst of the flames he bore testimony to the truth of his convictions; "For myself," he said, "I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." In this respect his wish was granted, for Walter Miln was the last of the Scottish martyrs. This cruel execution took place in the April of 1558, and it excited the utmost indignation. The protestant leaders now employed their agents all over Scotland to excite people against the prelates, and they drew up a protest to the queen-regent in terms which must have been extremely unpalatable; but, yielding to circumstances, she received it with respect, and promised sir James Sandilands, who presented it, that she would give it her careful consideration, and in the meantime the protestants should be protected from further violence. Satisfied with this assurance, they restrained their preachers from holding forth publicly, and acted in other respects with great moderation. But the catholics acted with great violence, openly accusing the regent of cowardice, and loading the protestant leaders with reproaches and vituperation. Then, alarmed at the firmness of their opponents, they pretended to be willing to enter into a compromise, but the offers they made were such as could not be entertained for a moment.

Such was the state of affairs, when the short parliament met in the December of 1558, to confirm the articles of the French

marriage; and the protestant lords took that occasion to present a series of articles to the three estates, for the purpose of protecting themselves from further ecclesiastical persecution. The regent was alarmed at this proceeding, and, fearful that the protestants might obtain a resolution of parliament in their favour, she gave them an indirect promise that all their wishes should be fulfilled, if they would withdraw their articles, urging that at this moment they would only give rise to a discussion which would be premature and dangerous to their own interests. The protestant lords consented to the withdrawal of their articles, but they caused to be read in the parliament a firm protest, in which they declared their grievances against the Romish clergy, defended their own proceedings, and explained their motives and objects. They showed that they were not unnecessary disturbers of public tranquillity, that they were anxious to obtain peacefully a temperate reform of the church, but that they were determined not to be driven from their design by threats of violence. They felt their own strength, and were now prepared to battle against the storm which they saw was gathering over their unhappy country.

CHAPTER XXI.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND; FIRST PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGREGATION THEY OBTAIN POSSESSION OF THE CAPITAL.

While the Scottish and French courts were anxiously engaged in completing the treaty of marriage, events were taking place in England which were destined to exercise a lasting influence over the condition of Scotland. On the 17th of November, 1558, queen Mary died, and was succeeded immediately by queen Elizabeth, who lost no time in re-establishing the protestant faith, which had been abolished by her sister. This event was hailed with joy by the protestants of Scotland, while it caused equal alarm at the French court, where a very unprovoked act of hostility was committed in declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, and putting forward Mary Stuart as heir to the throne. The young queen of Scots and her husband went so far as to assume publicly the title and arms of the queen of England. This and other circumstances announced a secret design for the extirpation of protestantism in England as well as in Scotland; and in the latter country the queen-regent, having obtained the agreement to the crown matrimonial, changed entirely her conduct towards the protestant leaders. A new ambassador from the king of France, M. de Bettancourt, had arrived in Scotland to communicate to her the king's wishes, and it is to his mission that the change in Mary's policy is generally ascribed. A convention of the Romish clergy was held in Edinburgh in the March of 1559, at which a petition was presented by the lords of the congregation, demanding extensive reforms in the Scottish ecclesiastical government, but it was treated with contempt, and a decree was issued forbidding the use of any other language but Latin in the service of the church. Immediately afterwards the queen-regent issued a proclamation ordering everybody to conform to the church of Rome, and calling before her the protestant leaders, she made them acquainted with the instructions she had received from France, and required their compliance. Their ministers were at the same time summoned to answer for their conduct before a parliament to be held at Stirling. Alarmed at these proceedings, the earl of Glencairn and sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, obtained an audience of the regent to remonstrate, but, giving vent to her anger, she loaded them with reproaches, and threatened that, as to the ministers, even if they preached as soundly as St. Paul, she would banish them all. In reply to this, they reminded her of her former promises, on which she said haughtily, that promises made by princes were only to be kept by them when it was found to be convenient. Indignant at this unworthy sub-

terfuge, the two protestant leaders told the queen-regent that if she persisted in the course she had now begun, they should feel compelled to renounce their allegiance, and to take steps in self-defence. The firmness of this language alarmed Mary of Guise, and she hesitated; but a new occurrence, which ought to have taught her the difficulties of the course on which she had now entered, only increased her irritation. Intelligence was suddenly brought to court that the important town of Perth had publicly declared for the protestant faith. The lord Ruthven, who was provost of Perth, happened to be with the queen-regent when this news arrived, and she ordered him to go immediately and punish the townsmen for their heresy. He replied that he had power over their bodies, but none over their consciences. On this occasion the regent lost all command over her temper, and she upbraided the lord Ruthven for his want of respect. She then issued a general order to all the protestant towns, that their inhabitants should attend mass and profess their adherence to the Roman catholic liturgy at the ensuing Easter, and summoned the protestant preachers to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, to answer to the charges which would then be brought against them. It was evident that a violent collision must take place between the two hostile parties.

It was in the midst of these signs of approaching troubles, on the 2nd of May, 1559, that John Knox arrived in Scotland. The return of this extraordinary man gave new vigour to the protestants, and events of the utmost importance followed each other in rapid succession. The protestant leaders had determined that they would accompany their ministers to Stirling, and, when they assembled at Perth in their way thither, although they went unarmed, their numbers were so great as to convince the regent again of the necessity of temporizing. While they remained at Perth, Erskine of Dun was sent on to Stirling to explain the motives of their assembling, and he was received by Mary with great courtesy. Dissimulating her real feelings, she professed the utmost moderation; promised that, if the protestant nobles would disperse their followers, she would allow their ministers to remain unmolested, that the summons to meet at Stirling should be discharged, and that a new policy should be adopted towards them which would take away all ground of complaint. Erskine immediately wrote to his friends at Perth, who, relying on the regent's promise, sent home their followers. This was no sooner known, than Mary, with a treacherous contempt of good faith, continued the summonses to the preachers, and on their non-appearance, proclaimed them as rebels, and prohibited all persons from aiding or supporting them, on pain of high treason. Erskine, indignant at this perfidious conduct, hurried back to Perth, where the protestant leaders still remained in considerable force, with many of the ministers. John Knox, on his arrival in Scotland, had insisted on accompanying the other ministers to Stirling, and partaking of their dangers; and now, seizing the occasion of the general indignation at the regent's conduct, he mounted the pulpit, on the 11th of May, and declaimed against the sin of idolatry with that extraordinary eloquence which made his preaching so effective. As soon as the sermon was finished, the congregation separated, and went home to their dinners, with the exception of a few individuals, who, more excited than the rest, remained in the church conversing on what they had heard. A priest seized this inauspicious moment to show his contempt for the reformers by uncovering a rich shrine which stood over one of the altars, and exposing to view some images of a superstitious character. A youth, who was standing by, and had been much moved by Knox's discourse, could not restrain himself from expressing aloud his indignation, on which the priest approached him angrily, and struck him on the ear with his hand. The young man immediately went and took up a stone, and threw it at the priest, but missing his aim, it broke one of the images on the altar. In an instant the spectators rushed forwards, tore down the shrine, and broke it to pieces, and soon cleared the church of every object which they thought savoured of superstition. Others were soon attracted by the tumult, until a multitude, chiefly collected from the lower orders, was assembled, which hurried onwards with irresistible fury to the houses of the grey and black friars. Both these houses were not only stripped of every object of superstition, but they were plundered of everything that was of any value, which was left as booty to the poor. The charter-house, a monastery of great wealth and magnificence, experienced the same fate, and was left little better than a ruin. The example thus set at Perth, was immediately

followed at the little town of Cupar, where also the protestants rose and committed similar excesses.

Nothing could exceed the anger of the queen-regent when she heard of these proceedings, and she threatened that she would not stop till she had utterly destroyed the town of Perth, and left its site desolate, as a warning to after times. She summoned the duke of Châtellerault, the earl of Athol, and the French commander D'Oysell, to her assistance, and calling to her some of the more moderate of the protestant leaders, such as the lord James and the earl of Argyle, she expostulated with them on the violent conduct of their brethren. They declared their own innocence, and, to show their unwillingness to identify themselves with rebellion, they joined her with their forces. On the 18th of May, the army of the regent, which consisted chiefly of the French troops, advanced towards Perth, where the protestants also had been collecting their strength. They had addressed three letters of apology to their opponents. In the first they expostulated with the queen-regent on the persecution which she was raising against them, represented their constant loyalty, and lamented the necessity which drove them to take arms in their own defence. They stated that they were about to send an account of their proceedings to their queen and to the king of France, and prayed her to suspend her hostilities until they should have received an answer. The second letter was addressed to the nobility of Scotland, and contained an able and elaborate defence of the conduct of the Scottish protestants. It contained also a strong appeal to those who, like the lord James and the earl of Argyle, had apparently deserted their cause, in now appearing in the regent's army. The third letter was addressed to the Romish clergy, in far more violent language than the others, and its spirit may be gathered from the superscription, "To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings, within Scotland."

At first the regent refused to listen to any proposals of accommodation. Confident in her superiority of numbers, she determined to crush at once the protestants, whose forces had dispersed upon her previous promise to stop the proceedings against the ministers; but at this critical moment the earl of Glencairn arrived in their camp with two thousand five hundred men, which so far diminished her prospect of success, that the regent listened more favourably to the representations of the earl of Argyle and the lord James, and through their intermediation a cessation of hostilities was agreed to. The terms of this agreement were, that both armies should disperse, and that the town of Perth should be left open to the queen-regent; no person was to be troubled or brought to answer for the part he had taken in the late religious tumults, but the religion begun was to be suffered to go on; it was stipulated that no Frenchman should approach within three miles of the town, and that when the regent retired, no French garrison should be left in it. All controversies were, in the mean time, to be reserved till the meeting of parliament. These conditions were far more favourable to the protestants than might have been expected, but the regent was again acting with dissimulation and treachery.

The treaty was arranged in Perth by the earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun, for the protestants, and the earl of Argyle and the lord James, who had been sent into Perth as commissioners for the queen-regent. When it was concluded, the two leading ministers, Knox and Willcock, had an interview with the two latter noblemen, and reproached them with their apostacy in remaining in the camp of the enemies of the gospel when their brethren were in arms. They repelled the charge on the plea that they had undertaken to labour for peace, that they had remained with the enemy only in the hopes of being the means of securing it, and that they thought the terms now offered too reasonable to be refused; but they declared that they were as steadily attached to the cause as ever, and that if the regent proved false on this occasion, they would immediately leave her and join their friends. The two preachers were satisfied with this declaration, and before the protestant forces left Perth, Knox made another energetic address to his brethren from the pulpit. He exhorted them to remain in union and constancy, urged them to be prepared for a new struggle, as he felt assured that the regent was acting treacherously, and declared, to use his own words, "that it became no brother to be weary or faint, for he was certain that the treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest." After this, such of the lords of the congregation

as were there present drew up a new bond, in which they promised each to assist one another in arms in resisting all attacks upon their religion or freedom, and which was signed, among others, by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and Matthew Campbell of Taringhame. On the 29th of May, the protestants left Perth, and the regent entered the town the same day. The earl of Argyle and the lord James withdrew to St. Andrews.

It was now soon apparent that the regent had been acting with the basest duplicity. She was escorted into Perth by the duke of Châtelherault and Monsieur d'Oysel, with a body of French soldiers, and treated the citizens in a scornful manner, which left no doubt of her real intentions. It is related that as she passed through the streets, when opposite the house of Patrick Murray, a respectable citizen, who had distinguished himself by his attachment to the protestant cause, six of the French mercenaries levelled their pieces, and fired into a wooden balcony where his family were assembled to view the procession, by which Murray's only son, a boy of thirteen years of age, was killed. The body was carried to the queen-regent, and she was importuned for justice on the perpetrators of this brutal outrage; but on being informed to what family he belonged, she merely observed that it was an unfortunate occurrence, and the more to be regretted because the son and not the father had been struck, but that she was not accountable for accidents. Her other acts were in accordance with this beginning. She deprived the chief magistrates of their authority, and gave the office of provost to a man of profligate principles, Charteris of Kinfauns. Some of the inhabitants were fined and banished, and many others abandoned their homes rather than be obliged to conform to popery. A body of troops in the French service, although natives of Scotland, were placed in garrison in the town, and the queen-regent is said to have boasted of the crafty subterfuge by which she evaded one of the principal conditions of the treaty, which stipulated that Perth should not be occupied by a French garrison. But when the breach of her solemn engagements was represented to her in its true light, she only retorted contemptuously that catholic princes were not to be expected to keep faith with heretics.

The immediate consequence of these proceedings was the public desertion of the regent by the earl of Argyle and the lord James, and they carried with them the earl of Menteith, the lord Ruthven, and Murray laird of Tullibardine. To a peremptory summons to appear at court, they sent from St. Andrews a firm answer that they could not conscientiously join in the tyranny exercised by her and her council, the popish prelates, against their friends and those who held the reformed religion. On the same day, the 1st of June, a summons was sent to the protestant leaders to assemble at St. Andrews, where, on the 4th of June, they were again joined by Knox, who had been preaching in Fife with his usual zeal and success. In some instances the people could hardly be restrained from violence towards the catholics, and at Crail and Anstruther, two fishing towns, they had risen tumultuously, and destroyed the altars and images in the churches. When Knox reached St. Andrews, he adopted the bold resolution of raising his voice in the place where he had first taken upon him the office of preacher. The protestant leaders were apprehensive of the consequences which might result from such a step, in the head seat of catholicism in Scotland, and they wished to restrain him; while the catholic archbishop, marching into the city with a small body of soldiers, sent one of his followers to announce to the reformer that if he dared to show himself in the pulpit he should be saluted with a dozen culverins. But Knox was neither to be persuaded nor terrified; he mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, according to his promise, and taking for his text that portion of the New Testament which describes Christ as turning the buyers and sellers out of the temple, he made an eloquent discourse against the idolatries of the popish church, and urged the duties of magistrates and others to purge and destroy them. The effect upon his hearers was extraordinary, for he had hardly ended when the congregation rushed out from the church, and hastening to the two great and wealthy convents of the Dominicans and Franciscans, entirely destroyed them in a very short space of time.

The queen-regent was enraged beyond measure, when she heard of these violent proceedings, and gave immediate orders for marching against the protestants, who, she knew, were as yet assembled in small numbers, and she thought they might be easily crushed. But she was entirely mistaken in

her calculations, for, although her preparations were active and energetic, she found the protestant army drawn up for battle on Cupar Moor, under brave and skilful leaders, and far exceeding her own forces in number. Indeed, it was no sooner known that the protestants at St. Andrews were in danger, than men flocked in to them in such numbers, that Knox tells us they seemed to rain from the clouds. The queen again hesitated, and, to gain time, she had recourse to her now accustomed arts. She agreed to a truce of eight days, expressed her wish for the restoration of peace, and promised to withdraw the French troops from Fife, and to send commissioners to meet the protestant leaders and negotiate a treaty. But the regent's design was soon apparent, and her commissioners were never sent.

The protestants were this time not deceived, and they employed the time in preparing for a desperate struggle to maintain not only the freedom of conscience, but the national liberties and independence, which it was now seen clearly, were threatened by France and by the regent's government. They received at this moment an important accession to their strength in sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier of great skill and extraordinary bravery, who joined their standard probably more from his alarm at the designs of the French, than his religious zeal. The protestants received alarming reports of the persecutions to which their brethren in Perth were exposed under the tyranny of Charteris, the provost, and the garrison left there by the regent, and they now resolved to make themselves masters of that town. As the queen-regent had fulfilled none of her promises, the protestant leaders were now summoned to meet in arms before that town on the 24th of June, and they mustered in such formidable numbers, that resistance would evidently have been in vain. The regent made another attempt to gain delay, but she was no longer listened to, and when the provost and garrison refused to surrender the place, the batteries were opened against it on the west by the lord Ruthven, and on the other side by the citizens of Dundee, who had joined the protestant army in great force. The first discharge of artillery brought the garrison to reason, and on Sunday, the 25th of June, they were allowed to march away with military honours and the town was surrendered to the congregation. The capture of Perth was in every respect an important acquisition to the protestant party, for it was a strongly fortified town, and its position made it particularly well suited as a central point for their subsequent operations. The town was now thoroughly reformed, and the old protestant magistrates were replaced.

A rage for the destruction of popish monuments had now taken firm hold upon the mind of the populace, and it was no longer in the power of the protestant leaders to restrain them. Near Perth was the magnificent abbey of Scone, with a palace the residence of the bishop of Moray, a man of profligate life, and by no means popular. This prelate was summoned by the protestant leaders to join their standard, which he did, promising to vote in the parliament against the prelates, in the hope thereby to save the abbey from violence. But while the negotiation was going on, the townsmen of Dundee, to whom the bishop was especially obnoxious, armed and hurried to Scone for the destruction of idols. They were followed by John Knox and their chief magistrate, who by dint of expostulation and persuasion prevailed so far that nothing was destroyed but the popish images. Towards evening intelligence arrived that the queen-regent meant to place a garrison in Stirling, to cut off their communication with their northern brethren, and the protestants marched the same night to Stirling, took possession of the town, destroyed the two houses of friars there, and purged the churches of idolatrous monuments, and remained there expecting their friends, who came to join them from other parts. The day after they left Perth, the people of that town and of Dundee began again to assemble at Scone, regarding with an envious eye its rich abbey. The bishop had barricaded his house and armed his servants, and a citizen of Dundee approaching too near the granary was slain, it was said by one of the bastard sons of the bishop. A cry of fury was instantly raised by the crowd, and, accession to their numbers having speedily arrived from Perth, the abbey and the palace were attacked, captured, and delivered to the flame, in spite of the earnest intercession of Knox and many of the most zealous of the brethren. An old woman, who looked on at the scene, is said to have exclaimed, "Now I see that God's judgments are just, and none can save where he

will punish; since ever I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else but a den of profligates, where these filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that most wicked man the bishop; if all knew what I know, they would see matter for gratitude, but none of offence." The forces at Stirling, under the earl of Argyle and the lord James, were not numerous, for the main body of the protestants had returned to their homes after the capture of Perth; nevertheless they boldly advanced to Linlithgow, and destroyed the images and relics in that town. The queen-regent and her counsellors were so alarmed at their rapid movements, that, hastily quitting the capital, they sought refuge in the strong fortress of Dunbar. Encouraged by this circumstance, the protestant leaders continued their march, and entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June.

The lords of the congregation now fully understood that they were leagued together to oppose the evident designs of the French against their national liberties, as well as to make war upon the errors of Romanism, and they were already anxious to strengthen themselves by entering into an alliance with England. Some of the chiefs appear to have entered into secret communication with the English ministers immediately after the capture of Perth. From that town, Knox himself wrote a very remarkable letter to secretary Cecil (afterwards the celebrated lord Burghley), in which, wishing to pacify the anger of queen Elizabeth, which he had provoked by his violent book against the "monstrous regimen of women," he urged the policy of assisting the Scotch protestants. "I understand," he said, "I am become so odious to the queen's grace, and to her council, that the mention of my name is unpleasing to their ears; but yet I will not cease to offer myself, requiring you, in God's name, to present to the queen's grace this my letter, smelling nothing of flattery, and therefore I hope it shall be the more acceptable. Why that either her grace, or that the faithful in her realm should repute me as an enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England by me this day hath received no hurt; yea, it hath received, by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is known, neither yet wish I to boast of the same; only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it; and the fruit of my friendship saved the borders in their geatest necessities. My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, hath long dissevered. For the furtherance hereof, I would have license to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries are stubborn; none that profess Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow." This letter was written on the 28th of June, 1559. It does not appear to have had any effect in appeasing the hostile feelings of Elizabeth towards the Scottish preacher, which were perhaps strengthened by her knowledge of his extreme puritanical leanings, and of his opposition to prelacy. She was so far from granting his request to be allowed to repair to England, that she gave positive orders he was not to come across the border.

CHAPTER XXII.

HESITATIONS AND INTRIGUES; THE PROTESTANT LEADERS QUIT EDINBURGH; SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND; THE YOUNG EARL OF ARRAN ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND.

All parties were at this moment more or less embarrassed. The regent could only place dependence on her French troops, which were not numerous, and they were moreover at this moment ill-furnished, and without pay; she therefore was anxious to avoid any decisive contest until the expected reinforcements from France should arrive. The protestant lords, on their side, despising the apparent weakness of their enemies, had not assembled in any great number; but, aware of the formidable preparations making in France to crush them, they were now intent upon strengthening themselves by a close alliance with England. There they found a monarch whose policy was far more cautious than that of most of her predecessors. Elizabeth had been justly indignant at the attack on her rights, implied in the assumption of the arms of England by Mary and her husband Francis, and she no doubt saw the danger to herself from any considerable increase of the French influence in Scotland; but her conscience was particularly tender on the subject of assisting subjects in rebellion against their sovereign, and for this reason, as well as from her great anxiety to avoid war and unnecessary expenditure, she was unwilling to lend her own name to the Scottish protestants. But some of her ministers and officers were guided by different feelings. She allowed and encouraged them to enter into secret communications with the Scottish leaders. This communication was carried on very actively during the time that the lords of the congregation held possession of Edinburgh. Tytler has printed extracts from a few of their letters, which are preserved in the English state-paper office; the earlier letters are addressed chiefly to sir Henry Percy. In a letter forwarded to Percy on the day after they entered Edinburgh, Kirkaldy of Grange made the following declaration of the objects for which they had assembled. "I received your letter this last of June," he says, "perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the congregation, whom, I assure you, you need not to have in suspicion; for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly, throughout the realm, they will bring to pass, for the queen and monsieur D'Oysell, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock, to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion, and resisting of the king of France, if he sends any force against them." "The manner of their proceeding in reformation," continues the laird of Grange, "is this: they pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeys, which willingly receive not the reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them; in place thereof, the book set forth by godly king Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is, a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the whole revenues of the abbeys to the crown; if her grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement." Knox at the same time addressed Percy in the name of the congregation, and explained to him their intentions, deprecating earnestly the notion that they had any wish to resist the lawful authority of their rulers, and pointing out how much it would be for the interest of England that they should succeed. To this the English ministers were not blind, and, although they could not induce Elizabeth to declare openly for them, they secretly encouraged them to persevere. In a letter addressed to sir

James Crofts, the English captain of Berwick, secretary Cecil makes use of these remarkable words, "in anywise do your endeavour to kindle the fire, for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives, and that the protestants mean to do should be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power cometh." A secret meeting was held at Norham, between sir Henry Percy and Kirkaldy of Grange, and the latter carried back to his colleagues assurances of a still more encouraging character. Yet they were now aware of the parsimony and cautious temper of the English queen; and they feared that by the slowness of her support, the main burthen of the struggle would be thrown upon their own shoulders.

Thus discouragement began to seize upon many of the leaders; some of the more lukewarm fell off from the cause, and others, who were inclined to support it, hesitated. The queen-regent seized this moment of weakness to resume her activity. The protestants now attempted to gain their end by negotiating; they professed the utmost respect and obedience to the crown and regent, and declared that they only wanted protection for their preachers, and reformation in the church. A conference between the two parties was held at Preston in Mid-Lothian, but as the terms insisted upon by the queen-regent were inadmissible, it broke up without any result. At the same time, the protestant leaders continued their secret correspondence with England, whence they now received the promise of an armed interference in case of the arrival of new troops from France; and in reply to Cecil, who had demanded an explanation of the true cause of their taking up arms, they assured him that, "our whole purpose is, as knoweth God, to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, and the true preaching of his Evangel within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sorts of external idolatry; to bridle to our power, the fury of those that have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren, and to our uttermost to obtain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thraldom of strangers."

Mary of Guise now pursued her course with the utmost deliberation. She had already issued a proclamation, in the name of Francis and Mary, in which the protestants were accused generally of sedition, and, particularly of having seized the irons of the mint, and of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with England; and she commanded them to depart immediately from the capital. She had received information by spies that many of the protestant leaders had left Edinburgh, and that those who remained were not sufficiently numerous to threaten any formidable resistance. Encouraged by the knowledge of this circumstance, she quitted Dunbar and marched towards the capital, and thus brought matters to a sudden crisis. Negotiations were renewed, and on the 24th of July the two parties consented to a truce, which was to last till the 10th of January following. The conditions were, that all the protestants not inhabitants of the town, were to quit Edinburgh, taking with them their soldiers; that they were to give up the irons of the mint, and to deliver up the royal palace of Holyrood in the same condition they found it; that they should continue in obedience to the king and queen and to the queen-regent, and to the laws and customs of the kingdom, in the same manner as before these troubles broke out, except in matter of religion; that they should not trouble or molest the churchmen, or hinder them from collecting the rents, profits, and dues of their benefices; and that they should no longer use any force or violence towards churches and monasteries. On the other hand, it was agreed that during the duration of the truce the inhabitants of Edinburgh should choose the form of religion they would have, so that they might enjoy full liberty of conscience; and that elsewhere the protestant ministers should be allowed to preach and live unmolested. The protestants, according to this agreement, quitted the capital on the 25th of July, after having issued a proclamation representing this transaction as much as possible to their own advantage, and the leaders dispersed to their homes.

But the correspondence with England became more active than ever, for, on their part, the Scottish protestants placed no faith in the queen-regent and the French, while on the other side the English queen and her ministers became alarmed lest the reformation in Scotland should be entirely crushed. Just after their retreat from Edinburgh, the lords of the congregation received an important letter from secretary Cecil, who urged them not to shrink in the course upon which they had entered, and suggested that they might strengthen themselves by seizing the wealth of the churchmen. "You know,"

he said, "your chief adversaries, the popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation; they be rich also, whereby they make many friends, by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness they be bold, but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In the first reformation here, in king Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor, yet if the prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil, but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the crown, the help to the youth of the nobility, the maintenance of ministry in the church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent." "But ye may say," he continues, "there is now no reason to write of this; the present time requireth defence of yourselves. True it is—and this that I mentioned not impertinent thereto, and to me the more marvel—that ye omit also such opportunity to help yourselves. Will ye hear of a strange army coming by seas to invade you, and seek help against the same, and yet permit your adversaries, whom ye may expel, to keep the landing and strength for others? Which of these two is easiest, to weaken one neighbour first, or three afterwards? What will be the end, when these be the beginnings? Will they favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France? What may the duke's grace there look for, when his eldest son was so persecuted, as, to save his life, he was forced to flee France and go to Geneva, not without great difficulty; his second brother, the lord David, now cruelly imprisoned by Monsieur Chevigny, one chose out to show cruelty to your nation; divers Scots of the earl's family put to torture; and, finally, all the duchy of Châtelherault seized to the crown. And to show you their purposed tragedy, the young queen so sweareth, so voweth, so threateneth, to destroy all the house of Hamiltons, as it is beyond all marvel to see your old regent there so enchant the duke's ears, as to hear nothing hereof. God open his heart according to his knowledge!" In concluding this letter, Cecil encouraged the Scottish protestants to hope for assistance from Elizabeth.

From Stirling, whither the chiefs of the protestants had retired after leaving Edinburgh, the correspondence with England was continued. Knox was sent on a secret mission to Berwick, where he arrived on the 3rd of August, and had an interview with sir James Crofts. He was instructed to ask for money, men, and ships, and he suggested that pensions should be given to some of the chiefs. He proposed to seize and garrison Stirling, urged that the English should take and fortify Eyemouth and Broughty Craig, and recommended that a fleet should be sent to protect Dundee and Perth, which were still in the hands of the protestants. These proposals were received coldly, and Knox returned without any decided answer. On his way his escort was attacked by a party from the French garrison of Dunbar, and he narrowly escaped being captured.

Meanwhile preparations were making in France on an extensive scale for the Scottish expedition, and the queen-regent only waited the arrival of the French troops to act with more vigour than she had hitherto shown. She took advantage of the period of truce to spread abroad rumours and scandals calculated to injure the character of the protestant leaders; among which the one which caused most uneasiness was the report that the lord James aspired to usurp the crown. This caused so much uneasiness in France, that sir James Melville, a Scottish knight who had been bred from his youth in that country, was sent on a secret mission to his native country, to ascertain if this rumour were true, and to report on the real state of affairs. Melville was attached to the service of the constable Montmorency, one of the chiefs of the French protestants, and he was not likely to examine very severely into the proceedings of the congregation; and with regard to the lord James, he seems to have done no more than ask him in private if he pleaded guilty to the charge, and, upon his denial, he returned fully satisfied to France. During his absence Henry II. had ceased to live, Francis and Mary had succeeded him on the throne, and the violent counsels of the Guises were supreme. Nothing was thought of but the utter reduction of Scotland, with threats to chastise England for her intended interference. These designs were equally well known to the Scottish protestants, who kept up a communication with their brethren in France, and to queen Elizabeth, whose agents made themselves intimately acquainted with the intrigues of the French court, and they tended to draw closer the ties between that princess and the protestants of Scotland.

But still she so far hesitated from giving them her countenance publicly, that, when taxed by the French ambassador, M. De Noailles, with encouraging the Scottish rebels, Elizabeth wrote an indignant letter to the queen-regent, expressing her horror at the very idea of giving encouragement to subjects to rebel against their sovereigns, and wishing her a speedy triumph over the insurgents.

Contradictory sentiments in the mind of queen Elizabeth caused her long to hesitate before she decided on the kind of support which she would give to the protestants of Scotland. She held lofty notions on the divine right of princes, and on the criminality of any attempts on the part of their subjects to rise against their authority, and with these views the Scottish protestants were simply rebels; but at the same time she foresaw the blow which would fall upon her own head if she allowed the Scots to be overwhelmed, and the necessity of preventing it. To satisfy her conscience, she affected to consider it as a struggle between the Scots and the French, and she determined to send an agent to the border, to communicate secretly with the Scots, and ascertain the real state of affairs. This mission was entrusted to sir Ralph Sadler, whose diplomatic talents had gained him the esteem of her father, Henry VIII., and who still remained in favour at court. It was one part of his instructions to "nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England." He was also to ascertain "the very truth, whether the lord James did mean any enterprise towards the crown of Scotland for himself, or not." But, as we shall see farther on, Elizabeth wished to know this for reasons different from those which had given rise to the mission of sir James Melville. The mission of Sadler had been hurried by the pressing appeals of the Scots, who were impatient of the slow counsels of the English court. "I must signify to you," Knox wrote to sir James Crofts on the 6th of August, "that unless the council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle, but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France), to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the country, which our enemies may easily occupy; and when they have so done, make your account what may ensue towards yourself."

Another cause of Elizabeth's reluctance seems to have been the suspicion that the Scottish reformation was taking too much of a popular and democratic form. She knew that the views of the Scottish protestants with regard to church government were directly opposed to her own, and she looked with feelings of extreme hostility on John Knox, who was their religious leader. The plan which she preferred, and which the lords of the congregation appear at this time to have contemplated, was to depose the queen-regent, and to restore the government to the duke of Châtelherault, or to entrust it to the lord James. The protestant leaders were at this time using every effort to detach the duke from the queen's party, and his notorious weakness of character rendered him less popular than the other; and it was probably in consequence of a suspicion of these designs that the regent accused the lord James of aspiring to the crown. Elizabeth does not appear to have been willing to encourage such an usurpation, and it was therefore proposed that another person should be brought forward, the young earl of Arran (Châtelherault's son), who appeared to promise better than his father, but whose real character was not yet known. The earl of Arran had held high and lucrative appointments in France, but having embraced the reformed opinions, he was deprived of them and fell into disgrace, and it was only by a hasty flight to Geneva that he escaped being thrown into prison. A message was sent to him there, and he was invited to return to Scotland, in the belief that, at all events, his presence might be useful, and that he would, perhaps, draw his father from the queen-regent.

It was at this moment, and in the midst of these uncertainties, that Knox wrote the urgent letter to Cecil, dated on the 15th of August, which Tytler has printed from the original in the state-paper office. "The cause of these gentlemen," said he, "standeth thus: that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in number are now but five hundred, for their service by-past, and to retain another thousand footmen with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh), that some of them

will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the queen-regent or with France; but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness to their support. To aid us so liberally as we require, to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France to many will appear dangerous; but, sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert!) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bethencourt (the French ambassador newly arrived) bragged in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letter to the prior (the lord James), that the king and his council would spend the crown of France, unless they had our full obedience; I am assured that, unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money, and some of our number are so poor (as before I wrote), that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if you lie as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the council, immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The earl of Argyle is gone to his country, for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support; and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them; and therefore in the bowels of Christ Jesus I require you, sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen (*trust*) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness. Some danger is in the drift of time in such matters, ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the queen's majesty wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good father, the most noble and most redoubted of his time, disdained not lovingly to write to men fewer in number, and far inferior in authority and power, than be those that wrote to her grace."

At length, on the 20th of August, sir Ralph Sadler arrived at Berwick, where he was met by a message from Knox, and it was agreed that Balnaves, a zealous agent of the congregation, should be sent secretly to confer with him. Sadler carried with him three thousand pounds, which he was directed to apply to the aid of the Scottish protestants in such a manner as not openly to interfere in the recent treaties of peace between the two countries. In announcing his arrival to Cecil, Sadler stated his opinion that it was desirable the young earl of Arran should show himself in Scotland as soon as possible, and he gave information that the duke of Châtelherault was wavering in his allegiance to the regent. "It seemeth," he adds, "they make little or none account of the French power which is looked for out of France, wishing that the same should rather come than not, for as the number cannot be great, so think they that the same will so stir and irritate the hearts of all Scottish men, as they would wholly and firmly adhere and stick together, whereby their power should so increase, as they should be well able both to expel the French out of Scotland, and also the better achieve the rest of their whole purpose. In which case I and sir James Crofts, understand by Knox, they will require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of fifteen hundred arquebusiers, and three hundred horsemen, which, if they may have, then France (as Knox saith) shall soon understand their minds. And if any such aid shall be required, albeit we think it not good, we intend not to answer them, so as they shall be without hope thereof, yet would we be glad to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure in that part, wishing, if it may be looked for that any good effect shall follow, that her majesty should not for the spending of a great deal more than the charge of their demand amounteth unto, permit (*let slip*) such an opportunity. And to say our poor minds unto you, we see not but her highness must be at some charge with them, for of bare words only, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receive no comfort. The bestowing of two or three thousand crowns to relieve them, which have sustained great losses, and spent, as we understand, in manner all they had in this matter; now to encourage them to do somewhat, and if the same be well spent, a great deal more cannot but be well employed; and if such effect do not follow thereof as we desire, her highness must account that she hath cast so much into the sea, the loss whereof may be easily borne and recovered; and either must her majesty adventure the loss of money amongst them, or else leave them to themselves, for we see not that the mean can serve the turn in this part."

The queen signified her perfect approval of Sadler's first proceedings; the earl of Arran was secretly brought to England, under the assumed name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and Cecil, on the 24th of August, wrote a pressing letter to his father the duke, urging him to join the congregation. "I beseech your grace at this present," he said, "neglect not such opportunity of doing good to your country, as the like was never offered this hundred years, nor percase shall not many other hundred happen, if this time be omitted. Repentance doth most harm where no remedy remaineth. But I will not molest your grace with my writing; this one thing I covet, to have this isle well united in concord, and then could I be content to leave my life and the joy thereof to our posterity."

At length, early in September, Balnaves arrived in Berwick, and was secretly introduced into the castle. In a letter written on the 8th, Sadler and Crofts gave the following account of their conference with him, and of its results:—"Now at the last," they say, "Mr. Balnaves arrived here on Wednesday last, at midnight, from the lords of the congregation; yesterday, in the morning, we communed with him at good length, who, because he had never before conferred with me, sir Ralph Sadler, in that matter, made me a whole discourse, at my request, of all their proceedings from the beginning, agreeable in all points with such advertisement as you have had heretofore. And now he saith that they intend to revive the matter, for that the regent hath not observed the articles of their last agreement, but hath infringed the same, as well in that she hath set up the mass again in the abbey of Holyrood-house, which they had before suppressed; as also in that the Frenchmen do remain still, and a more (*greater*) number since arrived, wherewith he saith all Scotland is much moved; and also a new matter they have to burden her with for her misgovernment, in that she abased the congregation without consent of the council, to the grief and impoverishment of their common weal. For these matters he saith, they will begin again, and would have done at this time, but sundry causes, he saith, they had to protract the time in pursuing hereof, whereby they have rather great advantage than hindrance. One for that the regent, by her policy, devised to stir James M'Donell, and others of the Scottish-Irish, against the earl of Argyle, to the intent the same earl might be so occupied at home in defence of this country, as he should have no time to attend this matter; wherefore it behoved him to go home for the stay thereof, which he hath now so well ordered, as the regent shall be clearly frustrate and deceived of her expectation in that behalf. Another cause is, for that harvest is late with them this year, and if they should have assembled any power in the fields, it could not otherwise be but that a great destruction must have ensued of the fruits of the earth, which would have greatly moved the people against them. Again, during the mean time they have had their preachers abroad in the realm, which, by their preaching and doctrine, have so won and allured the people to their devotion, as he saith their power is now double that it was in the cause of religion; and such as yet be not fully persuaded thereto, bear nevertheless such hatred to the Frenchmen, as he thinked in manner the whole realm favoureth their party. And also he saith, that in this protract of time, practices have been used, and conferences had, both with the duke, the earl of Huntley, and others; and the duke persuaded so far, that he hath promised to come no more at the regent, nor to take any part with her; the rest he will refer to the coming home of his son, who, he saith, may take the matter in hand, if he himself list, to be sick or lame, and to wink at the matter. And here the said Balnaves seemed to be greatly desirous of the coming home of the said duke's son, who indeed was nearer him than he was aware of. The like promise, he saith, they have obtained of the earl of Huntley; and be in good hope that he will manifest himself on their side; others also they have won, as he saith, to their party, which be the best borderers of the Merse and Twydale, which indeed have their preachers amongst them; and though some of the older sort do draw back, yet having young and lusty gentlemen to their sons, they are content to let them follow their purpose, and dissemble the matter themselves with the regent. These advantages, saith Balnaves, have they gotten by this protract of time; and now as soon as their harvest is at good point, they will assemble all the power they can make; for which purpose the lords of the

congregation do meet and convene, as he saith, the tenth or twelfth of this month at Stirling, where, he saith, they be in good hope to hear of some good aid and comfort at the queen's majesty's hands, for the which purpose they had now sent him unto us. When he had said that he would, we told him that they might assure themselves that the queen's majesty, and all the lords of her highness's council, did so much tender their cause, as they would be no less sorry than they themselves if the same should not take good effect; and such aid and comfort as her highness might minister unto them, without touch of her honour and breach of the peace which she now hath both with France and Scotland, they might be sure to have it at her grace's hands. Marry, we told him they were wise men, and could consider as well as we what might be done by her highness in that behalf, considering that albeit their cause was grounded upon a good and godly foundation, to extirpate idolatry and to advance Christ's true religion, and also for the preservation of the freedom of their country, and to deliver the same from foreign government, as in conscience they are bound to do; yet the world can make no other exposition of it, but that they be as it were a faction gathered together, contending against the authority; and how the queen's majesty may seem to maintain them in such a case, we doubted not; but he, being a wise man, could weigh the same as deeply as we did. He confessed all that we said to be true, and wished that the queen's majesty should remain still in peace, which he said should also serve better for their purpose, than if we were in the wars; for that if we were in the war, they could then find no fault with the coming of the Frenchmen into Scotland, which might say they came to defend our country; but now, being in peace, all Scotland may, and doth well perceive, that they come rather to make a conquest of them than for any other cause; and in their conferences, he saith, they have considered as much as we said unto them, and, therefore, whatsoever pretence they make, the principal mark they shoot at is, he saith, to make an altercation of the state and authority, to the intent the same being established as they desire, they may then enter into open trade with her majesty, as the case shall require. This, he saith, is very secret, and if the duke will take it upon him, they mean to bestow it there; or, if he refuse, his son is as mete, or rather more mete for the purpose. In the mean season he said they trusted, and the lords of the congregation were in good expectation, that her highness would comfort them with some secret aid of money, and, because they had spent a great deal of their substance in maintaining and keeping all this while, certain bands of soldiers, for their more strength and surety to their no little impoverishing; if they might now have such relief at her majesty's hands, as would keep together a thousand arquebusiers and three hundred horsemen, for two or three months, besides such power as they trust to make at their own charge, they will either achieve their enterprise, or spend their lives in the pursuit thereof. Upon this we resolved with him, that indeed there was none other way for the queen's majesty to relieve or comfort them, but with money; which, if it might be done with such secrecy as the case doth require, we said we doubted not but her majesty so much tendereth their case and godly action, as they might and should taste of her liberality and goodness in that part; and here I, sir Ralph Sadler, put him in remembrance how liberal the king, her majesty's father, had been aforetime to the nobility of Scotland, as he knew, and how little they considered it; and also, that they used therein no secrecy at all. He confessed it to be true; but he said the case is now much otherwise than it was then, for then we sought of them, and now they seek of us; and, quoth he, we be so far already entered into this matter, that though we have no aid at all at your hands, we must needs, for our surety, either go through with it, or lose our lives; and so we be fully bent and purposed to do. And, quoth he, for the secrecy of the matter, if it please the queen's majesty to aid us according to our desire, it shall be so secret that none, except a few which be of the privy council amongst us, shall know any other but that the force is levied of the benevolence of the whole congregation. To come to the end of this long talk, the rehearsal of the whole whereof were superfluous, we said that the year was so far spent, that we thought one month's wages for the entertainment of such soldiers as they desired would suffice, which amounted to the point of fifteen hundred pounds. He answered, that the time was nothing at all spent for their purpose, for the winter is best for them, and worst for the French-

men; but within two months he trusted the matter would be tried. And so, finally, we granted them two thousand pounds, which we said we would spare them of the pay our soldiers here should receive at this time; and doubted not but the queen's majesty, if she should perceive the same to be so employed by them, as their cause may be well advanced, and her honour untouched, she would in that case show herself more liberal unto them, wherein we pray you help, that we may keep promise, if the case so require. With this the said Balnaves was well satisfied, seeming to take it in very thankful part; and we be resolved, that within these six days they shall send hither for the same by sea, and shall receive it at Holy Island, wherein shall be used as much secrecy as possible. Thus have we adventured so much of the queen's money, and surely by all likelihood and conjectures that we can conceive, the same cannot but be employed to good purpose. Others there be, as Kirkaldy, Ormiston, and Whitlaw, which, having spent much for this matter, whereof they be earnest prosecutors, and for the same have been captains of bands in Scotland, have lost a fifteen or sixteen months' pay, which they should now have had out of France, do look for some relief, whereof, as we understand, they have been put in some hope; but because we have been now so liberal of the queen's purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to commit the same to the discretion of me, the said sir Ralph, yet we would be glad to know how her highness liketh or misliketh that we have done, before we do any more."

The earl of Arran had at this time reached Berwick on his way to Scotland, and, continue the writers of this letter, "all this while of our talk with Mr. Balnaves, was the earl of Arran here in the castle, the one of them not knowing of the other; for Balnaves came on Wednesday last at midnight, and the earl, for whose secret conveyance hither we had taken order according to your letters, came into the castle on Thursday morning before day, within three hours after Balnaves. We told first the earl that Balnaves was here, and devised with him whether he would talk with him or not. After some consideration whereof, because he would understand the state of things in Scotland, knowing Balnaves to be his assured friend, he resolved to speak with him, and so we brought them together. And Mr. Balnaves, we assure you, seemed to rejoice very much of his coming, and discoursed with him of the state of their country at good length; and in the end we ordered that Balnaves shall keep it secret till the earl shall disclose himself."

After a brief stay at Berwick, the earl of Arran was conveyed secretly by the borderers of Teviotdale to Hamilton castle, his father's residence. As soon as his arrival was publicly known, the intelligence was joyfully received by the whole protestant party, and it had the important effect of deciding the duke of Châtelherault to join their standard.

While her agents were thus engaged in secret, Elizabeth acted with the most extraordinary dissimulation. Although the utmost care had been taken to disconnect the queen's name with the acts of her officers, the encouragement which the Scottish protestants received from England could hardly be kept so great a secret that some intimations of it were not carried to the queen-regent, and the French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, was instructed to remonstrate on the subject. In his dispatches, he gives accounts of repeated interviews with the English queen, in which she denied having given any countenance to the rebels of Scotland, and expressed her abhorrence of their attempts. At the end of August, M. de Noailles was directed to complain that the Scottish protestants had talked publicly of their hopes of assistance from England, and that they boasted of having the queen's promise to that effect; in reply to which Elizabeth told him, that possibly some of her officers, among whom there were some foolish enough, might have held indiscreet language towards the Scots, but that she had sent a commissioner to the border to inquire into, and correct any faults of this kind. She assured him that those of the congregation would find themselves greatly deceived, if they expected any favour from her in their wild enterprises; that she had neither written nor promised anything to them, and that her signet might be easily known if they had it to show. She added that she knew there were some of her subjects who were ready enough to do anything to cause disagreement between the two countries, but that it was her intention to punish them very severely. Three or four days afterwards the ambassador was assured that orders had been sent to the frontier to hinder any encouragement from being given to the

Scottish protestants. Even at the end of September, when Arran had declared himself in Scotland, and his father had joined the congregation, and Sadler's negotiations with the protestants were more than suspected, Elizabeth still held the same language to the French ambassador.

Meanwhile the king of France made no secret of his resolution to reduce Scotland to the condition of a province of France, and he continued his preparations for war. The Sieur de Bethencourt was sent over to Scotland at the beginning of August, with assurances that a French army under the command of the marquis d'Elbeuf was on the point of embarking for the assistance of the queen-regent. Bethencourt was instructed to try and detach the lord James from the party of the protestants, and he was the bearer of a letter from the king and queen of France to that nobleman, in which they upbraided him for his ingratitude, in return for the many benefits he had received from France, and threatened him with their utmost vengeance if he continued with the rebels; but the lord James remained firm to the cause he had adopted, and, in a temperate reply, he declared for himself and the other lords of the congregation, that they had no other object than the defence of their religious convictions, and that, detesting the crime of sedition, they were ready in all other matters but religion to be obedient and faithful subjects to their sovereign. At the end of August, the first division of the French armament, consisting of a force of a thousand men, under an Italian officer named Ottaviano Bosso, arrived at Leith. The queen-regent welcomed this arrival with the utmost joy, and she immediately sent their commander back to France, with pressing demands for a still larger force. She pointed out to the French monarch the danger of delay, and the necessity of overcoming the Scots before they could obtain assistance from any of their neighbours, and declared her belief that with a thousand more men and a hundred barbed horse, and with four ships-of-war to cruise in the Forth, she could reduce Scotland. With the reinforcement brought by Ottaviano Bosso, the regent began to fortify the port of Leith, in order to make it a stronghold for her foreign troops. A few more of these, consisting of two hundred foot and eighty horse, under a French officer named La Brosse, arrived in three ships on the 24th of September, accompanied by the bishop of Ameins, who came as legate *a latere* from the pope, and two doctors of the Sorbonne. The mission of the ecclesiastics was one of conversion; and they proceeded at once to employ their learning against the heretics; but they soon found that they had undertaken a task which was not destined to have much success.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION AGAIN OCCUPY EDINBURGH; DEPOSITION OF THE QUEEN-REGENT; THE PROTESTANTS COMPELLED TO RETREAT FROM THE CAPITAL; DETERMINATION OF ELIZABETH TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE OF THE PROTESTANTS.

The secret encouragement received from England reanimated the congregation, which at the same time received at home some important accessions of strength. Of these one of the principal was Maitland of Lethington, who gave his secret support to the reformers before he joined them openly, and thus, as the regent's secretary, he was enabled to betray her designs to them. The earl of Arran, while at Geneva, had formed an intimacy with an Englishman named Thomas Randolph, afterwards well known as sir Thomas Randolph, and as one of the ablest diplomatists and political intriguers of his age; and at the earl's particular desire this man followed him into Scotland, and he gave to the measure of the protestant confederates a character of energy and promptitude which they would not have received from Arran himself. After his arrival, the chiefs of the congregation met at Hamilton, and under the presidence of the duke of Châtelherault, who signed their covenant, they resolved to

assemble their forces and proceed at once to hostilities against the Frenchmen. Their first step was to send a message to the queen-regent, requiring her to desist from fortifying Leith, to which she replied that her daughter, the queen of Scotland, had as much right to fortify her own seaport as the duke had to build at Hamilton, and she accompanied her refusal with reproaches to Châtelherault for his ingratitude and faithlessness. At the same time they seem to have drawn up a manifesto addressed to the princes of Christendom, of which a copy has been found in the archives of the foreign office in France, and has been printed in M. Teulet's collection of documents illustrative of Scottish history. In this document, the lords of the congregation protested against the design of their regent to reduce Scotland to a French province. They described the intrigues which had been employed to determine the government to send their infant queen to France, as well as those by which the duke of Châtelherault was deprived of the regency, and the queen-dowager, a foreigner, substituted in his place. They complained that, after the elevation of Mary of Guise to the regency, she had discountenanced the old Scottish nobility, and given all the great offices of state to foreigners; that M. de Rubbay, the vice-chancellor, had usurped from the earl of Huntley all his powers as chancellor; that the earl of Cassilis, the treasurer, having shown some opposition to this undue promotion of Frenchmen, had been sent away under pretence of a mission to France, and his office virtually bestowed on an obscure French scribe; that the two chief French officials, D'Oysel and Rubbay, had usurped the whole power of the state, which they exercised with the most offensive arrogance; that the regent, to gain her ends, had designedly sown discord among the nobles of Scotland; that she had persecuted them under pretence of religion; and that she had given the Scottish benefices to foreign priests. The lords of the congregation then described the way in which the marriage between their young queen and the dauphin had been brought about; the attempt to carry away the Scottish crown to be placed on the head of the husband, which had been defeated by the firmness of the Scottish ambassadors; the injuries which had been done to the Scots by the French soldiery; the debasing of the coinage; the persecution of the earl of Arran in France; the open declaration of the French that they intended to reduce Scotland to the condition of a province; the sending over of troops for that purpose; the occupation and fortification of Leith, without the authority of parliament; the humble remonstrance which they had addressed on this subject to the regent, and the contemptuous manner in which she had treated it. They represented the necessity in which they found themselves of taking arms to relieve themselves from the most disgraceful servitude; and protested that they were still ready to render all due obedience to their queen, and that their only aim was to restore their country to its ancient liberty, to protect their ancient royal race in their rightful succession to the crown, and to hinder it from being transported by tyranny and violence to a foreigner.

A variety of circumstances hindered the assembling of the army of the congregation until the 15th of October, when their army amounted to not less than twelve thousand men. Next day they marched to Edinburgh, which they occupied without resistance, the queen-regent retiring within the fortifications of Leith. In repeated skirmishes which followed the occupation of the capital, the protestants generally had the advantage. In these encounters Kirkaldy of Grange distinguished himself by his bravery, and in one of the first skirmishes it is recorded that he slew a French officer, hand to hand, "whereby the protestants had the first blood, which they did take for good luck." "So that now," say Sadler and Crofts, in a letter to Cecil, "the affray is begun, and being thus far entered in blood on both parts, we think it cannot be soon stanched. The queen's majesty hath more for two thousand pounds than her highness's father could obtain for six thousand." This first success, however, was followed up by an immediate appeal to Elizabeth for pecuniary aid, upon which Sadler and Crofts, in forwarding their demand to Cecil, observe: "Surely we think if they be not relieved and supported by the queen's majesty, their poverty being such as they allege, they must of force desist and leave off their enterprise, to their own confusion. And if by her highness's aid they may prosper and achieve the same, yet in the end, as far as we can see, her highness must either manifest herself on that side, or else they shall not be able to strive and

wrestle with the power of France. Wherein we be bold to say our poor minds, as men which from the bottom of our hearts do wish and desire the establishment of this island in perpetual unity and concord, the like opportunity whereof that is now offered we think we shall not live to see, if this be pretermitted, the consideration whereof we refer to the wisdom and deep judgment of those to whom it chiefly appertaineth, which can more deeply weigh it, and discern, and see further in the same than our poor wits can reach."

The protestant party in Edinburgh, meanwhile, proceeded with a boldness which astonished their enemies. They began by appointing two councils, one for civil affairs, and another for religion. The first was composed of the duke of Châtelherault, his son the earl of Arran, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Maxwell, Erskine of Dun, Henry Balnaves, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the provost of Dundee. In the council of religion were Knox, Goodman, and the bishop of Galloway, who had turned protestant. Having thus established a sort of government in the capital, the lords of the congregation sent a messenger to the regent, by whom they demanded that the new fortifications of Leith should be demolished, that the foreign and other hired troops should immediately evacuate that town, and leave it free for all to carry on their commerce and exercise their trade. They declared that, in case of her refusal, they would look upon it as a proof that she wished to reduce the kingdom to slavery, for which they would endeavour by every means within their power to find a remedy. After taking three days to deliberate, the regent sent the Lion king-at-arms into Edinburgh with the following reply, as it is reported by Buchanan: "First," she said, "you are to show that I cannot understand how any one can possess power in this realm, except my son-in-law and daughter, from whom I derive my authority. The former deeds of the nobles, and their present request, or rather command, sufficiently declare that they acknowledge no superior authority; neither does their petition, or rather threat, however plausibly expressed, surprise me. You will require the duke of Châtelherault to remember what he promised to me verbally, and to the king by letter, not only that he would himself continue loyal to the king, but that he would prevent his son, the earl of Arran, from at all interfering in the troubles of the country; and ask him how his present conduct corresponds with these promises. To the addresses you will reply, that I am ready to do, and hereby promise to do, whatever the public tranquillity requires, and is not repugnant to religion, and my duty to the sovereign; nor did I ever so much as think of overturning either liberty or laws, much less of conquering the kingdom by force; for why should I wish to conquer that which, without dispute, belongs to my daughter by hereditary right? Respecting the fortifications at Leith, you will ask whether I ever attempted anything of that kind, until they by many meetings, and at last by a conspiracy openly entered into, declared that they had rejected all legitimate authority, and would manage the commonwealth at their own pleasure, without consulting me who held the rank and authority of chief magistrate; until they had strengthened their party by taking towns; by entering into a negotiation with the ancient enemy for ratifying a league, and especially now had many of the English in their own houses; and besides, what reasons can they offer why they should be allowed to keep an army at Edinburgh for attacking the governor of the realm, and I not suffered to have some force at Leith, as a protection for my person and the support of my authority? Undoubtedly they wish to deprive me of my settled place of residence, and force me to change my situation daily, as I have hitherto done to avoid their fury. Besides, where is there any mention made in their letters of any obedience to lawful magistrates? Where do they point out any way to restore concord? Where do they show any desire to allay these commotions, and bring back the commonwealth to its former situation? They may talk as they choose about the welfare of the public; it is evident that there is nothing about which they think less; for if that be the only obstacle to concord, I have often shown how it might be removed. Nor are they ignorant that the French would have long ago been ordered out of Scotland by their king, if they themselves, by their own conduct, had not occasioned the delay. Wherefore, if they would now offer any honourable conditions, which would afford a hope that the majesty of the government would be preserved, and that they would modestly and obediently submit to their superiors, I will reject no plan for

restoring concord. Nor am I only thus inclined, but their sovereigns also show the same disposition, who sent an illustrious knight of the order of St. Michael (La Brosse), and one of the highest dignitaries of the church (the bishop of Amiens), with letters and mandates for that purpose, whom they treated with so much contempt, that they not only returned them no answer, but would not even grant them a conference; for which reasons, you will require and command both the duke, nobles, and all others, of whatever rank, to separate from the army, on pain of being proclaimed traitors."

The herald who brought the message of the regent was required to wait for his answer, and the same day, the 21st of October, the congregation assembled in the tolbooth, to deliberate on the course to be adopted. Lord Ruthven was called upon to preside at this meeting, and he at once boldly propounded to them the question of deposing the regent. It was urged that a foreigner, who held only a deputed power, having refused to listen to the natural born councillors of the kingdom, and having openly declared her intention of reducing them to bondage, ought no longer to be allowed to retain an office which she was abusing to their ruin. The subject was warmly debated, and provoked some difference of opinion, until the preachers were called to give their advice. Willock addressed the assembly first, and defined from scripture the limitations placed on the office of magistracy, quoting examples of the depositions of kings. It was the language of the English puritans of the seventeenth century. He spoke strongly of the character of the queen-regent, and of the various injuries she had inflicted on Scotland, and he dwelt especially on her evident design to destroy the national liberty, and to deprive the Scots of their rights. Such being the case, he argued that it was the duty of the nobility, the born councillors of the realm, to provide for its safety by divesting her of her authority. Knox spoke more guardedly and moderately, but to the same purpose; but he urged them to remain firm in their allegiance to their true sovereign. The votes of the assembly were then taken, and it was unanimously resolved that the queen-regent should be suspended from her authority. An act to this effect was drawn up, and next day, October the 22nd, it was publicly proclaimed to the people. It was communicated to the regent in a letter entrusted to her herald, which, according to Buchanan, was nearly in the following terms: "We plainly perceive," they said, "by the letters and mandates sent us by your herald, your obstinate aversion to the true worship of God, the public welfare of the nation, and our common liberty. In order, therefore, to preserve them, we, in the name of our king and queen, suspend and prohibit you from exercising the government in their name, as regent, or under whatever title you may assume; as we are assured that your proceedings are in entire opposition to their wishes for the welfare of this kingdom. And inasmuch as you do not employ us, the lawful counsellors of this kingdom and native subjects of our sovereigns, as your parliament and council, so neither do we acknowledge you as regent, or exercising the supreme functions of government; particularly because your power of whatever kind, entrusted to you by our sovereigns, is for the most weighty and just causes inhibited by us, and that in the name of these sovereigns, whose natural advisers we are, especially in affairs respecting the safety of the commonwealth. But although we have determined to hazard our lives in freeing that town, in which you have collected foreign troops against us, yet of the respect and regard we have for you as the mother of our queen, we earnestly entreat you to withdraw, ere the public service force us to reduce that city by arms, which we have so often before endeavoured to liberate by our petitions. Moreover we request that you will take along with you, within twenty-four hours, all those who lay claim to the name of ambassadors for deciding or managing the public affairs; also all the hired soldiers of every description who are in the town, as we would willingly spare their lives and preserve them unhurt, on account of the friendship which has for so many ages existed between the Scots and the French, and which the marriage of our queen with their king ought rather to increase than diminish." On the 25th the congregation sent a herald to Leith, to order all the Scots to depart from that town within the space of twenty-four hours, and separate themselves from the enemies of public liberty, and the Frenchmen to depart from Scotland.

The commencement of the war was not fortunate to the congregation. Preparations were made for an attack upon Leith, but they were unsuccessful. The queen-regent

sent her agents and spies into their camp, who corrupted many, and spread suspicions and alarm among others. The duke of Châtelherault began at the same time to display his characteristic weakness, and his misgivings soon communicated themselves to others of his colleagues. To crown all, money again ran short, and the soldiers of the congregation became clamorous and mutinous, and deserted in great numbers. The laird of Ormiston was again dispatched to Berwick for assistance, and, on the last of October, Sadler and Crofts gave Cecil the following account of his visit. "Yesternight arrived here the laird of Ormiston, with these letters which we send you here inclosed. He was specially dispatched hither for money, and declared unto us that, unless they might be presently holpen and relieved with the same, they could not keep their power any longer together, but that their soldiers which they had in wages were ready to depart from them for lack of payment; whereupon, because we thought it not good utterly to discourage them, we have presumed to send them one thousand pounds, which we declared unto him we shifted for of our own money, and such as we could borrow of our friends for the time, and so we have now written unto Randolph, requiring him to declare the same to such of the lords there as he thinketh good, and to advertise them that we be in good hope to send them more very shortly, praying them to keep it secret, and to make as few privy to it as is possible, whereof likewise we required the said Ormiston; to whom also we have given two hundred crowns for his own relief, which he took in very thankful part, and so we returned him this day with speed to Edinburgh, with good words and good hope of more relief as soon as may be." "What will be the end of this matter," they add, "we cannot tell, but surely without the queen's majesty's aid, either by taking open and plain part with them, or else secretly to be at charges with them, as her highness hath been for a time, we see not, their poverty being such as it is, as this bearer can tell, that they shall be able of themselves to keep any power long together, but of force must be fain to stay, desist, and depart to their no little danger, and to the utter overthrow of the whole intended purpose."

A new and unexpected misfortune now fell upon the congregation. As the laird of Ormiston was returning to Edinburgh with the thousand pounds entrusted to him by the English agents,* the earl of Bothwell, who had been in secret communication with the protestants, and pretended to favour their cause, waylaid and attacked him, and robbed him of the money. Ormiston himself was wounded. When news of this disaster reached Edinburgh, the earl of Arran and the lord James, taking with them two hundred horse, a hundred foot, and two pieces of artillery, marched in all haste against Bothwell, and seized his house, but the earl contrived to make his escape, and to carry with him the money. This capture left no doubt of the assistance which the lords of the congregation received from England, although it was vainly represented as the private contribution of individuals. This misfortune was followed by others of a still more serious character. The townsmen of Dundee, under their provost Haliburton, a good soldier and skilful commander, marched to Edinburgh to assist in the seige of Leith, and had planted their cannon on an eminence near Holyrood, where they were unexpectedly attacked by the French, and driven into the streets of Edinburgh with loss. This surprise is said to have been the more easily effected, from the circumstance that most of the leaders were absent listening to a long sermon. The French soldiers plundered the houses in the streets they had entered, acting with great cruelty, for they murdered aged men and a woman with an infant at her breast; and it is related that the queen-regent sat on the ramparts of Leith to welcome them on their return, smiling at seeing them laden with the spoils of the citizens. On Monday, the 5th of November, the French, to the number of two thousand men, marched out of Leith to intercept a convoy carrying provisions into the capital; on which the lord James and the earl of Arran hurried out of Edinburgh with a small force to protect the convoy. An engagement ensued, in which the Scots, becoming entangled in difficult ground between the morass of Restalrig and the moat surrounding the park, were thrown into confusion and defeated with considerable loss. Haliburton, provost of Dundee, to whose exertions those who escaped owed their safety, was among the slain. This defeat threw

* It is evident that this money was only one thousand pounds. Another document calls it four thousand *crowns*, which Tytler has turned into four thousand pounds, and some have still further increased the sum.

the congregation into great despondency, as their force had been already much diminished by desertion. A council was assembled hurriedly, at which some proposed that they should remain in the capital, and send out to their friends to press for reinforcements; but in the end more timid counsels prevailed; and at midnight the congregation abandoned the town, and retreated first to Linlithgow, and thence to Stirling. It is said that as they left the capital the populace hooted at them for their cowardice. Their departure was no sooner known, than the queen-regent marched triumphantly into Edinburgh.

The effect of these disasters on the protestant leaders may be gathered from a letter written on the 11th of November, by Randolph, who was then with them at Stirling, to Sadler and Crofts. "I find so much uncertainty in men's doings," he says, "that I am uncertain what to write, nor know not how to report that that within this five days I have heard and seen. I have found the worst success in a matter that I hoped so well of, that ever I shall see. Since the taking of the money, and the coming of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edinburgh, I have found the most part of our nobles and others such, as I know not whom worthily to commend. The number of men hath so decayed since that time, that the rest were forced to leave the town upon Monday last [November 5]. Also, our men had a very hot skirmish. There were slain, hurt, and taken, of both sides, thirty or forty; one captain of ours slain, and no man else of any name; notwithstanding, the multitude were so discouraged, and showed such open tokens thereof, that the best counsel they could find was to leave the town with speed, and go to some place, the whole council together, where they might quietly take new advice in their affairs. They concluded the said Monday, at four of the clock, to depart that night at midnight towards Stirling, where presently (*at the present time*) we are. Against this purpose of theirs there were only the earl of Arran, the lord James, and the lord Maxwell, who offered to remain in the town, if they might have but one thousand men, and to be assured of the castle, whereof they now stood in doubt again, because the earl of Morton, and the lord Erskine [who held Edinburgh castle], had consulted together to end the matter by composition; wherefore the lords of the congregation thought it better to depart than trust to their gentleness, being now both together in the castle, and especially the earl of Morton, who being of the congregation, and promising daily to come unto them, stole secretly into the castle, whither he came the day before we departed, and was there when we went our way. One Blaketer [Home of Blackadder], your neighbour [Blackadder was near Berwick], is thought to have wrought much mischief in this cause, and betrayed Ormiston. True it is, that he hath been the dowager's friend, and persuadeth the lord Erskine against the lords of the congregation. Some there be that suspect the lord Ruthven, who is one of this congregation and council, great friend to the earls of Huntley and Morton. The lords of the congregation have remained here at Stirling two days, consulting of their affairs; having determined rather to die than thus to leave their enterprise, but only for a time to retire themselves, and, in the mean season, to annoy the dowager or her friends as they may. The greatest thing that grieveth them, as they say, is the fear they have that the queen's majesty [Elizabeth] will have an evil opinion of their doings; but they trust her majesty will favourably weigh their case, and accept such offers of service as shortly shall be presented unto her by the laird of Lethington [Maitland], who hath received his dispatch; not very certain yet what way we shall take, being not very sure neither by sea nor land. I see not how I can write again unto your honours before my departure, having at this time, where I am, much a-do to find a convenient messenger. I received upon Monday last, within one hour, both your letters and instructions. I made as many partakers of them as I thought might stand with your pleasures and the matter did chiefly concern. They have promised hereafter greater silence, and more circumspection in their doings; trusting not to lack your good advices, as hitherto they have had. What they shall determine here, yet I know not thoroughly, but intend to bring certain knowledge thereof at my coming. To write at large, your honours know it is not possible in this kind of writing [the letter was written in cipher]. I have not had also at all times, and as I would, convenient means to send, which had been very necessary in this time; notwithstanding, I trust it shall appear, that

neither I have been idle, nor omitted any occasion where I might do any service. Upon Thursday last, the earl of Arran received a cartel of defiance from the earl of Bothwell, requiring of him the combat; the copy whereof, and answer to the same, I will bring with me. The same day, the lords of the congregation sent to take the bishop of Dumblain, being an open adversary to their proceedings, and intend to make him pay well, for that he is rich. This present day, 11th November, we (Randolph and Maitland of Lethington) depart from Stirling towards St. Andrews, where we shall take ship, either to arrive at Berwick or Holy Island, where I trust we shall be very shortly. The dowager cometh not to Edinburgh before to-morrow. The earl of Morton is returned to his house, and hath not spoken with the queen. The lord Erskine is determined to keep the castle from her. The lord Robert, commendator of Holyrood-house, hath been with the dowager, and shamefully submitted himself. I hear of no man else that hath been with her."

The disasters and discouragement of the protestants at this time proved the salvation of their cause. Elizabeth had imagined that they would have been able to get the better of the French without her open assistance, and therefore without the risk of plunging England into war; but it was evidently never her intention to let the French have the mastery, and she now began to adopt a bolder policy. On the 12th of November, but seven days after the retreat of the lords of the congregation from Edinburgh, the following very important dispatch was written by Cecil to sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, and to give the more weight to it, Elizabeth subscribed it with her own hand, "We are pleased that ye shall write as followeth, being thereto advised by our privy council.—Elizabeth." As this letter is the foundation of the subsequent proceedings, it deserves to be given entire. "After my hearty commendations," writes Cecil, "upon consideration of divers matters here by the queen's majesty, with her privy council, it doth appear so manifestly that the French have a full determination to break peace with this realm, as soon as they may recover their purpose in Scotland; the arguments and proofs whereof, beside all common conjecture, be so many and so certain, as the same is not to be trifled withall, but seriously weighed and foreseen to be remedied. This principle is true, that whensoever they shall make an end with Scotland, they will begin with England; and therefore it seemeth a just and sound counsel for our own safeguard to protract the matter of Scotland against them. And with this only meaning doth her majesty consent, moved naturally for her own defence and her realm, to further the nobility of Scotland from ruin and conquest; for which purposes, by her majesty's commandment, I do presently (*now*) write as followeth:—

"It is thought meet, that the Scots should be aided both with money and counsel. And therefore her majesty meaneth that ye shall shortly have some portion sent unto you; trusting that the former, which was sent to you by Overton, be employed to good purpose. As for counsel, ye there may best devise what is meetest for them. Here we think none more necessary than to use expedition and to spend (*waste*) no time; for thereby they shall waste (*diminish*) and the enemy increase. Of this matter I have often written unto you, and you also to them; and I have seen their answers thereto, excusing themselves chiefly for lack of money, which both is and must be remedied; and so may you put them in comfort; adding, nevertheless, that if the matter should be negligently protracted, neither money from hence, nor their power, will help the matter. It is understood by Mr. Drury's report, that there is lack of captains amongst them, to give advice as to the case of sieging doth appertain; and likewise of munition and powder, the aid whereof cannot, as we think here, be given to them, without notorious cause of breach, which is meant to be forborn as long as possible may be. Nevertheless, if you two judge that the lack thereof should so prolong the matter, as ye shall perceive that the same thereby would be in danger, the queen's majesty is advised, and so pleased, that ye shall, with all the secrecy that ye can devise, and to the best of your wisdom, sort out three or four skilful, secret, and trusty men out of that garrison, able to be captains and to give advice; and order them secretly to steal from thence, changing their names, and disguising themselves as much as they may not to be known, and to be secretly recommended to such of the nobility as ye shall think meet, to be entreated and employed in service; ordering them also to seem that they be departed of their own courage as men desirous to be

exercised in the wars, rather than to lie idly in that town. They may carry with them, if ye think meet, some powder and small shot, as I remember once Haddington was relieved with powder so sent by horseback from Berwick. Thus though I write, and be so thought here best, yet if ye there shall see it not meet to be done, it is referred to your discretions to stay or to alter the manner of the devise as ye shall think best; which authority is granted to you in all other advises that shall come hence. As for munition and powder, ye shall understand that it is a thing much desired for them to have, so as the manner of conveyance thereof might be wisely devised and secretly executed. It hath been thought here, first, that by some merchant-ship, passing from Berwick to some appointed creek, as Aberlady, or such other, they might have some powder, but the devise seemeth not for any ordinance and munition. And therefore, secondly, hath been devised, that ye should make a pretence to send certain superfluous ordinance that may be spared from thence by some ship there, either to Newcastle, or hither to the town of London, to be either changed or molten, and being shipped, to be directed to make the course into Scotland to some place accorded upon with the protestants. Thus, ye see, if I knew any other devises, I would remember them. This is meant by her majesty, that if necessity require it, ye should there devise how to help them as ye may. The conveyance thereof is thought meetest to be left to your own considerations, that may much better there consider circumstances than they can be here thought of. There is, beside this, another great matter to be committed to your handling. It is thought very meet, for divers respects, that the nobility of Scotland should in this their distress conceive and direct their tale to the queen's majesty upon these articles following, the enlarging whereof is to be left to their considerations.

"First, to declare to her majesty, in the name of themselves and the whole estates of that realm, that cruelty and tyranny of long time exercised by the French, that is to say, by the lieutenants, captains, and soldiers, upon that realm. And herein to enlarge all the enormities and oppressions made upon them by the French, using therein such order of time and such truth, as the same were done and committed.

"Secondly, to declare their long sufferance, their frequent complaints to the dowager, and the lack of remedy thereof by her not only following, but furthering outrages and enormities by herself, abusing her commission, and bending herself and her power, both with fraud, corruption, and force, to the subversion of that nation, and to make a conquest thereof to the crown of France.

"Thirdly, to show how of necessity for saving of that kingdom, in state, for delivery of the whole nation from conquest, especially for preserving not only the families of such noblemen as by law be next inheritor after the French queen having no issue to the crown, but also all the rest of the nobility favouring the continuance of the said kingdom in the natural blood of Scotland, they were forced, with the lamentation of the whole nation, to assemble themselves together, as the noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses of that realm, to consult, as humble subjects, to make suit that this violence and oppression of the French might be removed; wherein they were so abused by promises, and dishonourable breaking thereof, that if God had not assisted them with good courage, they had been, under pretence of fair words, utterly ruinated and destroyed, and the whole country bereaved of all their ancient true barons and men of service, and the crown conquered and united to the crown of France. For eschewing whereof they have openly declared themselves ready to adventure their lives, lands, and goods, to defend the crown of that realm from subversion of the same out of the native blood of Scotland, and therefore remaining in heart true subjects to their natural sovereign lady, now, to the great misfortune of that kingdom, married to the French king, they be fully determined to expel all such as have laboured with the old queen to conquer that realm.

"And to the intent the queen's majesty of England may certainly understand this their complaint to be true, beside divers particularities of the French proceedings, tending to the conquest of that land, they do let the queen's majesty to understand, that most true it is, that this practice of the French is not attempted only against the kingdom of Scotland, but also against the crown and kingdoms of England and Ireland. In which point may be set forth as things known to them, that the French have desired to spread abroad, though most

falsely, that their queen is right heir to England and Ireland, and to notify the same to the world, having in paintings, at public jousts in France and other places, this year, caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland; meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the crown of France. And to declare plainly their meanings in this conjunction of the arms of England and Scotland, they have, in writings in wax, and in public seals, written, engraven, and adjoined the style of England and Ireland to the style of France, naming the French king husband to the Scottish queen, king of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland, &c. Wherein, also, they have further proceeded, and secretly sent into Scotland a seal to be used for the queen with the same style; and, in a manner of a despite to the crown of England, they have sent to the dowager of Scotland a staff for her to rest upon, having graven in the top the said usurped arms. Thereunto may be added such other matters like to these, that be known to the Scots, being in like manner devised by the French to the prejudice of England. All which matters they may say, although thereby the honour and right of the queen's majesty is not abased, yet thereby it is manifest, that the scope and determination of the French is against the crown of England, whereof they may say, as men warned by their own danger, they cannot but give her majesty some notice.

"Last, to conclude, they may say that, considering their sovereign lady is married to the French king, and not only her name, by certain proud and insolent ministers sent out of France, is abused, but, by the new authority of the house of Guise, herself led and persuaded to be content that the realm of Scotland should be perpetually knit to her husband's crown of France (whereunto they think surely of her own proper nature she cannot be disposed), and so the blood-royal of Scotland should be extincted, the realm conquered, the laws and liberties of the land altered, the people brought in captivity, and made, as it were, bridges of blood, and by war to invade England, and to pursue their thirsty and ambitious desires against that kingdom. They do most humbly beseech her majesty, as the next prince to them, and one of whom they have heard most noble and virtuous report, that she herself should not be abused by the daily and frequent persuasions of the French haunting her court, and daily passing and repassing her realm, to think that this their assembly in force hath grown upon any other occasion but for the natural defence of the realm from conquest. Neither that they do hereby withdraw their hearts and duties to their sovereign lady, to whom they wish all honour and felicity, and for the weal of the kingdom of Scotland, to which she was born, to be made free from all French counsellors, and to be only addict to the advice of her natural born subjects in all cases touching the regiment (*rule*) of the realm of Scotland; whereby, they be persuaded, she should be advised to owe her love and duty to her husband, being her head and lord of her body; but as for her kingdom, to permit it to be ruled by the natural born people of the realm. And further also, they think by such she should be persuaded not to delight in this manner of unjust and dishonourable usurpation of the arms, styles, and titles of other kingdoms than her own, whereby must needs follow unkindness, yea, such as shall in consequence breed mortal wars. Next to this, they most humbly beseech her majesty, that she will not only conceive this true opinion herself, but also, as occasion shall serve, procure that both other princes of Christendom may understand the truth hereof, and also her own nobility and people of England, and not to condemn them in their natural and most just defence.

"Last of all: they both beseech her majesty for their preservation, and, as they may do, give advice to her majesty for the consequent preservation of herself and her kingdom (the conquest whereof undoubtedly the French have long sought, and now do certainly determine), that it will please her of her most noble and princely nature, as the prince planted by God next to them, and within one land and sea, to receive them and the ancient liberties and rights of that kingdom, with the whole nation and people of that realm, into her most gracious protection from the furious persecution and the intended conquest of the French, allowing to them always their natural duties and obeisance to their sovereign lady and queen in all things that shall tend to the honour of God, the weal of the realm, and to the preservation of her person from the treasons of the French against her natural country. Wherein they trust her majesty shall please

Almighty God, not offend the right of the Scottish queen, but procure perpetual love betwixt the people of this realm; a thing much desired of all Christians, saving French only; and in the end preserve her own kingdoms, and acquire an immortal fame amongst all princes."

At the end of this letter, Cecil added privately, as from himself: "And thus you see what is meant; the order whereof and the alteration is to be remitted to the Scots. Nevertheless, ye must compass this matter indirectly by practice, that it may seem, as indeed it is, the best way for them to be honourably defended or succoured. The allowance of their duties to their queen is here thought necessary, both for contentation of the world, and for the honour of the queen's majesty; and therefore, whatsoever the Scots may be compelled to do hereafter in that behalf, this seemeth very probable for the present."

The foregoing letter was written before intelligence of the retreat of the protestants from Edinburgh had reached the English court. They had rallied at Stirling, and encouraged by the eloquent preaching of Knox, they held a council to consider of the likeliest means of repairing their late disasters, and it was determined to send Maitland of Lethington to England to solicit aid from Elizabeth. He was to be accompanied, as we have already seen, by Randolph, who, for greater secrecy, assumed the name of Barnaby. In the meantime, it was determined that the congregation should separate into two parties, both for their security until they could receive an answer from Elizabeth, and in order to prepare their friends for a new gathering; and it was agreed that a convention should be held at Stirling on the 16th December, for the purpose of deciding on the future course to be pursued. The duke of Châtelherault, the earl of Glencairn, and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, remained at Glasgow; while the lord James, the earls of Arran and Rothes, and the master of Lindsay, established themselves in Fife.

When intelligence of these events did at length reach the English court, it hastened the resolution to send assistance to Scotland. The effect which it immediately produced may be gathered from the following letter written by Cecil on the 12th of November, to sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts. "After my hearty commendations," he says, "your postscript of your letter dated the 8th of this month had much amazed me, and at this present the queen's majesty being in consultation what is to be done touching this matter of Scotland, that is to say, whether aid shall be given to the Scots in secret or openly, and if openly, whether we shall be forced to enter into war or not, which, I much fear will be the end, I am, for certain respects, moved to stay the declaration thereof to the whole council until soon at night; and yet I have thought meet not defer this that I see necessary, that is, that ye send to the protestants, and encourage them not thus to shrink, but to stand fast, neither yielding to fear nor to persuasions, and they shall shortly hear of more aid than hitherto hath been mentioned. Indeed, I suppose, the case being well considered, the council here will be enforced, though it be to all our discontentation, to advise the queen's majesty to begin in time rather than too late; two days' consultation here will utter what is to be done. In the mean season, for God's sake, comfort them to stand fast, and follow such part of another letter, which I send herewith, that was written yesternight, and now dispatched. I pray you advertise what manner of aid would serve the purpose, and advertise from time to time what succours pass to the French out of France, which by you especially may be best understood, I having no leisure to write any other thing."

Two days after, orders were sent to the border to raise men, and to prepare ammunition and provisions, to be ready for any emergency that might occur. Still, the utmost secrecy was preserved with regard to Elizabeth's intentions, and when Monsieur de Rubay and the Ross herald arrived from Scotland, to complain that the Scottish rebels were assisted with money from England, as had been discovered by the capture of the laird of Ormiston, and that the regent knew of the mission of Maitland of Lethington, Elizabeth replied evasively, that "their tales had many parts, and required proofs, which if they brought, she would give order to punish this fault in any subject she had; as for Ormiston, he could best tell where he had the money." In the letter to Sadler and Crofts, giving an account of that reply of the queen, Cecil observes, "If Lethington be not come, in anywise take order with him that more secretness be used, both in his journey and arrival, than hath been used. Of all other,

these Scots be the openest men that be." At length, a letter from Sadler and Croft, written on the 25th of November, announced to Cecil that the protestant envoys had reached Berwick. "It may like you to understand," they say, "that on Thursday last arrived at Holy Island the lord of Lethington and Thomas Barnaby (Randolph), and when the night came, I, sir James Croft, received them into the castle here secretly; they brought us letters from the earl of Arran, the lord James, commendator of St. Andrews, and Mr. Balnaves, which we send you herewith; and yesterday we had conference together at good length, and do perceive that the lords of the congregation do stand fast, and be as earnestly, or rather more earnestly bent and determined to follow their enterprises, and seek revenge upon the French, than ever they were. And from them the said laird of Lethington is now specially dispatched to the queen's majesty, with letters and instructions to seek and sue for aid at her highness's hands; without the which we see not, as we have always said, that they be able to achieve their desires. We have practised with him, having, besides his instructions, special credence committed unto him, to frame their suit to the queen's majesty in such form, and according to such articles as you sent unto us, which we had written out for him, as though the same had been devised by us to show our good wills and great desire to further their cause; the substance whereof he liked very well, and wished that he had been so well instructed before his coming from the said lords, to the intent he might have brought the same under their hands, which, he saith, is to be obtained at all times; and now, at his being here, he hath written thereof unto the said lords, and also hath advertised them of such other comfortable matter as he hath received here at our hands, according to your late advertisements. This morning, before day, he and Barnaby are departed hence towards you, and intending to make all the speed they can; and if you think it meet to have them bestowed anywhere about the court secretly, it were not amiss that you sent some man to meet them at Ware or Waltham, to convey them to the place which you shall think meet for that purpose. We have forborne to send captain Randall to the said lords at this time, for that we see no cause thereof; considering that they intend not, nor yet can, as far as we perceive, prepare themselves to the fields very shortly in this dead time of the winter. But as we have learned by the said lord of Lethington and Barnaby, they have divided themselves, and do lie at Glasgow and St. Andrews to keep themselves in strength, to stay those countries, and by all such good means and practices as they can use to make more friends, as well of the nobility as others, to take part with them in this their common cause; and so they have resolved to repose and rest awhile until the return of the said lord of Lethington from the queen's majesty; intending nevertheless, as he saith, if they see any advantage to be taken against their enemies in the mean season, not to permit the same. The rest we refer to the declaration of the said lord and Barnaby, by whom you shall understand all things touching this affair more perfectly, and at more length, than we can express in writing. The number of the French now in Scotland exceedeth not 2,500; so that if there come no greater power out of France, the matter would be the more easy; but if they shall send more aid and power out of France, the same must be empeched (*hindered*) by your navy there, or else it would be the more difficult. And therefore it behoveth that ye hearken well, and have good espiell upon their doings in France, to the intent ye may the better meet with the same as the case shall require, which, in our poor opinions, is not to be neglected."

The queen-regent, on her part, although she was now breaking down under continued indisposition of body, lost none of her energy of mind. She occupied Edinburgh, and summoned the castle; but its captain, the lord Erskine, refused to deliver it, alleging that it was entrusted to him by the parliament, and that he should not give up his trust but by the parliament's orders. The French then made a vain attempt to take this strong fortress, in which they lost two or three men, and then desisted; but Erskine, fearful that they might persevere in this enterprise, dispatched a messenger to the lords of the congregation, urging them to keep at Stirling and hold themselves in readiness to march to his assistance if he should be hard pressed. The regent followed up the advantage she had gained, by several acts of vigour. On the 25th of November, the lords of the congregation were proclaimed traitors, and their

goods were declared to be confiscated. Crippled by want of money, they sent to Berwick to make new demands, and two thousand pounds were sent them on the sixth of December. Along with this supply, Sadler and Crofts addressed to them the following letter of counsel: "It may like your good lordships to understand, that we have received your letters of the last of November, addressed to us, and your other letters we have dispatched to the court by the post. And also, according to your request, we have sent you by this bearer, Alex. Whitelaw, two thousand pounds, to be employed in the furtherance and advancement of your common cause; whereunto we doubt not your lordships will have such regard as appertaineth; and especially at this time, it shall be meet to use all your industry and good policy to preserve and keep the castle of Edinburgh out of the hands and possession of the French; or else you may be sure if they get it, you shall lose all your country on this side the firth; and so, consequently, your whole realm shall be in danger of conquest. Wherefore, you must earnestly persuade the lord Erskine to keep it out of the hands of the queen-dowager and the French, which, if he be a true Scotchman, and will maintain to defend the freedom and liberty of his native country, he cannot refuse to do; and, to that effect, let him lack no assistance of money, men, and victuals, and such other things as shall be needful. Furthermore, we doubt not but your lordships will use all the good means and ways ye can to allure and win to your party the earls of Huntley, Marshall, and Morton, and the rest of the nobility which have not shown themselves open enemies to your cause at this time. Assuring your lordships, that, for our parts, we marvel why they should refuse to join with you; for if the French do prevail against you, which indeed intend to make a plain conquest of your realm, and to unite the same to the crown of France, which every man that will see may perceive they go about, both by that they began to plant themselves there and fortify, and also by their seeking now of the castle of Edinburgh, having Dunbar already. He hath no judgment that seeth not aforehand the utter ruin of your whole nation, and that the same shall be brought into perpetual servitude and bondage; which, if the whole nobility of Scotland would take one part, and join together in the defence of the liberty and freedom of their natural country, as by the law of God and nature they are bound to do, might easily be so prevented, as the malice of the French should never be able to prevail against you; wherein, also, you may assure yourselves of our aid and assistance, both now and at all times as need shall require. And what those noblemen do mean, which in this case do sit still and withdraw themselves from your party, surely we cannot but marvel; for if they mean thereby to save themselves, thinking to please the French in that they do not show themselves as open enemies against them, in our opinions, they take the only way to destroy themselves; for this is most certain, that whatsoever face or outward countenance the French do show towards them, they neither have, nor yet ever will have, any trust or confidence in any one of your nation. And if they may achieve their said intended conquest, doubt ye not but he that now sitteth still as neuter, yea, or taketh plain part with them against you, shall be in as ill case, and have as little courtesy and trust at their hands, as you and such other as show themselves their open enemies at this time. Wherefore, your lordship shall do well to persuade this matter substantially to the whole nobility of Scotland; and with such other good reasons as ye can devise, to induce them to look better to their own surety, and to join with you for the preservation of themselves and their country, which we doubt not your lordships can devise much better than we can advise you. Finally, understanding that your lordships have conceived some jealousy and suspicion of the lord Ruthven, that he is not of that sincerity and zeal toward the pursuit of your common cause as reason would, whereof we would be sorry, we have thought good to signify unto your lordships, that as it is not meet ye should commit unto him over much trust and credit, if there be vehement cause why ye should suspect him; so, nevertheless, we think it not good that ye should seem to mistrust him, but rather bear with him, and do that you can to recover and win him wholly to your devotion. For surely as the time and case requireth, it is expedient that no good means or occasion be pretermitted that may help to allure and draw any nobleman or gentleman to your party in this great business, being indeed the common cause of your whole realm, which, we doubt

not, your lordships will consider as appertaineth. And now to end, as we have herein showed you our opinions as men of good will, and zealous to the furtherance and advancement of your said cause, so do we wish unto your lordships such good success and prosperity in the same as your noble hearts can desire."

In Maitland of Lethington, the Scottish protestants had chosen an able negotiator, and he convinced Elizabeth of the policy of supporting their cause more openly. It was agreed that the Scots should demand her assistance in cautious terms, which were drawn out for them by Cecil, the plea being the intentions of the French to subdue Scotland, and the danger which would thus be threatened to England; all mention of religion was carefully omitted; and it was arranged that commissioners from both countries should meet secretly at Berwick to discuss the terms of a league between the queen and the lords of the congregation. Preparations were immediately made for equipping a fleet, which was to be sent into the firth, and for assembling an army on the border which was to march into Scotland to cooperate with the protestants. In the midst of these preparations, news was suddenly brought to court that a body of Frenchmen had been sent to fortify Eyemouth, which increased the hostile feeling. The following letter from Elizabeth to Sadler and Crofts shows how much the queen's spirit was moved by this intelligence. "Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. By your letters, sent in haste to our secretary, bearing date the 9th of this month, we perceive that ye be advertised of three hundred Frenchmen come to Eyemouth, and of five hundred more coming the day of your writing, to the intent to fortify there, which is so directly both against the treaty, and the surety of that our town of Berwick, that although we have hitherto borne with diverse misorders at the French, yet can we not forbear to impeach (*hinder*) this violation of the peace; and therefore our pleasure and commandment is, that ye shall consider this matter in this sort; that if it shall be true that they be come thither, and do fortify, or put any part of the said ground in strength for their defence, that ye shall use your wisdoms therein; and if ye may find that, except they be quickly impeached thereof, they shall grow to more strength, then our pleasure is, ye shall devise the best ways ye can to expel them; having good regard to the defence of that town upon your issuing of any force from thence. And if ye shall judge the matter of more importance than may conveniently be done by your force presently there with the safety of our town, our pleasure is, that you, sir Ralph Sadler, having the charge of our frontiers there, do assemble such further succours as may tend to the removing of the said Frenchmen, and with all speed advertise us of your purposes. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 13th day of December, the second year of our reign."

At length, in the middle of December, Robert Melvil, the brother of sir James, who had accompanied Maitland to England, and who had been employed secretly in carrying messages backwards and forwards, was sent to Scotland to convey to the lords of the congregation the joyful intelligence of Elizabeth's final intentions, which were communicated to Sadler and Crofts in the following letter from secretary Cecil, dated on the 16th of December:—"Ye shall perceive," says Cecil, "by the queen's majesty's letters herewith sent unto you, of our proceedings here. The French preparations be so great, as we see not how they may be withstood when they be at the full, except they be impeached (*hindered*) at the beginning. The first mean therein is to obtain the firth into our possession for the stay of any greater succour; the next is, if the Scots will play their part, to enter by land with four thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and recover Leith; which thing, how it will sound feasible in your ears, I would gladly know; and herein, I beseech you, impart your opinions in some sort unto me; for I would thereupon consider the matter percase otherwise than now I do. It is meant that my lord Grey should do this exploit, and have, beside the footmen, six hundred horsemen with lances and pistolets, and fourteen or fifteen hundred light horsemen, and five or six good brass pieces for battery. This night Winter is departed to the seas, and will be with the ships to-morrow upon the seas with fourteen strong vessels, such as will make small account of all the French navy in Scotland."

CHAPTER XXIV.

UNEASINESS OF THE FRENCH AT ELIZABETH'S PREPARATIONS; THE GARRISON OF LEITH INVADE FIFE; ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN THE FIRTH; CONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS.

Cecil's conviction of the want of secrecy in the Scottish character is a sufficient excuse for the extreme caution with which the English ministers conducted their intercourse with the Scots; and it is quite evident from contemporary testimony that the aid and promises given to the protestants by Sadler and Crofts were publicly talked of, and were known, though imperfectly, to the queen-regent. It is impossible, moreover, that the regent and her French supporters, with the experience of past ages before them, could suppose that England would look tamely on while they were establishing French influence in Scotland by force of arms. But they were anxious to keep England quiet until they had established themselves firmly, and they did their utmost to lull Elizabeth's suspicions on the one side, and to discover her views on the other. She was aware that a formidable armament was going on in Normandy, and we need not be surprised if she began to arm also, and if she looked towards Scotland with increasing anxiety. The French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, obtained an audience of Elizabeth on the 9th of November, in which he endeavoured to explain away the reports of warlike preparations in France, and said that the king intended to do no more than send a few troops over to Scotland to support his legitimate authority there against the designs of his rebellious subjects. Elizabeth appeared to be incredulous, and told him plainly that he must not be surprised at seeing England arm when she saw her neighbours doing the same; but the queen finished by pretending to be convinced of the moderation of the king's designs. She at the same time told the ambassador that she had sent orders to the duke of Northumberland to call to account her two officers, sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, for having allowed the earl of Arran to pass secretly into Scotland.

The French ambassador seems to have been perfectly satisfied with this explanation, when he was suddenly alarmed by information that the English admiral, Winter, had been sent to Yarmouth to gather together the fleet, and that troops were raising on the English border for the service of Scotland. Elizabeth seems to have succeeded in satisfying him on this subject, when a letter from M. d'Oysel arrived to inform him of the seizure of English money on the person of the laird of Ormiston, and that it was known that he had received it from Sadler. Elizabeth's declarations now became less direct and more evasive. On the 20th of December, M. de Noailles dispatched a long memoir to the French king, in which he stated that the Scottish rebels, after their retreat from Edinburgh, had sent to demand assistance of Elizabeth, who, he said, had held consultations with her council during eight days, with much diversity of opinion, but in the end it had been resolved to give no further encouragement to the Scottish rebels. He had been assured that much dissatisfaction had been expressed in the council at the assistance which had already been secretly afforded them. Soon after, however, the French ambassador was informed that some Scottish agents had arrived from the lords of the congregation, and that they were concealed in the palace of Westminster. Having employed a spy to watch them, he discovered that the two Scots were Maitland of Lethington, and Robert Melvil, and he learnt also that the master of the mint at Edinburgh, and the protestant minister Willock, were both in London. His suspicions being thus aroused, he employed the same spy, and gained knowledge by him that the laird of Lethington had come to negotiate a treaty with the queen, and that he was commissioned to offer as the price of her assistance,the union of the two kingdoms under the title of Great Britain. These discoveries were followed by still more certain information, that a fleet of seventeen large ships under the command of Winter, with about three thousand men on board, was preparing to put to sea at a moment's notice, and that an army was collecting in the north for the invasion of Scotland.

Still, in several audiences which De Noailles obtained of the queen, he received nothing but fair words and declarations that her preparations were merely defensive. Every day, however, the preparations became more warlike and active, and on the 4th of January, the French ambassador wrote that he had received certain information of the alliance between Elizabeth and the Scottish lords, and of the intention of the queen to send English troops to expel the French from Leith.

It was time indeed that some decisive measure should be taken, for the Scottish protestants were at this time very hard pressed by their enemies. At Glasgow, the protestant leaders employed themselves in destroying the relics of popish idolatry, and in sending forth proclamations against the regent and the French. One of these, which appeared on the 30th of November, forbade all Scotchmen paying further obedience to the queen-regent, whose power had devolved upon the council of reformed nobles, and it declared that their chief aim was to advance the glory of God, and to remove the false worship of the papists. All clergymen who had not yet made open confession of the reformed faith, were summoned to appear before the council at St. Andrews, and there publicly renounce all Romish superstitions, or be at once expelled from their benefices and reputed enemies to God. This was followed in a few days by a declaration of the council of the congregation at Dundee against the consistory, which they denounced as the court of antichrist. Both these proclamations ran in the names of Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots. Provoked at such proceedings, the regent determined to act with rigour against the protestant leaders who occupied Fife. At the latter end of December, the principal part of the French forces left Leith and Edinburgh, and marched suddenly towards Stirling, it was supposed with the intention of surprising the protestant leaders who had met to consult in that town. But when they reached Linlithgow, they appear to have learnt that the protestant lords, aware of their approach, had escaped; and their commander, D'Oysel, having been recalled to Edinburgh, they remained there, plundering Linlithgow, and the lands and houses of the Hamiltons in the neighbourhood, especially the castle of Kinneil, belonging to the duke of Châtelherault. Then, encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements from France, they left a garrison at Linlithgow, and continued their march to Stirling, which they entered without resistance, and having plundered the townsmen, they passed the bridge, and, following the windings of the river, plundered and destroyed the country through which they marched. The earl of Arran and the lord James, collecting what force they could, established themselves in Dunfermline, Burntisland, and the places thereabout, to resist the advance of the enemy, while, now well informed of the preparations in England, they looked anxiously for intelligence of the arrival of their allies. For several days they harassed the French on their advance, and resisted them obstinately; but they were compelled to retire upon St. Andrews, and on the 8th of January, 1560, the French occupied Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, and other places. The lords of the congregation, in great distress, wrote pressing letters to Sadler and Crofts, urging them to hasten the succours, and representing that they would be obliged to hazard a battle or to abandon the whole of Fife. The French treated the Scots everywhere with the utmost insolence; at Kinghorn they hanged several of their prisoners; and they destroyed Grange, the house of sir William Kirkaldy, by blowing it up with gunpowder. It is said that the protestant leader, who had been celebrated for his humanity to such of the enemy as fell into his hands, was so indignant at the insult thus offered to him, that he sent a message to the French commander, declaring that in future he should give no quarter; and we are told by Buchanan that, in revenge, Kirkaldy kept watch upon their plundering parties, and having one morning placed himself in ambush a little before daybreak, he saw a company of French under a Piedmontese captain, named l'Abbé, march by. He kept close till the plunderers had proceeded about a mile from their garrison, and then he pursued them. Perceiving that they were cut off from their friends, the French took shelter in a village, and endeavoured to defend themselves behind the walls and hedges. But the Scots, enraged beyond measure at the excesses and cruelties which the French had committed in their progress, rushed in furiously upon them, slew the commander and about fifty of his men, and sent the rest prisoners to Dundee.

The French now remained for some time encamped at Kinghorn, while the Scots held Dysart, and there were continual skir-

mishes between them. The Scottish lords remained at the latter place till about the 20th of January, when they found themselves so weakened by their continual exertions, that they were constrained to abandon it and retire upon Cupar. Their friends in Glasgow were so alarmed at the position of their brethren, that they were preparing to march upon Stirling with what forces they could collect, in the hope of making a diversion in their favour, when the spirits of the Scottish protestants were suddenly raised by the joyful intelligence of the arrival of the English fleet. At this moment the French were anxiously expecting powerful reinforcements from France, under the marquis d'Elbeuf; but he had met with various hindrances, and, when he at last set sail from Normandy, he received information that the English fleet had put to sea, and, fearful that it was designed to intercept him, he returned for new orders. On the morning of the 23rd of January, the French commander D'Oysel, having concentrated his forces at Dysart, began his march upon St. Andrews. He had advanced as far as the Earl's Ferry, near Kincraig, at the mouth of the Forth, when a number of ships of war were seen bearing up the firth. Concluding at once that it was the armament under D'Elbeuf, the French testified their joy by firing a salvo to salute them. But their triumph was quickly turned into consternation, when they saw them capture two French vessels laden with provisions. It was, in fact, the English fleet under Winter, and the exultation of the lords of the congregation and their followers knew no bounds. D'Oysel instantly began his retreat, and, closely pursued and dreadfully harassed by the Scots, the French reached Kirkaldy next day, and passed the night there. The night of the 25th of January they passed at Dunfermline, and thence continued their route to Stirling, and so with difficulty reached their old quarters at Linlithgow, after having experienced considerable loss from the attacks of the Scots, the inclemency of the weather, and the various privations to which they were exposed.

It was now the hour of triumph for the lords of the congregation. Their party had been rendered more popular by the insolence and excesses of the French, and they were now joined by numerous barons and gentry who had hitherto supported the regent, either from unwillingness to resist legitimate authority, or because they clung to what was supposed to be the strongest side. Encouraged with money from England, and with the certainty that they would be supported by an armed interference, they now prepared to collect their forces against the French at the first appearance of spring. It was agreed that some of the lords should proceed to Berwick, to arrange the final terms for the entrance of the English forces, and that the army of the congregation should be prepared to assemble immediately on their return. Accordingly, towards the end of February, the lord Ruthven, the laird of Pitarrow, and Henry Balnaves, arrived in Berwick, where they were joined by Maitland of Lethington on his return from London, and a treaty was there concluded with the duke of Norfolk, who had been sent to the north as Elizabeth's lieutenant, by which the queen of England took the kingdom of Scotland under her protection, engaging to send assistance to the lords of the congregation, and to continue her support until the French were expelled from the country. She promised not to abandon the confederated nobles so long as they recognised Mary for their queen, and maintained inviolate the rights of the crown. The lords of the congregation were to join their forces with the army of England, and they promised that no other union of their country with France than that which then existed should ever receive their sanction; and they agreed to consider the enemies of England as their own, and to furnish Elizabeth with an auxiliary force of four thousand men, in case at any time England should be attacked by France. Hostages were to be given for the performance of these articles, and the lords declared that they would continue loyal to the queen of Scotland, and to the king her husband, in everything which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of their country. This treaty was concluded at Berwick on the 27th of February, 1560.

The documents relating to Scotland recently published in France, reveal a fact which shows how little trust was really to be placed in the duke of Châtelherault. It appears that at the moment when, before the arrival of the English fleet, the affairs of the confederate lords seemed almost desperate, the duke secretly made advances for a reconciliation with the queen-regent. On the 25th of January, he wrote

from Glasgow a letter to the French king, requesting pardon for himself and his family, and stating that he had given his *carte-blanche* to the queen-regent, and that he was ready to send his children to France as hostages for the performance of the conditions he might dictate.* The duke had withdrawn from this negotiation on the arrival of the English fleet, but he had left in the hands of the French written proofs of at least his weakness.

When the English fleet unexpectedly presented itself in the firth of Forth, the queen-regent dispatched a herald to inquire the reason of its coming. The herald was presented to the young admiral Winter, and delivered his message. Winter replied that he had been sent on a cruise to visit the English seaports, and that, tempted by the weather, he had entered the firth, where he had been fired upon by the French garrison in Inchkeith, as though he had been an enemy. The herald replied, that he had entered the firth like an enemy, capturing ships, and not saluting the island as was customary, and therefore he was fired upon, and demanded who he was, and what answer he should carry back to the queen-regent. "Tell the queen, your mistress," said Winter, "that, seeing I have been fired upon, I have determined to aid those of the congregation against the French, and those that take their part, and to assist them with all the forces I have at present and with others that are following, though I have no orders from the queen, my mistress." The regent, when she heard this message, remarked with reason, that it would indeed be a strange proceeding for an English admiral with a royal fleet to make war without the orders of his sovereign; and she dispatched a messenger to the French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, to inform him of these occurrences, and to request that he would immediately remonstrate with Elizabeth. At the same time she sent to the ambassador the duke of Châtelherault's letter to the king of France, and the *carte-blanche* he had given her, that they might be shown to the English queen, in the hope of raising suspicions of the constancy and faithfulness of the Scottish reformers. We know nothing of the proceedings of the ambassador in consequence of this dispatch, but M. de Noailles was recalled, perhaps before he received it, and was succeeded by Michel de Seurre, who was sent from France to expostulate with Elizabeth on her hostile policy in relation to Scotland.

There was another power which was looking on with great anxiety at these transactions, and to which they gave more real embarrassment than to either of the others. The king of Spain was extremely apprehensive at this moment of a war between England and France. He was equally jealous of both powers, but he was at this time personally hostile to France, and believing that the latter was much more powerful than England, he saw that its triumph and consequent possession of Scotland would render insecure his own possessions in the Low Countries. On the other hand, Philip II. was a bigoted catholic, and in the event of Elizabeth's triumph over France, he saw not only the overthrow of his religion, but his rich commerce with the colonies in America threatened by the supremacy of the English fleet. As long as the two powers were equally balanced against each other, he felt himself safe, and he saw that his advantage lay in keeping them at peace. It was not, therefore, without great alarm that he saw the turn which events were now taking in Scotland, and he was anxious to promote an accommodation. Margaret duchess of Parma, a princess of great political talent, at this time governed the Spanish Netherlands, and her correspondence with the king of Spain (published in the collection by M. Teulet) throws considerable light, not only on the sentiments of Spain, but on the real intentions of the French.

As early as the 7th of December, 1559,

* This letter is so remarkable an illustration of the character of the duke of Châtelherault, who was at this time the acknowledged chief of the protestants, that it deserves to be given in the original, as it has recently been published by M. Teulet, to whom we owe the discovery of it.

"*Le duc de Châtelherault au roi.*

"Sire, la fiance qu'il a pleu à la royne régente me donner de vostre bonté et clémence m'a faict prendre la hardiesse de vous escripre pour vous supplier très humblement de me recepvoir et les myens en vostre bonne grâce, et voulloir oblier et pardonner les choses passées, avecques quelques articles dont je vous faiz requête. Je luy ay mis mon blanc scellé entre les mains pour seureté de ma fidellité vers vous et la roine ma souveraine, que je vous supplie d'accepter; et, après avoir eu vostre responce, si me le voulez mander, j'envoyerai mes enffans en France.

"Sire, je supplie le créateur vous donner en santé et prospérité très bonne et longue vie.

"De Glesgwo, le 25e jour de Janvier, 1559.

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

"JAMES."

the duchess wrote to Philip to acquaint him with her fears for the result of the troubles in Scotland. She then spoke of it as a notorious fact that the king of France had designs upon England, for which the pretended claims of Mary Stuart were made the excuse, and she blamed Elizabeth for giving any ground of quarrel by her interference in Scotland. She pointed out the danger to which the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands would be exposed if the French once gained a footing in England, which had given rise to a saying, that they ought to fight against England being subdued by France, as though it were for the town of Brussels. She therefore urged Philip to interfere, and to speak energetically to both parties, and he was especially to use a more authoritative tone towards Elizabeth, "inasmuch as it is evidently seen that the benignity which your majesty has used towards her, and your gentle and courteous remonstrances, only make her more insolent." On the 21st of December, the duchess repeated her warnings, and her alarm was then increased by reports that Elizabeth had already commenced hostilities in Scotland. This, she said, would furnish to the French the occasion they sought, to make war upon Elizabeth, in order, under pretence of Mary's claims, to deprive her of her crown. With the queen of England or her subjects she professed to have no sympathy. "I should care little if the English and French remained at war, but I am alarmed on account of the small means of resistance possessed by the queen of England; whereby it is apparent that she would soon be ruined; for which also I should care little; and indeed, being of the religion we see she is, her overthrow might be regarded as a righteous judgment of God; but the evil is that the good catholics would suffer as much as the others; and the worst of all is, that, when the said French shall have subjugated the said lady and made themselves lords of Scotland and of England, which it will be so easy for them to do, it would be, as your majesty understands best, the extreme ruin and evident perdition of your countries here, which, the passage being closed, would remain, as I have before written to your majesty, entirely shut out from the aid of money or men, which they might want from Spain." In a third letter of the 6th of January, the duchess of Parma complained to the king that Elizabeth would only give verbal answers to the expostulations of the Spanish ambassador. She again pressed on the king's attention the danger which might arise from a war between Elizabeth and the French king, expressed her conviction that England would be immediately subdued, and her reluctance to see the victory remain with England, which she would consider as a fatal blow to the true catholic church.

The Spanish monarch appears to have partaken fully in the apprehensions expressed by the duchess of Parma. We are led to infer, from some parts of this correspondence, that the French king had, at a previous period, attempted to ascertain the sentiments of the king of Spain with regard to his enforcing the pretended claim of Mary to the English crown, and that Philip had shown decided opposition to it, and he expressed similar feelings on the present occasion; and he sent in the March of 1560, his grand master of artillery, M. de Glajon, first to France, and thence to England, to offer his mediation for the hindering of further hostilities. M. de Glajon received his instructions for England from the duchess of Parma on the 22nd of March. He was to propose that Elizabeth should immediately withdraw all assistance from the "rebels," and that the king of France should be allowed to send only four thousand men into Scotland to reduce them; if these were not enough, the king of Spain proposed to send three thousand Spaniards to assist them, believing that this would be a sufficient protection to the English queen against any ulterior designs on the part of France. Among other arguments which were to induce Elizabeth to agree to this arrangement, he was to represent to her earnestly her utter inability to withstand the arms of France. How little either Spaniards or French seem to have known the princess and the country with which they were dealing!

M. de Glajon reached London on the 5th of April, and immediately placed himself in communication with the Spanish resident ambassador, the bishop of Quadra. He found that the English forces had already entered Scotland, and joined the Scots. On the 7th of April, he obtained an audience of Elizabeth, and he seems to have been astonished at the high spirit with which the virgin queen talked of foreign interference. She declared that she had taken her determination, and that it was too late to recal her troops, or to treat any other way than sword in hand; and

when the Spanish envoy attempted to explain to her how unbecoming it was in a princess like her to give assistance to rebels against their sovereign, she replied independently, that she did not look upon the Scots as rebels, but as honest men who had armed in defence of their queen and of the privileges and liberty of the kingdom, and that in the course she was pursuing she was not only assisting them but protecting herself and her own people. "In reply to which," says the ambassador naïvely, "I remonstrated that your majesty held them for rebels, since they had risen against their prince and had changed their religion, which could be excused in no manner whatever." She declared that with regard to all the dangers and inconveniences pointed out by the king of Spain, she simply placed her trust in God, and that with regard to the proposals for the number of men the king of France was to send into Scotland, she would not allow him to send any at all, but on the contrary, she would expel those who were there. Seeing that the queen was very impracticable in this first audience, and that she showed symptoms of being tired of the subject, M. de Glajon took his leave, little satisfied with his success. A few days after, Elizabeth called the two Spanish ambassadors before her, and, in the presence of her council, declared to them all her griefs against France, and some causes of dissatisfaction against Spain; she said that the proposals of the Spanish king were far too favourable to France to be listened to by her; and she refused to suspend for a moment the progress of her army in Scotland, which, she said justly, would be only giving the French time to strengthen themselves.

Still the ambassadors did not relax in their exertions to persuade the English queen to listen to Philip's offers to intermediate; and at the same time de Glajon held frequent communication with the French ambassador De Seurre, from whom he endeavoured to ascertain the real designs of the French court. In a letter to the duchess of Parma, written on the 27th of April, De Glajon informed her that De Seurre had confessed to him that the French king had acted altogether contrary to the matrimonial treaty with Scotland, which implied that the Scottish lords were justified in their resistance. De Seurre confessed further, that both the late and present king of France had considered several plans of invading England, for the purpose of reducing it to subjection to Mary and her husband Francis, but that now the design was entirely relinquished. "And finally," says Philip's envoy, "it seems to us that the intention of the French tends to no other end than by these treaties and communications of peace to obtain time to appease the troubles of Scotland, so as to disunite the confederation which the said queen has with the Scottish rebels, and after, with the forces which they have at present there and others which they are preparing, pursue their designs against this kingdom; what makes us judge this is the little desire they show to aid themselves with the assistance and favour which his majesty has presented, or to accept his offer repeatedly made to them to be a means of according them. For the said De Seurre shows plain enough that he esteems very little our intervention, and that it is not agreeable to him; so that neither of the said parties will do anything by our means; whereby it is to be feared that matters will take such a course that his majesty hereafter may find himself much embarrassed to remedy them, or at least that they will come to an agreement independent of us."

The duchess of Parma became more and more alarmed for the ultimate safety of the Spanish possessions under her government. In a long dispatch, written in the April of 1560, she explains to Philip her causes of solicitude. Elizabeth was less inclined than ever to listen to the pacific overtures of the Spanish envoys, and it was apprehended either that the French king might be reconciled to England, and the two powers might make a joint attack on the Netherlands, or, which would be equally dangerous, that Elizabeth, victorious, might join with the French protestants, now powerful and in arms, and overthrow the catholic religion. The conviction of the Spaniards that England was not strong enough to help itself, seems to have been considerably diminished. In the midst of these intrigues and negotiations, the jealousy between the French and the Spaniards increased, for the cardinal of Lorraine had privately declared to the ambassador of Spain that the claims of France upon Scotland were based on the secret documents by which Mary Stuart had given her kingdom to the French crown, and thus opened his eyes more and more to the real intentions of the French

court. The consequence was, that Philip began to be much more favourable to the claims of Elizabeth, and his ambassador saw little to complain of in her proposal, that she would withdraw her forces from Scotland on condition that the king of France should withdraw his troops from Scotland, that he should engage to intrust the government and fortresses of that country to the native Scottish nobility, that he should stop his preparations for war, that he should annul and revoke all acts in which he had usurped the title to the crown of England, and that he should make due satisfaction for that usurpation, and repay her the expenses she had incurred in resisting his aggression on Scotland. We cannot but admire the ingenuity with which Elizabeth continued to amuse the foreign diplomatists, while she pursued her own course. At the moment she had verbally propounded to M. de Glajon these terms of accommodation with France, when he pressed her to give them in writing, she evaded the question by expressions of regard for the king of Spain, and declaring that she was so desirous to confer with him in person, that she was willing to go over to the Netherlands in disguise to meet him!

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ENGLISH ARMY IN SCOTLAND; SIEGE OF LEITH; DEATH OF THE QUEEN-REGENT; TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

During the period which intervened between the appearance of the English fleet in the firth, and the entry of the English army into Scotland as agreed upon by the treaty of Berwick, the French did not remain idle. They laboured hard to make the fortifications of Leith impregnable, and they urged upon the queen the odious policy of laying waste the whole surrounding country, in order that it might afford neither shelter nor support to the besiegers. This and the insolence with which the French soldiers everywhere treated the Scots, forced many who had hitherto held aloof to join the congregation. In the middle of March, the French made a hasty excursion from Linlithgow, where they lay in force, to Glasgow, from whence they drove that division of the lords of the congregation who had remained there, and after remaining there two nights, returned, plundering and laying waste all the country in their way. A few days after, they were preparing for a similar excursion to Hamilton, when a report of the approach of the English army obliged them to relinquish their design. After having stripped the country for some miles round Linlithgow of horses, cattle, and other provisions, the French garrison of that town fell back upon Leith.

Preparations were now making on both sides for carrying into immediate effect the treaty of Berwick. A letter from Cecil to Sadler, written on the 22nd of March, shows us with how much anxiety people looked forwards to the commencement of hostilities. "I pray you," he says, "hold me excused that I have not visited you with my private letters. I know you are not ignorant that neither my head nor hand is unoccupied; and the like I think of you, that ye are not idle; but yet I may more boldly blame your silence than you mine, and so with this quarrel I look for a letter from you. How ye judge of things there I know not, but we here do trust well that the bravery of the French will be cooled; at home they have enough to do with trouble, partly for religion, partly for governance; God send his just wrath amongst them to their amendment! In Scotland how they do, you best know. We here be of divers opinions; some think Leith inexpugnable, having such a number of old men of war; others trust it cannot hold long out, considering the long trying of the soldiers all this winter. Some wish that their victuals in Leith might fail, in which last point I cannot think of any lack but of beverage. Well, howsoever the matter is, good courage in a good quarrel as this is, to deliver a realm from conquest, and con-

sequently to save our own, will much further the matter. For God's sake, now, good Mr. Sadler, bestow all your labour, and promote this matter with all the speed that you can; let no time be lost; and, so if you will commend me to sir James Crofts, and encourage him to show his ability of wisdom, knowledge, and manhood in this service, I shall think you both worthy of honourable rest after this troublesome time."

In reply, Sadler stated the general opinion there in favour of the speedy success of the expedition. "Leith," he said, "is not thought to us inexpugnable, though percase it may be found of such strength as will require a time; in which case, if we may be furnished of things necessary for the continuance of the siege, we be in good hope here to render a good account of the same." The Scots, on their part, were equally active, and on the 27th of March the following letter was addressed from the congregation to the principal nobility of Scotland who had not yet come forward:—"After our hearty commendation, it is not unknown to you with what cruelty the Frenchmen, enemies to the common weal of this country, pass through divers parts thereof, not only herreand (*plundering*) poor ones, and taking their goods, but also murdering of them in their own houses, defendand their goods, by the manifest conquest which they intend to make of native realms conquered and defended by the blood of our progenitors, for making of resistance to the which we have opponed ourselves, and sometime jeopardied us with so many of our brethren and friends, kind and true Scotchmen, to stop them of their pretence, which our puissance could not extend, in respect that you, and such by-liers of your faction, would not assist us, showing you rather open and plain enemies to the common weal of our native country, than favourers thereof, whereof you possess a part and portion with us, we sundry times, by letters and writings, partly by proclamations, desired you to come forwards, and assist to us for expelling the said strangers; and, last of all, by the providence of God, our friends of England being moved to join with us to that effect, letters were directed, charging you to be in Glasgow the 26th of this instant month of March, to pass forward with us for meeting our said friends, to the effect aforesaid. And, albeit, the same day, else by-past, you in contemption of the said letters, have in nowise come to us, notwithstanding that our friends hath else taken Scottish ground; and, God willing, we purpose to join with them on Saturday next to come at Ochison's haven, in Preston Pans, appointed to that effect. Wherefore we pray you right effectuously, as you tender the glory of God, and weal of our native country, and will show you to be true native Scotchmen, that you in proper person, with your kin, friends, tenants, and servants, will come forwards, well bodin in feir of war (*well accoutred in martial appointments*), and meet with us on Saturday next to come, at Linlithgow, with thirty days' victuals after your coming, to pass forwards and meet our said friends of England, for expelling the said Frenchmen, and seeking of this our native country to liberty and freedom. Certifying you and (*if*) you fail herein we cannot stand content with you, but will repute you as plain enemies to the common weal of this our native country, and assisters to the said Frenchmen in conquesting (*conquering*) thereof, and use you thereafter for your demerit, without acceptation of you in favour of any pretended cause that you can allege hereafter. And so fare ye well. Of Glasgow, the 27th of March, 1560, by your good friend as cause requireth."

At length, on the last day of March, the English army, commanded by lord Grey, entered upon the Scottish territory. It consisted of six thousand foot and two thousand horse; and when, on the 2nd of April, it reached Preston Pans, the place of rendezvous, it was joined by the army of the congregation, estimated at nearly eight thousand men, led by the duke of Châtelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteith, the lord James, and others of the chiefs of the congregation. The day before, when news of the march of the English army reached Edinburgh, the queen-regent was received, with a few personal attendants, into the castle of Edinburgh, and the French withdrew into the fortress of Leith.

From Preston the combined army advanced to Dalkeith, whence the lords of the congregation addressed another appeal to the regent, expressed in the following terms (as translated from the Latin of Buchanan.) "We have often before this, by letters and messengers, earnestly entreated your highness, that the French soldiers, who still during another year oppress the poor country people with the most intolerable miseries, and spread the fear of a wretched slavery over the whole population, might be ordered by you to depart, and free us

from this apprehension; but as our just petitions had no influence with your highness, we were forced to deplore our situation to the queen of England, our nearest neighbour, and to entreat her assistance in expelling, by force of arms, the foreigners who attempt to reduce us to subjection, if we cannot otherwise accomplish it; but although she, affected by our calamities, has undertaken our cause, yet, that we may perform our duty to the mother of our queen, and prevent as much as we can the effusion of Christian blood, and only have recourse to arms when we can obtain our rights in no other way, we think it proper again humbly to request that you would command the French forces, with their officers and generals, immediately to depart out of this country; in order to do which more conveniently, the queen of England will not only grant a safe passage through her kingdom, but will also assist with her fleet to transport them, which proposition if you reject, we call God and man to witness, that we resort to arms through no hatred or malice, but unwillingly, and forced by pure necessity to attempt this last remedy, lest we should plunge the commonwealth, ourselves, our fortunes, and our posterity, into utter ruin. Nevertheless, although we suffer the most severe deprivations, and are threatened with greater, no danger shall constrain us to depart from our allegiance to our queen, or to the king her husband, in anything which does not involve the destruction of our ancient liberty, or the ruin of ourselves or our posterity; but we beseech thee, most benign princess, again and again, that considering the equity of our just demands, and what evils may follow war, and how necessary quiet is to your daughter's distressed kingdom, that you would lend a favourable ear to our prayers; which if you do, you will leave a pleasant remembrance of your moderation among all nations, and consult the tranquillity of the greatest part of christendom. Fare you well. Dalkeith, the 4th of April, 1560."

What answer was returned to this letter we are not informed, but on the 6th, the combined army continued its march to Restalrig, where the French forces had marched out and taken possession of a gentle elevation, where they expected the English would place their camp. They were immediately attacked, and for some time the possesion of the ground was warmly disputed, but at length a charge of the English and Scottish light horse decided the contest. The French were driven back into Leith, with a loss of about forty slain, and a hundred taken, and the English and Scots established their camp around the church of Restalrig, and in the fields to the south and south-east of Leith, and began immediately to open their trenches. Next day the heavy ordnance was landed from the ships, and these having been placed in battery, a cannonade was opened both from land and sea, which soon silenced the guns which the French had placed on St. Anthony's steeple, besides other injuries. Some other slight advantages were gained by the confederates, and on the night of the 14th of April, the castle of Blackness was captured by the sheriff of Linlithgow.

The next day, the 15th of April, the English camp was attacked by surprise. About eleven hundred of the French, of whom forty were cavalry, issuing suddenly from the town, came upon the English trenches unexpectedly. The few English who happened to be at this point made a desperate resistance, and the watch of two hundred horse joined them, and forced the French to fall back. But the English were themselves obliged to yield to numbers, and the French breaking into the trenches, slew all they encountered, and spiked two small guns. Meanwhile the alarm had been given, and the English hastening to the spot in greater numbers, attacked the French, drove them back, and pursued them "cruelly" to the walls of Leith. The English had at least two hundred and fifty slain, and about half that number wounded, while the French lost little more than three score. Some successes of the confederates in other parts counterbalanced this mishap. On the 20th of April the laird of Ormiston, with a small body of cavalry, placed himself in ambush in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, the castle of which was held by a French garrison; a party of the garrison went out to hunt, and fell into the snare, and, suddenly attacked by Ormiston, five or six of them were slain, and about sixty, including several officers, taken prisoners. Nevertheless, the lords of the congregation were discouraged at the slowness of the siege, and they were mortified at the lukewarmness of some of the nobles who had promised to join them. Among these was the earl of Huntley, who, though attached to the Roman catholic faith, had secretly promised to make com-

mon cause with them in defending the liberties of their country. It appears that the queen-regent had most influence among the barbarous clans in the north, where Huntley's property lay, and that they had confederated together to invade his estates the moment he led away his retainers to join the reformers. When pressed by the latter, Huntley represented the danger to which he should be exposed in leaving his estates unprotected, and it was not till the 25th of April that he entered the protestant camp with sixty horsemen.

Meanwhile, the king of France had seen the alliance between Elizabeth and the Scottish protestants with great alarm, and he became anxious to withdraw with credit from the contest, for he was himself embarrassed on every side by the discontent of his subjects in France, and he could ill spare either money or soldiers to be sent abroad. It was determined to send commissioners to Scotland to try the policy of concession, and they were to pass thither through England, and if possible to gain over Elizabeth to agree to their proposals. The men chosen for this mission were Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence; Nicolas de Pelvé, bishop of Amiens; and the sieur De la Brosse, who received their commission on the 1st of April, in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of France and Scotland. They were to promise the Scottish rebels full pardon and entire oblivion of all their past acts, if they would return to their obedience; they were authorized, if they found it convenient, to enter into treaty with the queen of England; and they received full powers of concluding any agreement they should judge fit, with the assurance that their sovereigns would ratify whatever they should agree to. It is said that one reason for choosing the bishop of Valence for this mission was the common belief that he leaned towards the protestants, and it was thought that he would be on that account acceptable to the Scots. On the 24th of March, a few days before the English troops marched over the Scottish border, queen Elizabeth had published a proclamation, declaring the causes which had induced her to undertake openly the defence of the Scots, and representing the Guises, who ruled the young king of France and his queen, as the true authors of all the troubles in France as well as in Scotland. This proclamation was printed in English and in French, and it was circulated extensively, not only in England and Scotland, but in France also, where the protestants did all they could to aid the policy of Elizabeth. The Guises felt that Elizabeth's proclamation was working to their disadvantage, and, highly offended, they caused instructions to be sent to M. de Seurre, the new French ambassador in England, to make an energetic remonstrance to the English queen. On the 15th of April, after the arrival of the bishop of Valence, the two ambassadors conjointly sent to Elizabeth a memoir, requiring her to withdraw her troops from Scotland. This was replied to by an immediate and unequivocal refusal. De Seurre himself then presented a written protest, addressed to the queen and her council, and dated on the 20th of April, in which he declared the efforts made by the king his master ever since the beginning of his reign to maintain a good intelligence with Elizabeth, the necessity in which he had been placed of sending troops to Scotland to reduce his rebellious subjects, the unjust suspicions entertained by Elizabeth, and the means he had taken to dispel them, and her refusal to be a mediator between him and them. He then represented the extraordinary conduct of the English queen in requiring the king to recal his troops, and subsequently sending her fleet into the Forth to assist the rebels. He reminded the queen and her council of the expostulations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, of the sending of the English troops into Scotland, and the obnoxious proclamation which accompanied that hostile measure, and of the remonstrance of the 15th of April; and he concluded by protesting, that if war followed between France and England, it was Elizabeth who had given the provocation. Towards the end of April the queen gave a full reply to the protest of the French ambassadors, in which she set forth all the provocations she had received from France, declared her reasons for suspecting the designs of the French court, and justified the conduct she had pursued with regard to Scotland. At the same time she declared her earnest desire for peace, and expressed her willingness to accept the intermediation of the king of Spain, or to submit the quarrel to the decision of commissioners fairly chosen on both sides. In thus introducing the name of the king of Spain, Elizabeth was no doubt aware of the jealousy which the French felt towards him, and that they were quite as unwilling as she was to take him as an intermediator. In fact, the French

agents complained that on this occasion the two Spanish ambassadors held aloof, and that they gave no support to the French remonstrance.

The bishop of Valence has left us, in a long dispatch, an account of his proceedings in Scotland. On his arrival at Berwick, the bishop met with a most friendly reception from the duke of Norfolk, who, however, took care to keep him there as long as possible. He told him that he could only give him a safe-conduct and an escort as far as the border, and that it would be necessary to send into Scotland to the lords of the congregation to provide for the rest of his journey. The bishop, who was anxious to proceed, urged that he might be conducted to the border immediately, adding that he would run the risk of whatever might happen to him in Scotland; but the duke would not listen to this proposal, as he said it would on one side be disrespectful towards the lords of the congregation themselves, to send him into Scotland without their passport; while on the other, he would be exposed to personal danger among the border thieves, and that he was answerable to the queen his mistress for the safety of the ambassador. The latter was obliged to submit, and, by one delay or another, he was retained a fortnight at Berwick before he was permitted to enter Scotland. The answers he received were so discouraging, that he had twice made up his mind to return without proceeding any further in his mission; but it was the wish of Elizabeth that he should be heard by the Scottish reformers, and at length the duke of Norfolk sent him forward with a recommendation to lord Grey, who was to obtain him an interview with the queen-regent before he presented himself to the lords of the congregation.

Armed with this recommendation, the bishop proceeded to Haddington, whence he sent forward a messenger to lord Grey to announce his arrival, and then continuing his route, he was received with much respect in the English camp. Lord Grey caused him to be privately conducted to the castle of Edinburgh, where he had an interview with the regent, who lay in a state of extreme weakness of body, but preserving all her strength of mind. When the bishop of Valence left the castle, he was taken to the tent of the duke of Châtelherault, where he found with the duke, lord Grey, and other councillors of the queen of England, and the principal lords of the congregation, to whom he delivered his letters of credit, and stated the terms which the king was willing to offer to them. These were, pardon and oblivion of past offences, a promise that the statutes, privileges, franchises, and liberties of the realm should not be interfered with, and that no more foreign soldiers should be left in Scotland than were sufficient to garrison the fortresses which were held by the French. These offers were received with apparent satisfaction, time was taken to consider them, and the ambassador was allowed to return to the castle. Next day he was again brought before the lords of the congregation, and Maitland of Lethington declared to him the result of their deliberations. They demanded that the fortifications of Leith should be destroyed; that the king of France should disavow all intention of retaining possession of Scotland in case of the queen's death; and that the people should be relieved from the insolence of the French soldiers. To the first of these, the bishop replied that he had received no special instructions on the subject, and could not enter upon it until he had obtained further instructions from his court; with regard to the second, he said that Scotland was not worth the expense and trouble of retaining it, and that the king of France could have no interest in wishing to obtain possession of it; and with regard to the third, he alleged that soldiers could not always be restrained from misconducting themselves, but that complaint might always be made to their officers. This last observation, the bishop confesses, was received with cries of indignation from all present, and they insisted upon the destruction of the fortifications of Leith, as an indispensable article of any treaty; they asked, with some reason, what reason there could be for fortifying Leith, unless for the purpose of retaining possession of the kingdom.

The ambassador states that this second conference was conducted in a far less conciliatory temper than the first; and the Scottish lords finished by accusing him of having had an interview with some persons from Leith, who went to consult with him in the castle, by which, and by sleeping in the fortress, they said that he had forfeited his safe-conduct. The bishop denied that he had conferred with any one from Leith, made an excuse for having remained during the night in the castle, and complained of the little respect shown to their

sovereign, of whom he was the representative. That evening the ambassador was placed under a guard of soldiers, that he might hold no communication with any whom the lords might not approve. Next morning the Scots showed a very unequivocal desire to be relieved from the presence of the ambassador, but he refused to go till his ten days of safe-conduct were expired; and after some further discussion he was allowed to remain, with free leave to go into the castle when he would, and to lodge anywhere in Edinburgh at his own pleasure; but he was strictly forbidden to hold any communication with the bishop of Amiens and MM. de la Brosse and D'Oysel. Another conference having been appointed, the bishop came and stated that the queen-regent was willing to concede the two points to which he had previously objected, the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the sending away of the French soldiers. He then made a rather ostentatious enumeration of their acts of rebellion, and especially of the injuries they had done to the catholic church in Scotland, to which the lord James made answer. The conference having been adjourned to the following morning, the queen-regent sent in her demands in writing, which were—1st, that the lords of the congregation and their adherents should render entire obedience to the king and queen their sovereigns, as true, faithful, and natural subjects; 2nd, that their league with the queen of England should be annulled, and the hostages sent back; 3rd, that the estates should be assembled within forty days after the conclusion of the treaty, and that the said estates, according to the ancient law of the country, should declare rebel whoever thenceforth should make an assembly of armed men without the consent of the prince, and pursue him with main force in the name of the country, to chastise and punish him according to his merit; 4th, that they should acknowledge the queen-regent for regent, as she had been elected by the estates; 5th, that the duke of Châtelherault, having been the chief and principal mover of these troubles, should, as a pledge for the observance of these articles, give up the fortress of Dumbarton, which was to be entrusted to the keeping of a Scotchman to be chosen by the queen-regent, until he had given certain proof of his willingness to remain loyal to his sovereign.

The lords of the congregation raised difficulties on several of these articles, but more especially on that which related to their league with Elizabeth. They said that they could not break their league without the consent of the English queen, who was one of the parties to it, and who held their hostages; and they alleged that there was nothing in it to the prejudice of the king and queen of France, and that they were willing to lay it before the estates, and to submit to correction if there were found anything in it against the crown or the profit and utility of the crown. This point was debated at some length, but without any satisfactory result; and as there was evidently no probability of coming to an agreement, the safe-conduct was no sooner expired, than they sent away the French ambassador somewhat unceremoniously, and he returned to Berwick, where the duke of Norfolk kept him two days, and then sent him on to London.

The lords of the congregation were evidently not inclined to listen to overtures at this moment, and they had no sooner rejected the demands of the bishop of Valence, than they drew up a second covenant, binding themselves first to support the reformation of religion, freedom of preaching, and the administration of the sacrament according to God's word; and secondly, to resist the tyranny of the French, and seek the expulsion of strangers and the recovery of their ancient liberty. After many delays, the earl of Huntley signed this covenant, as well as others who had not before joined cordially with the congregation.

Meanwhile it had been determined to carry on the siege of Leith with more vigour, and reinforcements having arrived in the English camp, lord Grey took up a position nearer the town and planted his batteries. On the last day of April, in consequence of the explosion of some gunpowder in a guard-house, that part of the town nearest to the English camp took fire, and, the wind being high, it burnt with great fury till next morning, destroying part of the granaries and a large quantity of provisions. During the confusion, the English pointed their guns on the burning buildings, and under cover of this attack advanced into the ditches to measure the height of the walls; but as a great part of the garrison came up to resist, they attempted nothing further. On the fourth of May, the besiegers burnt the town mills, to the great annoyance of the French. On

the seventh, a general assault was made, but it failed in consequence of a mistake in the making of the ladders, and the failure of the division under sir James Crofts to reach the point where it was directed in proper time. After a severe contest, the besiegers were beaten back with a loss, it is said, of four hundred men.

This success caused great rejoicing among the French, and intelligence was carried over to France, probably exaggerating its importance. The queen-regent, who was fast sinking under a mortal malady, took advantage of it to make an attempt at reconciliation, and is said to have requested an interview with the earls of Huntley and Glencairn for that purpose. But instead of these noblemen, the lord James, with Maitland of Lethington, the lord Ruthven, and the master of Maxwell, repaired to the castle, where they found the regent moved apparently with a feeling of commiseration for the unhappy state of the kingdom. The protestant lords offered at once to return to their obedience, on condition that the French soldiers should depart the realm, all other subjects in dispute to be referred to the decision of a parliament. The regent seemed willing to agree to this proposal, but she required permission to consult with La Brosse, D'Oysel, and the bishop of Amiens, who were within the walls of Leith. The Scottish lords had from the beginning of the siege resolutely refused to allow these persons to come out of the fortress, and as they now persisted in this refusal, the negotiation was broken off. But next day the regent, feeling that her end was near, sent for the lords again. The duke of Châtelherault, and the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marshal, now proceeded to the castle, and being shown into her bed-chamber, she received them with an affectionate welcome. It is said that she expressed in a manner which moved them to tears, her grief for the distracted state of the nation, and that she advised them to send both the French and English forces out of the kingdom, declaring her unfeigned sorrow that matters had been pushed to such extremities. She ascribed this to the evil councils which she had received from France, and which she was compelled to obey against her own inclinations; and she warned them especially against the treachery of the earl of Huntley. At the same time she urged them to remain faithful to the old league with France and asking pardon of all whom she had in any way offended, she declared that she freely forgave all injuries she might have received, and hoped that they might all find forgiveness together in heaven. She then kissed each of the nobles, and held out her hand to those of inferior rank who were standing by. The nobles earnestly requested that she would admit to her bed-side some godly man to give her religious consolation, and her charity went so far that she agreed to receive next day a visit from the protestant minister Willock. The preacher exhorted her with gentle earnestness to look for salvation through the death of Christ, and to relinquish the idolatry of the mass; in reply to which she assured him of her faith in the efficacy of Christ's passion, but avoided expressing an opinion on the other point. The day following, which was the 10th of June, Mary of Guise expired. Her body was placed in a coffin of lead, and was kept in the castle of Edinburgh till the 19th of October, when it was placed on board a ship, and carried to France. It has been stated that the protestants would not allow the regent to be buried in Scotland with the popish ceremonies.

Some days before the death of the queen-regent, the French king had sent another ambassador, M. de Randan, to Scotland, to announce that he was willing to confirm all that she had offered the reformers, and to make a new effort for peace. The French ministers were aware that Elizabeth had penetrated their designs, and that there was now little chance of pursuing them with success; and they were so embarrassed at home, that they were anxious to be relieved from the burthen and expense of the Scottish war. M. de Randan carried with him full powers for negotiating and concluding a treaty; he found the bishop of Valence in London, and as there appeared now to be a desire for peace on all sides, the two French ambassadors repaired to Edinburgh together. They were followed thither, in the middle of June, by Cecil and sir Nicholas Wotton, who were to act as plenipotentiaries on the part of Elizabeth. The treaty was between England, France, and the king and queen of Scots; but it was necessary, for the full protection of the protestant lords, that it should be made to recognise and include the treaty of Berwick between them and Elizabeth, and this point was the great difficulty in the negotiations. The French commissioners, who were the bishops of

Valence and Amiens, M. de Randan and La Brosse and D'Oysel, protested strongly against the indignity which would be offered to their sovereign, in forcing him thus to countenance the acts of his rebellious subjects, but the able diplomacy of Elizabeth's ministers gained the day. When the French negotiators refused to concede this point, Cecil declared that he would immediately break off the conference, and send orders to the duke of Norfolk to march into Scotland at the head of his army; and he at length overcame their scruples by so wording this part of the treaty, as to spare in appearance the feelings of the king of France, without at all diminishing the advantages which it secured to the Scottish protestants. In exultation at his success, Cecil wrote to Elizabeth, that "to make a cover for all this, those ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we, content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal."

The treaty of Edinburgh was concluded on the 6th of July, 1560, and three days afterwards the two French ambassadors, the bishop of Valence and M. de Randan, wrote to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, to excuse themselves for the hardness of the conditions they had been obliged to accept. "Madame," they wrote in this dispatch, "we were sent here to treat for peace, without being first prepared for war, and the enemies were so advanced in their enterprise that they reckoned for certain on securing the victory on the 15th of July, and they were well aware that we had no design or means of hindering them; and you may thereby understand how difficult and embarrassing it was to conduct the negotiation to a good end, and the more so as our lives were in their hands, and we were at a distance of three hundred leagues from the place where we ought to expect counsel and advice on the difficulties which presented themselves. And seeing ourselves reduced to such extremity, that we must necessarily make such a peace as we could, or see lost before our eyes four thousand men, and a kingdom which would never have been recovered without the ruin and desolation of that of France, we have chose of the two bad things, that which brought with it no other evil than loss of words. And, inasmuch as the judgments of men are different, and that it is very difficult to bring many persons to the same opinion, we fear that there will be some who will perhaps not approve of what we have done, which causes us very humbly to supplicate you to hear our explanations; and, after you have heard them, we make no doubt that you will be satisfied with the pains we have taken, and with our good will, as we pray you very humbly; and to those who shall say that the articles are not such as they would have desired, it will be enough to say that, if we wanted a good peace, we should have negotiated for it sooner, or have begun the war and treated on an equal footing, otherwise we could not expect to come out of it without some disadvantage." The king of France, and his ministers and councillors, appear to have been convinced of the necessity of yielding, and to have accepted the treaty without hesitation, however disagreeable it might have been to them. On the 28th of July, Francis expressed his opinions on the subject to his ambassador, the bishop of Limoges, to be communicated to the king of Spain. "I believe," writes the French king, "that you are not unacquainted with the agreement made and passed between my deputies, those of the queen of England, and the Scots; of which I have thought good to send you a true abstract, that on reading it you may perceive its iniquity, and the hard and intolerable conditions to which, for the universal repose of christendom, and the good and tranquillity of my kingdom and of my subjects, I have agreed. And however strange and insupportable it may be to a great prince like me to be reduced to the extremity of receiving the law from his subject, yet it has seemed to me for the necessity of the time in which we are, full of so many calamities and miseries, to be better to remit something of my particular interest to secure thereby a greater good, than to pursue obstinately a thing full of hazard and difficulties." A letter written on the same day by the cardinal of Lorraine expresses exactly the same sentiments.

There can be no doubt indeed that the treaty of Edinburgh was highly favourable to England; in fact, it was the deathblow to the French influence in Scotland. It stipulated that the French army should immediately leave Scotland; that an act of oblivion should be passed for all wrongs or injuries committed from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August, 1560; and that a general reconciliation of all differences should take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the pro-

testants and those who still adhered to the church of Rome. The duke of Chatelherault, and other Scottish nobles or barons who possessed lands in France, were to be restored to their possessions, while redress was to be given by parliament to the bishops and ecclesiastics who had received injury, and no man was to molest them in the collection of their revenues. A council of twelve was to be appointed for the government of the realm, the queen to appoint seven, and the estates five; it was to be their duty to supply the place of their sovereign during her absence, and no fewer than six were to assemble on any occasion; and upon all matters of moment the whole, or at least the majority of the whole were to meet. It was provided that in all time coming the kingdom should be governed by its native subjects; no foreign troops were to be brought in; no strangers were to administer justice, and none but Scotchmen to be placed in the offices of chancellor, treasurer, or comptroller; and all ecclesiastics, although natives of Scotland, were excluded from the two last. The Scottish nobles were not in future to be allowed to assemble soldiers, or make any warlike convocations, except in such cases as were sanctioned by established usage. It was agreed that a parliament should be held in the month of August ensuing, for which a commission was to be sent by the king and queen of France; and it was added that this meeting of the estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of those royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present resorted without fear to the parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unrestrained. It was further provided that the army of England was to march out of Scotland immediately after the embarkation of the French troops.

Throughout this transaction England had acted towards Scotland with a friendly anxiety for its welfare which could not be mistaken, and which was gratefully acknowledged by the Scottish protestants. Although the question of religion was not directly alluded to in the treaty, the interest of the protestants was sufficiently protected by their emancipation from foreign influence; and, as a great majority of the middle classes in Scotland had now embraced the reformed faith, it was clear that they must have an overwhelming majority in the approaching parliament. It is probable that the French themselves were not aware of the full extent of the protestant influence, and that they did not look forwards to the decided measures which followed. The wisdom of Elizabeth and her ministers was shown in the circumstance that she took no advantage of her position to exact any conditions from the Scots; but England had gained a moral influence which it was destined never afterwards to lose. There was strict justice in Cecil's boast to Elizabeth, that her conduct on this occasion "would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors with all their battles ever obtained; namely, the whole hearts and good-wills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the crown."

On the 8th of July, 1560, peace was proclaimed in Edinburgh, amid a universal joy to which Scotland had been long unaccustomed. The French army, consisting of four thousand men, was soon afterwards embarked in English ships and transported to France, a few soldiers only being left to garrison Inchkeith and Dunbar. The new fortifications in the latter fortress were destroyed. As soon as the French troops had been sent away, the English army began its march homeward, and delayed on the way only to destroy the fortifications at Eyemouth, according to agreement. A solemn public thanksgiving was held in St. Giles's church by the reformed nobles and the congregation, at which the preacher, who is supposed to have been Knox, compared the now promising condition of the kingdom with the miseries it had recently undergone, and called upon them to show their gratitude to their deliverers, by maintaining that godly league with Elizabeth which had led to the confusion of their enemies. Measures were immediately adopted for the establishment and regulation of the reformed church, and ministers were appointed to some of the chief towns in the kingdom. Of these, Knox was appointed to remain at Edinburgh, Goodman was sent to St. Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, and others were appointed to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendents were next chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and for Argyle and the Isles.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMED RELIGION; MISSION OF THE PRIOR OF ST. JOHN, AND HIS RECEPTION IN FRANCE; DEATH OF FRANCIS II.

The treaty of Edinburgh was no sooner completed, than preparations were made for what at this time was an equally important event, the assembling of parliament, which met on the 1st of August, with an unusually numerous attendance of all ranks, except the catholic clergy. The protestants looked upon the proceedings of this assembly with the utmost anxiety, and they formed an overwhelming majority of the three estates. The lesser barons, who had, by the constitution, a right to sit and vote in parliament, had ceased to claim the privilege, on account of the expense and inconvenience which attended it; but they now came, to the number of about a hundred, and presented a petition, praying to be restored to their privilege and to be allowed to vote. They were permitted to take their seats without much opposition, and to vote for the present, but the final decision on their claims was reserved. Their accession was of importance to the protestants, for it was among this class of Scotchmen that the reformed opinions had taken deepest root, and it was no doubt the profound interest they took in the great events then in progress that led them to make the claim. A more serious difference of opinion arose on the proposal to proceed immediately to the business of parliament. The French had been beaten in war and in diplomacy, and they seem now to have resolved to defeat their opponents by evasions, and by non-performance of conditions stipulated or implied on their part. No commission for opening parliament had yet arrived from France, and, as far as we can learn, the messengers sent to Paris to inform the king and queen of their proceedings seem not to have been attended to. It appears, from a letter of the English ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, that so late as the 9th of August, the king of France assured him not only that he had heard nothing of his commissioners, but that he had not even seen the treaty of Edinburgh; but we know that the latter part of this assertion was untrue, inasmuch as he himself sent an abstract of the treaty to the king of Spain on the 28th of July. However, there were many who pleaded that no parliament could be held till the commission arrived from their sovereign, while others alleged that, as the period of calling the parliament was fixed by the treaty of peace, it was as lawful a meeting as if it had been summoned by the crown; and on the question being put to the vote, after a week had been spent in the debate, it was decided for going to business. Many individuals, however, refused to abide by this decision, and departed from Edinburgh.

The session was now formally opened, and the royal ensigns, the crown, the mace or sceptre, and the sword, were placed on the throne, as representatives of the sovereign. Maitland of Lethington was chosen harangue-maker or speaker, and he opened the proceedings with a speech, in which he gave a sketch of recent events, expressed gratitude to God for their delivery, and declared that no other things were intended than those which had been attempted. He exhorted his countrymen to renounce their individual feelings, and to join in one general concord and amity, for the general good of the kingdom. He concluded by praying God to maintain them long in friendship and peace with all princes, and especially with England. This being ended, the clerk-register rose, and inquired of the three estates to what matter they would first proceed. It was then agreed that the treaty of peace should be read, and this having been done, it received the unanimous approbation of the assembly, and was ordered to be sent over to France to be ratified. The next proceeding was to choose the lords of the articles, in which it was necessary that a certain number should be prelates of the church, and the catholics complained that such only were chosen as were known to be favourable to the new faith. When this election had been made the meeting broke up, and the estates escorted the duke of Châtelherault in grand procession to the Bow, and many of them accompanied him to the palace where he lodged, "the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have."

The lords of the articles now continued to sit daily in Holyrood-house, except when, on business of greater importance, the three estates assembled at the parliament-house.

The more zealous of the reformed ministers now drew up a petition, praying that the doctrines professed by the Roman catholic church, which had been tyrannically maintained by the clergy, should be condemned and abolished. They particularly enumerated among the errors to be proscribed, the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, the worship of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of good works, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints. The petitioners declared that God of his great mercy, by the light of his word, had demonstrated to no small number within the realm the pestiferous errors of the Roman church, errors which the ministers of that church had maintained with fire and sword, and which brought damnation upon the souls of all that embraced them. They described in strong language the corrupt lives of the popish clergy; they offered to prove that there was not one of them who was a lawful minister according to the practice of the apostles and of the primitive church, speaking of them as so many thieves and murderers, rebels, traitors, and adulterers. The petitioners, in continuation, called upon the parliament to compel the body of the Romish clergy to answer these accusations, and to pronounce them unworthy of authority in the church of God, and expel them for ever from the great council of the nation. There was much in the tone of triumph which pervaded this document that was too violent, although it was characteristic of the spirit of the age, and the reading of it produced a great diversity of sentiment in the parliament. It was rendered unpalatable to the most powerful supporters of the reformation by the circumstance of its calling upon them to restore the patrimony of the church, which had passed in one way or other into their possession, that it might be applied to the purposes for which it was originally destined, the support of the ministers, the restoration of godly learning, and the assistance of the poor. This was politically an error. The majority of the parliament, laying aside the petition itself, commanded the ministers to draw up a summary of those doctrines which they considered sound and necessary to be believed. This they did immediately, and they presented as their confession of faith a well digested summary of christian doctrine, grounded on the Word of God. It was submitted for revision to Maitland of Lethington and the sub-prior of St. Andrews, by whom the austerity of some parts was softened down, and some alterations were made calculated to make it less obnoxious to the more moderate reformers. Thus revised, it was laid before parliament, and was passed with very little opposition, for most of the catholic party either absented themselves from parliament or were afraid to oppose the popular stream. The only temporal peers present who ventured to dissent were the earls of Cassillis and Caithness, with the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane of the spiritual. Their opposition was grounded on the plea that they wanted time to examine and consider it, and, on their refusing to make their objections at the moment, it was carried by acclamation, and with the greatest enthusiasm. The aged lord Lindsay, one of the earliest of the reformers, rose in his place and declared that since God had spared him to see that day, he was ready to say with Simon, *nunc dimittis*,—now let thy servant depart.

The adoption of this confession as the standard of the protestant faith in Scotland was followed by three acts of parliament, the first of which abolished for ever in that country the power and jurisdiction of the pope; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Roman catholic church; and the third ordained that all who said mass, or who dared to hear mass, should, for the first transgression, be punished with the forfeiture of their goods, for the second with banishment from the kingdom, and for the third with death.

The next step of the protestant clergy was to compose a book of discipline for the future government of their church. According to this ecclesiastical code, the ministers were to be elected by the people, subject to examination and approval by the ministers and elders; the kingdom was to be divided into ten dioceses, over which ten ministers were appointed as superintendents, whose business it was to inquire into the life and behaviour of the ministers, the manners of the people, the provision for the poor, and the instruction of youth. These superintendents were not to have stationary sees like the bishops, but they were to be ambulatory preachers, continuing only three or

four months in one place, after which they were to enter into a visitation of their whole bounds, preaching at least thrice a week. It was by this book of discipline that the parish schools were first instituted in Scotland. This book of discipline met with great opposition, and many of the nobles refused to subscribe to it.

Having settled the form of their own church, the reformers proceeded to further hostile measures against that of their opponents. The barons presented a bill of complaint against the bishops; and when, as might be expected, they made no reply, an act was passed for the confiscation of their livings. The popish prelates, apprehensive of the persecution which had now fallen upon them, had rather generally adopted a practice of conveying away their lands to persons who were to restore them after the danger was past. These conveyances or leases, which had been sanctioned by the pope, were now brought under the censure of parliament, which enacted that they should be all void without further process of law.

These important measures having been settled, the parliament proceeded to deliberate on matters connected with the civil government of the realm. Twenty-four members were nominated, out of which number twelve were to be selected, who, as it has been already stated, were to form the council or executive body, and several of the catholic party were admitted among them, although the greater number were taken from the protestant party. They were, the duke of Châtelherault, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athol, Menteith, Marshal, and Rothes, the lord James, the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvy, and St. John, the master of Maxwell, and the lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Dun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrig, and young Lethington. It was ordered that, in case any matter of great importance affecting the national interests should occur before the king and queen should have been communicated with, sixteen, at least, of these lords should meet and consult as the temporary council, and that six of the former council should sit continually in Edinburgh for the administration of justice. The treaty between Elizabeth and the lords of the congregation was confirmed. The leaning towards England was, indeed, at this time, most apparent, and it was shown by a remarkable resolution of the assembled estates. The earl of Arran was the heir apparent to the kingdom, and it was resolved almost unanimously, as a means of cementing the alliance between the two kingdoms, that a proposal should be made for a marriage between that nobleman and the queen of England. The earls of Morton and Glencairn were appointed to proceed to England with Maitland of Lethington, to propose the marriage to Elizabeth; while sir James Sandilands of Calder, grand prior of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem within Scotland, was selected as the commissioner of the parliament to carry an account of its proceedings to France. The parliament was dissolved on the 27th of August, and the envoys to England and France immediately proceeded on their journeys, their written credentials and instructions bearing date the day just mentioned.

These instructions directed the grand prior to present to the king and queen the humble declaration of the allegiance and fidelity of the parliament, which had been called together to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, and to provide for the various necessities of the state. He was to state that there were present at this parliament the duke of Châtelherault and thirteen earls, the archbishop of St. Andrews and five bishops, nineteen lords, twenty ecclesiastics (as well abbots as priors), the representatives of twenty-two towns, a hundred and ten barons, and others; and to present their confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to ask for its ratification by the king and queen. As by one article of the treaty it was ordered that the parliament should name twenty-four persons, out of which number either twelve or fourteen, as it might be thought best, were to form the council of state, in the first case five to be chosen by the parliament, and seven by the sovereigns, and in the other, six by the parliament and eight by the sovereigns, the grand prior was instructed to inform Francis and Mary that the parliament preferred the larger number, and to request that the king and queen would accordingly choose eight councillors out of the list which he was to present to them. The ambassador was further to announce the intention of parliament to send a deputation of nobles to France, and he was to present compliments in the name of the estates of Scotland to the queen-mother,

the Guises, the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood, and others, and to ask for instructions with relation to the interment of the body of the queen-regent. In a letter written in the name of the estates of Scotland to the king of France on the 31st of August, that monarch was made acquainted with the wish of the Scottish parliament to procure a marriage between the earl of Arran and queen Elizabeth. It was represented that advantages would accrue to France by this alliance, and that they were induced to send their commissioners to Elizabeth without waiting for the advice of the king, because they wished to anticipate the prince of Sweden, who was pursuing the same object. This letter was signed, among others, by the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Dunblane.

Sandilands left Scotland about the 12th of September, and, as might be expected from the sweeping measures of the parliament, he experienced a polite reception from the king, though he was treated with more than coldness by the Guises. At the same time, a paper of objections was drawn up to be communicated to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, the principal heads of which were as follows:—In the first place it was observed disdainfully that the Scots pretended to designate as a treaty between their sovereigns and them, what in reality was nothing but supplications and remonstrances from rebellious subjects, some of which the sovereigns had condescended to grant. It was represented that according to the treaty, a certain number of persons of quality were to have been sent to France to carry the ratification of the treaty by the estates, and to inform their majesties of the state of the kingdom, and hear their intention and good pleasure with respect to it, whereas they had only sent one person, and that person of very moderate rank. It was added that there was informality in the manner in which the documents brought by the grand prior were signed; that some persons who ought to attend parliament had not been summoned, so that the assembly was irregular and imperfect; that the prelates of the church, instead of being restored to their estates and revenues, had been prosecuted, and their possessions confiscated; that among the barons who had signed Sandiland's instructions and the nomination of the twenty-four councillors, there were some who had not yet attained their majority, and therefore were unqualified to sign; and that the mission to England on the subject of the marriage was contrary to law, which forbade any one leaving the kingdom, or contracting marriage with a foreigner, without the permission of the king. Similar objections were repeated to Throckmorton when he presented himself at the French court on the 16th of September, and it was added that it did not seem right that the treaty of Edinburgh with Elizabeth should be ratified until their majesties saw that the Scots behaved dutifully and obediently, since it contained an obligation towards the queen of England in favour of the Scots, which itself depended on their fulfilling their promises; "and it would not be equitable that their two majesties should remain in suspense and uncertainty as to the intention of the Scots, and that the Scots at the same time should be assured by the ratification of all that concerned themselves; as the king feels assured that the said lady the queen of England, on reflection, will consider right, and take in good part; desiring her to believe that in doing this their majesties have no intention to delay or put the least scruple in the world in the way of the good peace and amity which they have always desired and still desire to keep and entertain with the queen of England," but on the contrary that it was their wish to confirm it, and their intention to perform all they had promised to their Scottish subjects. Two days after Francis wrote to his ambassador in Spain, informing him of the answer given to the English ambassador, and that the latter had acknowledged the justness of his proceedings.

We possess, however, Throckmorton's own account of these transactions, in a dispatch written to the English ambassador in Spain on the 21st of November. "I wrote unto you," he says in this letter, "of the coming hither of the lord of St. John of Jerusalem of Scotland to perform such things in the name of them all as were articulated and accorded upon in their late treaty, made between the commissioners of this side and them, and also thereupon to demand of their king and queen the ratification of the said agreement, according to his commission and instructions; the copies whereof I send you herewith that you may well understand the same, and proceed the more soundly therein, whensoever you shall have occasion

moved you. The said lord of St. John's hath been with the said princes, with whom he hath proceeded according to his directions, and hath demanded the ratification. At his first coming he was much made of, and many things promised him; but after a few days not so much. To the demand of the French king and queen's ratification of the treaty, answer was made him, that for as much as the Scots had in no part performed that that belonged to good subjects, but had assembled themselves upon their own authority, without the consent of the king and queen their sovereigns, the same treaty ought not to be regarded, and therefore they would not ratify it. The further reasons why, they would not tell him, but concluded that the king and queen would send two gentlemen into Scotland, to declare their griefs, and reasons why they thought not meet to ratify the said accord. And so he standeth upon his dispatch away from hence homeward with this answer. Among other things these princes here are not a little grieved that such a solemn legation is sent into England, and that there is but one sent hither, and he in post. There are come into England from the estates of Scotland the earls of Morton and Glencairn, and the lord of Lethington, to visit her majesty, and to give her thanks, which is the legation that is above spoken of. Another reason that they find why they are not bound to ratify the said Scottish treaty is, that the same was made with such and of such as were rebels, and bore arms against their sovereigns, and therefore not to be observed; and that his commission and instructions were subscribed by the same rebels, and of few of their good subjects. And yet the few names of such few good subjects as were set to, were not of their own hands, but counterfeited by others. Among other, these frivolous devises were found out to refuse them their ratification. About the same time of this said ambassador's negotiation about these matters, I received letters from the queen's majesty, with commandment to demand eftsoons (*again*) of this king and queen their ratification of the late treaty made also in Scotland between her majesty and the French commissioners, which hath been before delayed, for that the Scots (these men said) had then yet sent nobody to perform things on their behalfs. The Scottish ambassador therefore having been at the court, and done his legation, upon whose coming was all our stay, and therefore I hoping to have no further delay therein, I resorted to the king, and performed mine instructions and commandment in renewing the demand of the said ratification of our treaty. Answer was made me, both by the king and queen, the cardinal of Lorraine, and duke of Guise, in the same sort as had been made before to the lord of St. John's; adding thereto, that forasmuch as our treaty depended upon the Scots' treaty, and because the Scots had not performed all things on their part, like as the king was not bound nor ought to ratify a treaty made by his subjects without the consent of their sovereign, specially their not observing their duties of obedience toward him promised therein, so was there no cause the king should ratify ours, till the Scots had performed all things on their behalf. And so they have plainly refused to ratify our said treaty, and spared not to utter in good terms that the Scots must be taught to know their duties, and to assemble in their sovereigns' names, and not in their own, as though they would make it a republic; and that rather than the king will suffer all these disorders, he will quit all. They stick now much upon a league that is between the queen's majesty and the realm of Scotland; and till that be broken (which I trust is not meant to be), I perceive they will be at no better point with us. As for the leaving the bearing of the queen's majesty's arms, which they use yet still in open shows and entries of towns, whereof was spoken at this audience, and told that by the said treaty the king should have so to do, that was answered, that till a treaty be ratified it is no treaty, and therefore there is no reason which the king and queen should sooner satisfy than be satisfied; and that the king hath borne the arms of long time, and not without reason and title to do so; and that therefore there is no cause why he should leave his right. These, with divers like purposes, sounding all to be defences and cavillations not to ratify our treaty, were used to me at this last negotiation, wherein I could not alter their moods for any allegations nor objections that I could use, but rather understand their intents of revenge than will to quietness. It is strange to see how little princes of honour pass for their promises and authentic obligations. In the French king and queen's commission given to messieurs De Valence and Randan, they promised *bona fide et verbo regio* to perform

and ratify all that his deputies should agree upon; as you may see by the same, the copy whereof I also send you herewith."

In his dispatches to the queen, some extracts from which have been printed by Tytler, Throckmorton describes the violent language made use of by the Guises. In an interview with the cardinal of Lorraine, in the middle of November, that minister said to him, "I will tell you frankly, the Scots, the king's subjects, do perform no part of their duties; the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say, in their words, they are the king's subjects. To tell you of the particular disorders, were too long; every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order; and when fault is found with them, they threaten the king with the aid of the queen your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for rather than they shall be at this point, the king will quit all. They have made a league with the queen your mistress without us; what manner of dealing is this of subjects? Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly." "They have sent hither," he added, "a mean man in post to the king and queen their sovereigns, and to the queen your mistress a great and solemn legation." "This great legation," continued the cardinal, "goeth for the marriage of the queen your mistress with the earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such a one as he is, and one of the queen's subjects." The young queen of France and Scotland, well tutored by her ambitious and unscrupulous uncles, held similar language. When, in an interview at this time, Throckmorton pressed her for the ratification of the treaty, she replied, "such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council, hath made you in that matter might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty; my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one part that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me; but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them; and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all to the king and me in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress; I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." Throckmorton goes on to tell Elizabeth that, "in this speech the queen uttered some choler and stomach against them. I said, 'as to the lord of St. John, I know him not; but he is great prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any earl within your realm.' The queen answered, 'I do not take him for great prior, for he is married:—I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.' I said, 'madame, I have heard that if your majesty do proceed graciously with the lord St. John, in observation of all that which was, by the bishop of Valence and monsieur de Randan promised in the king's and your name, the nobles and estates of Scotland do mind to send unto the king and you a greater legation.' 'Then the king and I,' quoth she, 'must begin with them.' 'Madame,' quoth I, 'I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused; for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the queen my mistress (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the king and you do bear openly the arms of England), will give the queen my mistress occasion greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her.' 'Mine uncles,' quoth she, 'have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part, I pray you, do the office of a good minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well.' And so the queen dismissed me, and monsieur de Lansac brought me to my horse."

A long dispatch from the French ambassador in England, M. de Seurre, to his sovereign, dated the 24th of September, describes Elizabeth's dissatisfaction at the delay in ratifying the treaty. A day or two after the middle of the month just mentioned, when M. de Seurre was preparing to demand an audience of the queen of England, then residing at Windsor, he received an unexpected visit from Cecil and Wotton,

who brought him a copy of the treaty of Edinburgh, ratified by Elizabeth and duly signed and sealed, and demanded, somewhat peremptorily, if he had not received a copy ratified on the part of France to exchange for it. The ambassador was embarrassed, for he seems to have had an instinctive dread of the diplomatic talents of the English ministers; and he tried to excuse himself from entering upon the subject, by stating that he had just received a dispatch from his sovereign, and that he was going to demand an audience of the queen, to communicate its contents to her. The English ministers thereupon informed him, that the queen had entrusted the business of Scotland into their hands, and they pressed him to make them acquainted with his intelligence. This demand De Seurre evaded, until the two ministers, offended at his reserve, told him plainly that they would press him no more on the subject, and that the queen herself cared little whether the king ratified the treaty or not, inasmuch as her forces were ready for action, and if justice were not done to her demands very soon, she would take the means to enforce it. The ambassador was alarmed at this threat, and informed them of the nature of his instructions, which contained a repetition of the objections which had been already stated to Throckmorton in Paris. Cecil expressed great discontent, urged that there was nothing in the subordinate treaty with the Scots which ought to interfere with the ratification of the treaty with England, and declared that he knew from other sources that it was only part of a plan to evade the fulfilment of the promises of the French king. A day or two after this, the ambassador obtained an audience of Elizabeth at Hampton Court. She received him, as he tells us, with an angry countenance, but became somewhat pacified as he proceeded, in as gentle a manner as possible, with his explanations. He declared that the king his master was influenced only by friendly feelings towards Elizabeth, that the delay in ratifying the treaty arose only from the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, and that he felt convinced she would be satisfied with the reasons which had been already given to her ambassador in Paris, and which he was now instructed to repeat. The queen replied that she had given sufficient proof of her wish for peace and amity by her actions, and by having been the first to offer the ratification of the present treaty, by which all the world might see her good intentions; "but she saw well all the contrary on the part of your majesty, and that all these delays are founded rather in unwillingness to satisfy what is due by the said treaty than in any reason, that which was alleged to her ambassador being neither good nor legitimate, and if he had received it for such, as I told her he seemed like a reasonable man to have done, she would never employ him again in her service; for there is no cause why the act of the Scots should retard her act, which has nothing in common with them, and cannot give them any favour unless they perform what they have promised; the condition of which is so clear in the treaty, that their actions and behaviour alone can bind your majesty, and not the ratification of the said treaty. For which reason it is very easy to judge to what these excuses tend, joined with the circumstance that you are so little anxious to send your deputies to terminate it as was agreed, although its term, as well as that of the ratification, is almost expired. Moreover, she is well informed of many things which are in hand on your side, far enough from the assurance which you offer her in words, so that she could not receive the said answer in good part, and is much disappointed that matters do not hold a better way; of which, if it happen otherwise than she desire, she prays God to make demonstration of his greatness on the party which is in the wrong." The ambassador tried to appease the offended queen with gentle remonstrances, and prevailed so far that she consented to wait until the result of the mission of the prior of St. John to Paris should be known. In a letter to his ambassador in Spain, accompanying a copy of the dispatch describing this interview with Elizabeth, which was to be shown to the Spanish monarch, the king of France informed him that the Scottish parliament had abolished the Roman catholic religion, and that for that reason he intended to keep none of his engagements towards them. He knew this was an argument which would have its full weight with so bigoted a prince as Philip of Spain. Nevertheless, there was reason in the declaration of Elizabeth with regard to the non-ratification of the treaty between France and England. It included and confirmed the obligation between the king of France and the Scots; but when ratified, the obligation on one part was as much dependent on performance of obligations on the other, as



MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1587

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY PARIS BORDONE

before, and the delay in ratifying it could only arise from a design to evade it altogether.

Throckmorton had detected with great skill the secret policy and designs of the French court towards Scotland. The grand aim of the Guises was the destruction of protestantism throughout Europe, and they were already beginning with the Huguenots in France. They looked upon England, at this moment the main support of the reformation, with special hostility, and the recent events in Scotland had given them great alarm; but until they had mastered the Huguenots at home, they were not able to enter upon a crusade against protestantism in Scotland. They resolved therefore to make a show of moderation, and to watch the progress of events, anxious especially to profit by the proposal for a marriage between Elizabeth and the earl of Arran. If the queen refused the match, their plan was to sow jealousy between the Scottish protestants and Elizabeth, by persuading them that she had assisted them merely to further her own views of personal profit and aggrandizement, and to detach Arran from the congregation, by offering him a marriage with a daughter of France, and the office of lieutenant in Scotland, with every thing but the name of king. If, on the contrary, Elizabeth's conduct was conciliatory, and there was no immediate prospect of breaking her league with the Scottish protestants, then it was determined to employ all the benefices and offices of the kingdom in raising a party against England; and to do this more effectually, the Guises proposed to begin by sowing dissension between the earl of Arran and the lord James. To counteract these intrigues, Throckmorton recommended to Elizabeth an archer of the French guard named Clark, a clever intriguer whom he had himself frequently employed, and whom she soon afterwards sent into Scotland as a secret agent.

Meanwhile Sandilands, who found that he had come on a fruitless errand, was kept long without an answer. At length, on the 16th of November, the French king addressed a letter to the estates of Scotland, in which he acknowledged the delivery by the lord of St. John of their promises to remain faithful and obedient subjects, but at the same time expressed his great dissatisfaction at their proceedings in their late assembly (as he termed the parliament), which he said was far different from that which was naturally to be expected from their professions and duty. Nevertheless he said he was so anxious for their return to their duty, that he had resolved to send two noble persons as his envoys into Scotland, bearing his commission to convene a legal parliament, in which their requests should be fully considered, and their faults consigned to oblivion.* This letter was dated from Orleans, where Francis was then holding his court. Still the departure of the Scottish envoy seems to have been delayed, for he is said to have proceeded no further than Paris on his return, when he was overtaken by the intelligence of the rather sudden death of the French king, which occurred at Orleans on the 5th of December. Sandilands now hurried home with news of far greater importance for the future destinies of Scotland than the letter with which he had been charged, and he arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th of December.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MARY STUART A WIDOW; EFFECT OF THE FRENCH KING'S DEATH IN SCOTLAND; MISSION OF THE LORD JAMES.

THE news of the death of Francis II. caused the utmost joy in Scotland, for it destroyed at once the French sovereignty. The reformed ministers spoke of it as a judgment of God in favour of their cause, and all parties were convinced that it would make a change in the foreign relations of the country. They looked forward natu-

* This letter is printed in M. Teulet's *Collection*, tom. i., p. 638. Tytler found a copy of it in the State Paper Office, and supposing it to have been written by the queen, has used it as a letter of Mary's in his History.

rally to the return of their young queen, and trusted that she would govern the kingdom with the assistance of the native nobility. Mary Stuart, now a widow, had just completed her eighteenth year. Possessing much of the talents, and many of the faults of the two families from which she was descended, she was distinguished for beauty, and personal graces and accomplishments, and had imbibed an ardent love of pleasure in a court which was remarkable for its gallantry and dissipation. Affectionately attached to her first husband, she appeared at first inconsolable for his loss; but her natural energy of character soon got the better of her sorrow. The accession of the new king, Charles IX., who was ruled by his mother, Catherine de Medicis, overthrew the influence of the Guises in France, but they still guided their niece in her behaviour as queen of Scotland. For them a peaceful and cautious policy was now more necessary than ever, and nothing could be more prudent than Mary's conduct at this moment. The English ambassador, Throckmorton, in a letter written to the lords of the English privy council on the last day of December, and quoted from the original in the state-paper office by Mr. Tytler, gives an interesting picture of the widowed queen. "My very good lords," says Throckmorton, in this dispatch, "now that God hath thus disposed of the late French king, whereby the Scottish queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment one of the special things your lordships have to consider and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that queen. During her husband's life there was no great account made of her; for that, being under band of marriage and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters; which, increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the king, his brethren, the king of Navarre, the constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger, saving Martignes, who having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborne to do, knowing not the queen's majesty's pleasure in that behalf. Amongst others, the ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be for more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined and had great conference with the cardinal of Lorraine; and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of marriage for her with the prince of Spain—for I think the council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity—yet it is not amiss to hearken to the matter; for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means of offers. But to conclude herein: as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now in time good occasion be not let pass, the king of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men (which is a great virtue in a prince or princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her), that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left and offered her to take advantage by." The ambassador adds, "I understand very credibly that the said Scottish queen is desirous to return into Scotland; marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesley (who pretendeth title to the

earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers; and besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the lord James, and of all the Stuarts, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the duke of Châtelherault and his party; and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part, of those that carried themselves indifferently as neuters all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people, and now to have their queen home will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return, she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow-hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also work that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects; whom she will, for her part, recompense by all the favour, assurance, and benevolence, that a prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your lordships' grave wisdoms to consider of it."

Elizabeth became now anxious to ascertain the probable policy of the young queen of Scots. She sent the earl of Bedford to France to present her condolences to Mary, and to express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace and amity, and at the same time to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. He was to recommend to her to govern Scotland by its own laws, and without foreign influence, and he was to ascertain if there were any intention of marrying her to a prince of Spain or Austria, and to do his utmost to counteract such a design. The earl reached Paris on the 3rd of February, and joining with Throckmorton, the two ambassadors went to the court at Fontainbleau on the 15th, and obtained an interview with Mary, which is described in their despatches still preserved in the State Paper Office. The young queen was probably at this time acting entirely under the influence of the Guises; of her designs with regard to Scotland we know nothing, but she refused to ratify the treaty. She told the two ambassadors "that there were more reasons to persuade to amity between Elizabeth her good sister and herself, than between any two princes in all Christendom; we are both, said she, in one isle, both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh, I am here, she continued, as you see, without all council; my uncle (the cardinal of Lorraine), who hath the ordering of all my affairs, and by whom (as reason is) I ought to be advised, is not here presently (*at present*); and, monsieur l'ambassadeur, it is also the queen my good sister's advice, that I should take the counsel of the nobles and wise men of mine own realm, as hath been declared by you unto me. You know well enough, quoth she, here are none of them, but I look to have some of them here shortly; and then will I make the queen such an answer as she will be pleased with." When the earl of Bedford pressed for the ratification, Mary replied again, "Alas, my lord, what would you have me do? I have no council here; the matter is great to ratify a treaty; and especially for one of my years." In reply to these reasons, Throckmorton said, "Madame, monsieur de Guise, your uncle, is here present, by whom, I think, as reason is, you will be advised. I see others here also, of whom you have been pleased to take counsel; the matter is not such but that you may proceed without any great delay, seeing it hath been promised so often that it should be ratified." "Alas, monsieur l'ambassadeur," said Mary, "for those things that were done in my late husband's time, I am not to be charged, for then I was under his obedience; and now I would be loath to do anything unadvisedly; but because it is a great matter, I pray you give me respite till I speak with you again." The ambassadors then took their leaves, but as they were going, Mary called Throckmorton back, and said to him pleasantly, "Monsieur l'embassadeur, I have to challenge you with breach of promise; you can remember that you promised me, in case I would send to the queen my good sister my picture, that I should have hers in recompense thereof; and because I made no small account of the same, I was very glad that that condition was offered me to have it. You know I have sent mine to the queen my good sister according to my pro-

mise, but I have not received hers; I pray you, therefore, procure that I may have it, whereof I am so desirous, and now more than before, that I shall think the time long till I have it." Next day the two ambassadors had another audience, and Mary gave them an artful answer with regard to the treaty. "My lord," she said to Bedford, "inasmuch as I have none of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here to take advice of, by whom the queen my good sister doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not, nor think not good, to ratify this said treaty; and, as you know, if I should do any act that might concern the realm without their advice and counsel, it were like I should have them such subjects unto me as I have had them. But for all such matters as be past, I have forgotten them; and, at the queen my good sister's desire, I have pardoned them, trusting that I shall find them hereafter by her good means better and more loving subjects than they have been. Whether I have cause to think amiss of them or no, I durst put it to her judgment. This, my lord, I pray you think concerning the ratification of the treaty; I do not refuse to ratify it because I do not mind to do it; nor I use not these delays as excuses to shift off the matter; for if my council were here, I would give you such an answer as should satisfy you. And I pray you to tell the queen my good sister, I trust ere it be long some of the nobility and council of Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some shortly unto me: peradventure you know it as well as I. And when I shall have communed with them, I mind to send my good sister the queen your mistress, such an answer as I trust she shall be pleased with it; for I mean to send one of mine own unto her ere it be long. In the meantime, I pray you declare unto her from me, that I would we might speak together, and then I trust we should satisfy each other much better than we can do by messages and ministers. This the queen my sister may assure herself of, that she shall find none more willing to embrace her friendship and amity than I, and there is none that ought to take more place with her than me. She can consider what state I am in, and what need I have to have the amity of such a one as she is. Tell her, I pray you, how much I am desirous to see her, and also that I am in good hope that it will come to pass."*

In Scotland, all parties were anxious to prepare themselves for the change of policy which they foresaw must follow the death of the French king. A parliament was summoned, and it met on the sixteenth of January, when Sandilands laid before the estates the French king's letter, which was no longer of any importance. The ambassadors sent to Elizabeth had returned on the third of January, and they also were present to render an account of their mission. Elizabeth had received them with marks of favour; she had declined the marriage with the earl of Arran, but in a manner calculated to conciliate the Scots, rather than to offend them; and she promised them her aid and protection when they should be in need of it. The parliament, after deliberating upon the reports of their ambassadors, and on the other events which had recently occurred, came to the resolution of sending the lord James to France to invite their young sovereign to return to her own dominions.

Meanwhile, in the middle of January, Mary dispatched from Paris a commission of four of her subjects, Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesley of Auchtermuchty, to Scotland, to inform the estates of the death of her husband, and to announce the mission of Gilles de Noailles, abbot of L'Isle, sent as ambassador from the new king of France to desire the renewal of the ancient treaties between the two kingdoms. The four envoys were to address themselves first to the duke of Châtelherault, the bishop of St. Andrews, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and Athol, and the lord James. They were to promise on the part of the queen an oblivion of past offences and disorders, and to express her willingness to give letters of pardon on her return to Scotland, where it was her resolution to repair in person as soon as possible. She demanded an account of the revenues of the crown of Scotland since the death of her mother, the regent, and requested that a list of persons should be sent to her, out of which she might choose two to fill the offices of treasurer and comptroller of the kingdom. The instructions of the four ambassadors were dated on the twelfth of January, but Mary's letter to Elizabeth requesting that they might be allowed to pass through England, was only written

* These extracts from Throckmorton's letters are given after Tytler.

on the 18th, and it was not till the 20th of February that they reached Edinburgh. The French ambassador, M. de Noailles, received his instructions on the 23rd of January; he was to urge the renewal of the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, and watch over Mary's interests among her subjects. He also was to pass through England, and he was especially recommended, if Elizabeth should desire to see him, on his way, to state to her the object of his mission "dexterously and gently," and he was "with the same dexterity to labour to discover, if possible, in what opinion she is of the said Scots, and what are her expectations, in order to report them to the king." He was further cautioned, in case Elizabeth spoke of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, to give an evasive answer, founded on the altered position of France towards Scotland since the death of the king. Mary was at this time still residing at the French court, but she had taken as her confidential minister the same M. d'Oysel who had so long acted in that capacity towards her mother, Mary of Guise. On his return to France after her death and the treaty of Edinburgh, D'Oysel had fallen into disgrace, the reason of which, as told by the English ambassador, Throckmorton, gives us a revolting picture of the dark and sanguinary policy of the Guises. It appears that when the bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martigues, were sent over to Scotland, they were secretly instructed to urge the queen-regent to dissemble with the lords of the congregation, until, under pretence of calling a parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, she could bring them together under one roof, and then she was to seize upon them and put to death the more violent of the protestant earls and barons. The queen-regent is said to have revolted at this treacherous proposal, and D'Oysel compelled the three French envoys to abandon the scheme. But when they all returned to France, his conduct on this occasion was made a crime, and he was accused of having been the cause of all the misfortunes which had subsequently occurred. He thus lost the king's favour, and was no longer employed in the Scottish affairs, until Mary became a widow, when she seems immediately to have taken him into favour again.

The Scots at this moment were divided into several parties, of which probably the most numerous and certainly the most powerful was that of the protestants who were favourable to moderate measures, and who were anxious for the return of their queen, in the belief that, when thus she was once at a distance from French influence, she would easily be induced to agree to the present state of things. There was another numerous party in Scotland, who had stood in a manner neutral among the others, and who, led entirely by their personal interests, were ready to attach themselves to any government which would purchase their support. The duke of Châtelherault had formed a party among his friends, with the object of procuring a marriage between his son the earl of Arran and queen Mary, and a messenger had been dispatched privately to France to communicate with the queen on the subject. He received an encouraging but cautious reply, for Mary had adopted the policy of seeming to favour all parties, in the hope that thus she would be able eventually to gain them all to her will. A zealous party of catholics still remained in Scotland, and these held a secret convention, at which, with other barons, were present the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, and the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Sutherland, Marshall, and Caithness. They selected as their ambassador Lesley, then official of Aberdeen, but afterwards bishop of Ross, and he was commissioned to assure the queen of their attachment and devotion.

The departure of Lesley, as well as that of the lord James, was delayed by the arrival of the lairds of Craigmillar, Findlater, Blanern, and Auchtermuchty, Mary's four commissioners, who delivered her message according to their instructions. Lesley then proceeded direct to France, while the lord James took his way through England, in order that he might communicate with Elizabeth and her ministers. The object of his mission was rather to ascertain Mary's disposition and intentions than to make any direct proposals. It had been resolved by the lords of the congregation that, if she came accompanied with a French army, to renew the war against their liberties which was begun by her mother, they would not receive her as their queen, but that they would seek the protection of Elizabeth. But if it was her intention to return unaccompanied with any foreign force, and to place her confidence in her own subjects, he

was to assure her of their loyalty, and to urge her to come without delay, and to pass through England in order that she might have an interview with Elizabeth. The question which presented most difficulty, and which required the most delicate negotiation, was that of religion; for the catholic faith, to which Mary adhered firmly, had been so entirely proscribed by the parliament, that it was made a punishable crime to celebrate the mass even in private. The more violent of the reformed ministers urged that this law should be strictly enforced with regard to the queen, but the lord James insisted that Mary should be at least allowed the private exercise of the ceremonies of her own faith.

Towards the end of the month of March, the lord James proceeded to England, and was there immediately admitted to an interview with Elizabeth. When she expressed a wish that he should press his sovereign for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured her that he had no public commission, that he went as a private nobleman, and that he only conveyed from the nobility and council a general assurance of loyalty and devotion. Nevertheless, this visit of the lord James to France was considered as an event of great importance, and many were apprehensive that it would expose the protestant cause to danger. Among these was the English ambassador Throckmorton, who wrote to the queen on the 31st of March, "I understand that the lord James of Scotland is appointed to come hither to the queen of Scotland. I am very sorry for it, and so shall be still, till I see the contrary of that fall out which I yet fear by his coming. I learn that this king, by means of the queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion; and for that purpose hath both procured the red hat for him if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeys and benefices in this realm. If advancement or fair words shall win him, he shall not want the one or the other. If he so much esteem the religion he professeth, and the honour of his country and himself, that none of these things shall win him to this devotion, then it is to be feared that they will work ways to keep him still, by fair or foul means." "On the other side," Throckmorton continues, "if he will be won, then your majesty knoweth he may be, and it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your majesty and your realm of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand the king in his best stead for the matters there; so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way, and I believe verily, if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh." But Cecil thought differently from Throckmorton, and the lord James continued his journey, after a friendly warning from the English minister to watch carefully over his own personal safety.

Mary was at this time gradually withdrawing herself from the French court, where her uncles were in disgrace, and she felt that she was herself not viewed with a friendly eye by Catherine de Medicis. In the month of March she went to Joinville to the duke of Guise, who had retired thither, and from thence she proceeded to Nancy, where the duke of Lorraine was residing in similar retirement. When the lord James arrived at Paris on the 4th of April, he found that Mary was at Rheims; and thither, after consulting with Throckmorton, he proceeded and obtained an interview with the young queen on the 14th of the same month. Lesley had arrived before him, and was now one of the favoured attendants at her court; but he failed in his attempt to prejudice her against her brother, although he had been instructed to warn her against him, and to intimate that he nourished designs against her crown. Nevertheless, she received the lord James with the affection of a sister, and his outward air of rough honesty seemed soon to have given him a great influence over her mind. He told her that he came voluntarily to offer her his affectionate counsel and services as one well acquainted with the state of her kingdom. She listened to him with favour, and so far confided in him as to disclose to him her intentions. She stated to him that it was not her intention to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, at least until after her return to Scotland, when she would take the opinion of parliament; and she did not conceal from him her dislike to the friendly alliance between Scotland and England, and her wish to break it, and to restore the old league with France. She said, moreover, that it was her design to return to Scotland by sea, and not to pass through England; and that it was her wish to marry a foreign prince, and not a Scotchman. Her hand was indeed at this time solicited by some of the greatest princes on the continent,

the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the prince of Spain. Having fully informed the lord James of her plans, she dismissed him with a promise to send after him, by a gentleman whom he left for that purpose, a commission authorizing him to assume the government of her kingdom as regent until her return. Dreading the renewed influence of the protestants over her brother, she earnestly warned him against visiting the French court or returning through England.

But under an outward show of extraordinary candour and honesty, the lord James was possessed of profound dissimulation, and Mary was completely deceived by his professions. The real object of his visit was to make himself acquainted with her sentiments and intentions. After quitting Mary's court he went direct to Paris, and in a secret interview with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, informed him of all that had passed between himself and the Scottish queen and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine; and he proceeded thence to England, to consult with Elizabeth. Meanwhile Mary had either received some information of the lord James's interview with Throckmorton, or she had become distrustful of him on account of his steady adherence to protestantism, for she suddenly withdrew her confidence and sent away his gentleman without the promised commission. This change of feeling was probably caused by her catholic advisers, for we learn from the correspondence of the English ambassador that Mary was at this time forming plans against her protestant subjects; that at her suggestion, "love days," or reconciliations, were being made among the catholic nobility, in order to form a united party; and that the French were intriguing extensively in Scotland. The last historian of Scotland has given an extract from a letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, preserved in the state-paper office, dated on the 1st of May, 1561, in which the English ambassador says, "The special cause why she [Mary] hath changed her opinion for the lord James, as I hear, is, that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your majesty, and the observation of the league between your majesty and the realm of Scotland; and also, that neither she nor the cardinal Lorraine could win nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used very great means and persuasions. For which respects the said lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed; and seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the queen his sovereign on your behalf, and showed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his sovereign's indignation would waver him, nor great promises win him, your majesty may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you; and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small stead for the advancement of your desire. And in case your majesty would now in time liberally and honourably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholden to you, it would, in my simple judgment, serve your majesty to great purpose."

The change in Mary's behaviour towards the lord James convinced him that she had adopted a policy more in accordance with the violent catholic sentiments of the Guises, and he was now anxious to hinder or delay her return. He consulted with Elizabeth on various methods for detaining her in France, or for intercepting her if she set sail for Scotland. At length he left the English court, and on the 29th of May he entered Edinburgh, where he found the French ambassador, M. de Noailles, preparing for his departure. The protestants were in general more or less alarmed at the prospect of Mary's return, for they were fully aware of the depth and relentless character of the policy of her French relations, and reports had gone abroad of acts and words of their young queen, which, true or false, were sufficient to excite their worst apprehensions. Among other unguarded expressions, it was said that she had promised to imitate the example set by queen Mary in England, and that she had declared that she was only dissembling with her nobles, in order that she might gradually weaken the reformed party, until they were so much reduced that she could destroy them with ease. The consequence was that the protestant leaders were very little inclined to give ear to the demands of the French ambassador, which are said to have been the renewal of the ancient league with France, and the abandonment of the new one with England; and the restoration of their livings and revenues to the catholic priests. "To these demands," we are told, "it was replied that with regard to the ancient league with France, they were not conscious of having violated it, but on the

contrary it had been many times broken by the French, and especially lately by their fighting against their liberty, and endeavouring to reduce their ancient and unoffending ally to slavery. The treaty with England they said they could not dissolve, without being considered most ungrateful wretches, who repaid the greatest favour by the most grievous injustice, and who conspired against the welfare of those who had preserved their liberty; and, with regard to the restoration of the priesthood, they neither acknowledged the order nor the use of those whom he called priests." Instead, indeed, of listening to the pleas of M. de Noailles in their favour, the parliament passed an act for demolishing the monasteries, and persons were sent into different parts of the country to put it into execution. With this reply, M. de Noailles left Edinburgh on the 7th of June, on his return to France, little satisfied with the result of his mission.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MARY'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND.

It was now evident that Mary had resolved to return to Scotland immediately, and it was known that she was making her preparations accordingly, but many of the circumstances connected with her departure from France are still involved in much mystery. A letter from the Spanish ambassador in France, M. de Chantonnay, written on the 19th of June, informed the king of Spain that Throckmorton had been commissioned by Elizabeth to urge Mary to pass through England, and at the same time to express the desire of the English queen for a personal interview, and the promise of a safe-conduct through her kingdom. Mary was determined at this time not to land in England, and Catherine de Medicis had written both to the king of Spain and to the duchess of Parma, to secure her a good reception if she should chance to be obliged to put into any port in the Netherlands, as it was her intention to sail along that coast. The Spanish ambassador further stated that Throckmorton had urged the Scottish queen to adopt the protestant faith, and that she had replied with some warmth that she would remain a catholic, even if she were the only one in Scotland. Between this date, and the end of the month, the sentiments of Elizabeth had undergone an entire change, which appears, by the correspondence in the State Paper Office and other collections, to have been chiefly caused by the apprehensions of the Scottish protestants, and their desire that Mary's return should be delayed. On the 30th of June, Cecil wrote as follows to Randolph in Scotland:—"You see our opinion here is that it shall do much hurt in Scotland if the queen should come thither before things be better established. To stay her is no better way than that she and her friends in France may find lack of conformity there to the end proposed by her, which is to subvert the course of religion, and to withdraw the good will of hers hitherward; whether it be rightly judged of here or no, I know not. I have upon this news of her coming wished to have had but one hour's conference with my lord of Lethington."

Singularly enough, at the very moment when Elizabeth determined that Mary should not pass through her dominions, Mary's intentions suddenly underwent a contrary change, and she determined to ask for a safe-conduct. On the return of M. de Noailles from Scotland, Throckmorton had been directed to make another effort to obtain Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, which she again refused, informing him that she had now resolved to return to Scotland, where she would consult with the estates of her kingdom, without whose advice she would not ratify the treaty; and she told him that it was her intention to withdraw all the French soldiers from Scotland, and to do what she could to satisfy the queen of England, and secure her friendship. Throckmorton urged that there could be no necessity for delaying the ratification of the treaty until she

obtained the advice of the nobles and estates of her realm, as it was by their deed and consent that the treaty was made; to which she replied, "Yea, by some of them, but not by all. It will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of." It is evident from this that the Scottish queen hoped by some means or other, after her arrival in Scotland, to get together a party sufficiently strong to enable her to undo all that had been done during the previous year. In the course of this interview, she said to Throckmorton, "I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor take upon them things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know," she continued, "there is much ado in my realm about the matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion to me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear my subjects will take in hand." The ambassador urged upon her the great change which had taken place in Scotland, and the fact that a majority of her subjects were protestants, which she did not deny; but she added, "I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me."

At the end of June Mary sent D'Oysel to England, to obtain a safe conduct through her dominions, and he took with him a gentleman who was to return with Elizabeth's answer, while D'Oysel himself proceeded to Scotland to prepare for her reception. D'Oysel, gained over probably by English money, betrayed his mistress. Before leaving Paris, he visited Throckmorton, and informed him of all Mary's intended movements; and on reaching England he made similar disclosures to Elizabeth, and is said even to have advised with her on the means of hindering her voyage. In her public interview with the French envoy, Elizabeth appears to have allowed herself to be betrayed into some passion, and she not only refused the safe conduct, but instead of permitting him to go forwards to Scotland, she sent him back to Paris to be himself the bearer of her reply, and to communicate again with Throckmorton. In a letter to the earl of Sussex, written on the 26th of July, Cecil tells him, "Monsieur d'Oysel came from the Scots queen, with the request that the queen his mistress might have a safe conduct to pass along our sea-coasts, and himself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace, made at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur d'Oysel was also gently required to return with this answer; what will follow we shall shortly see. This proceeding will like (*please*) the Scots well."

No one appears to have been more astonished at this change in Elizabeth's policy than Throckmorton, who wrote to Cecil as follows on the 26th of July:—"I do somewhat marvel at this resolution on the queen of Scotland's demand for a passage; and the rather that, by all former writings and messages, it seemed to me that her majesty was of the mind to have the said queen enticed to go from hence, and to be advised by the councillors of her own realm, where, as I take it, many occasions of unquietness and practice might be taken away that her being here might work, both by the heads of such as here she is ruled by, and also by the solicitation of such princes as like to entertain, cumber, and be desirous of her; which to do, neither the one nor the other cannot have such commodity if she were in Scotland. I think also upon that you write, that your friends in Scotland will most allow that resolution; whereat I somewhat muse, seeing the lord James, at his late being here, wrought what he could, and in the same mind hath continued, to persuade the said queen his sister to come home; and if he be now of another mind, I know not what he meaneth. But if he persist in his former opinion, then it may be feared that you shall offend more than the queen of Scotland."

On the same day that Throckmorton wrote this letter, M. de Chantonnay, in a long dispatch from Paris, informed the king of Spain of an interview he had had with the English ambassador, who had announced to him Elizabeth's determination to refuse the safe conduct to the queen of Scots.

The reasons Throckmorton on this occasion alleged for the refusal were, the non-ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the apprehension that when Mary had established herself in Scotland, she would marry the king of Sweden, and then with his assistance attempt to enforce her claim to Elizabeth's crown and restore Romanism. M. de Chantonnay was pressed by Throckmorton to declare his opinion on this measure, but he merely expressed his surprise at the sudden change in Elizabeth's policy, and his fear that this slight upon Mary would have the effect of reviving the old national hatred between England and Scotland. It is amusing to see how imperfectly the continental powers were at this time acquainted with the internal condition and affairs of our island.

It was this same day, also, that Mary chose for giving a final audience to the ambassador Throckmorton, an account of which he gave in a long dispatch quoted from the state-paper office by Tytler. She was deeply offended at Elizabeth's refusal, and when he was introduced, she commanded all her attendants to withdraw, and then, alluding to the passionate behaviour of the English queen in her interview with M. d'Oysel, she said, "I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen your mistress was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysel." After this rather severe sarcasm, Mary proceeded, "There is nothing, monsieur l'ambassadeur, doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself as to require of the queen your mistress that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. [Elizabeth was at this time on one of her progresses.] I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for though the late king your master used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, monsieur l'ambassadeur, I came hither safely; and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen your mistress and me was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think that the queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour." Mary then added, with still more warmth, "Indeed, your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind (*intend*) to ask it. But, monsieur l'ambassadeur, let your mistress think that it will be deemed very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impeach my going into my own country. I ask of her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects. And yet I know there be in her realm some that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the same mind she is of, neither in religion nor in other things. The queen your mistress doth say that I am young, and do lack experience; but I have age enough and experience to behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a queen and my next kinswoman."

We cannot but acknowledge that in this high-spirited remonstrance Mary betrayed an irritation of feeling towards her own protestant subjects, which ill accorded with her declarations of forgiveness and oblivion, and which boded no good settlement for the future. The allusion to Elizabeth's catholic subjects showed that the plan of arming them against her government had been thought of, and could not but act as a warning to her. Throckmorton made the best excuses for his mistress that he could, and reminded Mary of her assumption of the English title and arms, and of her refusal to ratify the treaty, to which she returned the same answers as on former occasions.

Mary was at this time on her way to the coast. She had left Paris on the 21st of July, and proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, accompanied by the king of France, the queen-mother, Catherine de Medecis, the king of Navarre, her uncles the Guises, and the principal members of the family of Lorraine. She remained at St. Germain till the 25th, when she took leave of the royal family, and continued her journey, accompanied by the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and many other distinguished persons. We trace her on her route at Beauvais on the 2nd of August, at Abbeville on the 7th, and at Calais on the 9th. On the 12th of August, Cecil wrote to the earl of Sussex, "The Scottish queen was the 10th of this month at Boulogne, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither those in Scotland nor we here do like her going home. The queen's majesty hath three ships in the north seas to preserve the fishers from pirates. I think they will be sorry to see her pass." On the 11th of August, Mary had sent lord Henry Stuart of St. Colme from Calais to Elizabeth, to state again her reasons for not ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and her answers to the other articles of complaint. He was to say that the treaty was one between the queen of England and the king of France, and that therefore, since the death of her husband had changed her position, it did not concern her; that as it specified the late king her husband, it was rendered informal by his death, and required to be drawn up anew before she could sign it; that as all the French forces had been withdrawn from Scotland except those allowed by the treaty, and she had now ordered those to be sent home, she had more than fulfilled the treaty; that the fort of Eyemouth, and all new fortifications, had been demolished; that since the death of the late king, the Scottish queen had not used the arms and title of England and Ireland, and as they had been used on buildings and in acts belonging to France, she had not the power to efface them; that, having forgiven and forgotten all offences committed by her subjects, she was now returning to Scotland with the resolution to live in good accord with them; that nevertheless she was sending the lord of St. Colme to Scotland to take the advice of her nobility on the ratification of the treaty, and she begged he might be allowed a safe-conduct to pass through England; and she prayed Elizabeth to believe in her good intentions, and in her desire for her friendship.

At length, on the 14th or 15th of August (the day is differently stated by different authorities), taking advantage of a fair wind, Mary embarked. She was accompanied in her voyage by three of her uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbœuf, by some Scots of rank, and by several French noblemen, among whom were Damville, Brantôme, Castelnau de Mauvissière, and Chastellart. From Brantôme we learn the circumstances of her departure. When her ship sailed, Mary remained on deck, and never turned her eyes from the French coast till night veiled it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread on the deck, and laid herself on it to rest, having given strict orders that her attendants should awake her at daybreak, if the coast of France were still visible. During the night there was a calm, and the ship made little progress, so that in the morning the coast might still be discerned in the distance. The queen sat up in her bed, and watched it intently until at last it disappeared, when she bade an affectionate and sorrowful adieu to the country of her youth: "Farewell, France!" she said, "beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" A favourable wind then sprung up, and she proceeded rapidly towards her native land.

Elizabeth is accused of having sent out a fleet to intercept her, though this statement still admits of doubt. We know that three English ships were cruising in the Scottish seas to protect the fishermen from the pirates who then infested those parts, but the expression in the letter from Cecil to Sussex, last quoted, will perhaps hardly bear the construction that they were commissioned to capture the queen of Scots. It is certain, however, that Mary and her friends were apprehensive of some design of this kind, and she accordingly held her course along the coast of Flanders as far as Zealand. Assisted by a thick fog, she passed unobserved, and landed at Leith early on the 19th of August. She remained there till evening, and then proceeded to Edinburgh and took up her abode in the residence of her ancestors, the palace of Holyrood. One of her ships, which had been separated from the rest, and which had on board the earl of Eglinton, was captured by the English cruisers and carried into port, but as soon as it had been examined, it was released and pursued its course.

BOOK V.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST BEGINNINGS OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

CONTRARY to the general expectation, Mary at first followed a course of extreme moderation, and seemed most anxious to secure the attachment of her protestant subjects. She had been received by her subjects with great pomp, and with the warmest manifestation of joy. The satisfaction of having once more a sovereign among them was increased by her beauty and graceful manners, and there could be no doubt of the sincerity of their professions of loyalty, although the rudeness of Scottish manners and the stiffness and harshness of Scottish protestantism, grated upon a mind which had been accustomed from childhood to the courtly manners of France. One of her first steps was to publish a proclamation, declaring her resolution to maintain the protestant form of worship which she found established, and forbidding any one to interfere with it on pain of death. Aware of the strong and intolerant feelings of the reformed ministers, she sent for John Knox, in the hope of gaining him over by gentle means. When he came into her presence, she began by expostulating with him on the violent character of his celebrated book against female government, and pointed out to him its dangerous tendency to excite subjects against their rulers. Knox replied, that he had rebuked idolatry and persuaded people to worship God according to his word, which he imagined was very different from provoking people to rebellion, inasmuch as the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping leads all good subjects to obey the prince from their heart. But he excused his book on the plea that it contained matters of opinion only, and not of conscience, and declared that he should be an obedient subject as long as the prince abstained from persecuting God's true servants. He contended that in matters of religion, Christians were bound to obey God in preference to man, and he gave instances from the bible and the first ages of Christianity, of men who refused to acknowledge the idolatrous faith of kings and emperors. The queen interrupted him with the remark, that these men did not resist. Knox argued that the refusal to obey a command was itself resistance. "But," said Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." That, Knox observed, was merely because they did not possess the power. At this reply, Mary became a little excited: "What!" she said, "do you maintain that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," said the reformer, "if princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to kings by their subjects, than to parents by their children; and yet, if a father or mother be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the frenzy be overpast." Then, fixing his eye steadily upon the queen and raising his voice, he continued, "It is even so, madame, with princes that would murder the children of God who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." Mary stood for a moment silent and astonished at the menacing tone of the preacher, who, to use the words of Randolph in one of his letters to Cecil, had "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her weep." Mary is said to have burst into tears, until, encouraged by some words of the lord James (the only other person present), she recollected herself, and said with offended dignity, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; they must do what they



Engraved by W. T. Fry.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

OB. 1587.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF MORTON.

list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject unto them, and not they to me." "God forbid," said Knox, "that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is, that both princes and subjects should obey God, who has in his word enjoined kings to be nursing fathers and queens nursing mothers to his church." "Yea," said Mary, "this is indeed true; but yours is not the church that I will nourish. I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it the true church of God." This somewhat unguarded expression of Mary's resolution to support popery drew forth another indignant reply, and Knox launched out into a violent attack upon the Romish church, until the queen was called away to dinner, and the conference ended.

Many of the more moderate leaders of the congregation, among whom were the lord James and Lethington, regretted Knox's violence, but he was supported by the general voice of the ministers, and by the rude zeal of the populace. The queen was indeed obliged to undergo several trials of this kind. A few days after her arrival, she went in procession from Holyrood house to the castle, where she dined in state. She was received at the west gate of the city by five black slaves, apparelled in great magnificence, and twelve of the chief citizens carried the canopy under which she rode through the streets. Pageants had been prepared for the occasion, all partaking of the religious feelings of the reformers, and composed without much tenderness for those of the queen. When she came out of the castle to return to her palace, we are told by an eye-witness, that the first sight she saw was a boy of six years of age, who came as it were from heaven, out of a round globe, and presented her with a bible and psalter and the keys of the gates. Next was performed an interlude on a stage, in which were exhibited Koran, Nathan, and Abiram, burnt at the altar as they were offering strange fire. This was designed as a "terrible signification" of God's vengeance against idolatry, and was levelled at the queen's attachment to the faith of Rome. The earl of Huntley had with great difficulty hindered them from adding to the pageant a popish priest struck with fire from heaven as he was elevating the Host. But the subject which caused most discontent among the protestants was the restoration of the mass in the queen's private chapel. At first the ministers would hardly believe that this would be attempted, and many of them declared that they would rather lose their lives than allow of it. Their preaching produced an immediate effect on some of the more fiery zealots of their party, such as the master of Lindsay, who, when he heard that the queen's mass was about to be celebrated, buckled on his armour, and, collecting his followers, rushed into the court of the palace, and declared aloud that he would put the priests to death. But the lord James placed himself at the door of the chapel, and succeeded with difficulty in appeasing the fury of the multitude.

Knox blamed the lord James with some bitterness for his interference, and his opinion had many supporters. It was a question which brought great uneasiness to this bold reformer's mind, and a letter is still preserved which he wrote to Calvin on the 24th of October, requesting to know his opinion upon it. In this letter, Knox informed Calvin how Mary's return had disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, and that she had not been three days in Scotland before the old idol of the mass was set up. "Some men of weight and authority," he said, "but few in number, have opposed this proceeding, alleging that they cannot with a clear conscience permit that that land, which the Lord by the efficacy of his word has purged of external idolatry, should be again before their eyes defiled with the same pollutions. But because the major part even of those who still agree with us in doctrine have persuaded otherwise, the impiety was allowed then to prevail, and it is now increasing in strength." He proceeds to state that many defended this toleration of their queen's "idolatry," on the pretence that Calvin himself approved of it, and he was anxious to have a statement from him how far this was true. "I confess candidly," he says, "that I never before felt how grave and difficult a thing it was to contend against hypocrisy when masked with piety; I never feared open enemies, when I might hope for victory in the midst of troubles, but now this perfidious falling off from Christ (which by them is called by the gentler name of indulgence,) wounds me so much, that I feel my strength giving way daily under it." Knox appears at this time to have become more reconciled to

the conduct of the lord James, for in sending his salutations to Calvin, he assured him that he was the only one of those who frequented the court who was opposed to these popish practices, "and he so far drawn with the rest that he dared not disturb their idol violently." Randolph had written to Cecil in the middle of September, that the queen's "mass was terrible in all men's eyes;" and but a few days after the date of Knox's letter just quoted, the English agent again referred to the unpopularity of the queen's private religious establishment. "Upon All-hallow day," he says, "the queen had a long mass. That night one of her priests was well beaten for his reward by a servant of the lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again that no man, under pain of confiscation of goods and lands here, say or come unto her own mass, saving her own household that came out of France."

In the midst of this manifestation of discontent the queen was highly offended at the strong protestant feeling displayed in the city of Edinburgh. On the last day of September, Archibald Douglas was elected provost, and two days after proclamation was made at the High Cross, in the name of the new provost and the other municipal officers, commanding all monks, friars, priests, and all other papists and profane persons to quit the town, under pain of being burnt in the cheek and carried through the town in a cart. Mary, in great anger, deposed and imprisoned the provost and baillies, and appointed others in their places, heedless of the expostulations of the citizens.

Mary had not been long in Scotland, before jealousies and feuds began to show themselves among her nobility. The lord James seemed to enjoy her entire confidence; he alone of her nobles had the power of controlling the violence of the protestant party, and the moderation he had already shown made it a matter of the utmost importance for the queen's present policy to secure his support. The earl of Huntley, as the chief of the Scottish catholics, was also in favour at court, but he was a man in whom few trusted, and the queen's uncles, whose mission appears to have had for its object to observe the state of parties in Scotland and advise their niece accordingly, seem to have warned her against him; it is said that Huntley made an offer to them of reducing the whole of the north of Scotland to obedience to the church of Rome, but that they treated it as a mere vain boast. Maitland of Lethington was also in favour, and had been appointed the queen's secretary. The duke of Châtelherault and his son the earl of Arran kept away from court. The duke began to fortify the castle of Dumbarton, apprehensive that the queen would take it from him by force, and Arran remained at St. Andrews. The catholics appear to have attempted to gain them over to their party, and they were apparently encouraged in their discontent by Huntley, and the catholic lords. To all these the favour in which the lord James stood at court was a source of great mortification.

Alarmed at the leaning which Mary seemed to show to the protestants, this party looked to the Guises and to the French alliance for support; and the queen's uncles, although they were well aware of Huntley's crafty and unscrupulous character, knew also that he was very powerful, and held him and the catholics in hand. They had objects in view which rendered it necessary for awhile to give more open encouragement to the protestants. Throckmorton, in France, unravelled their unprincipled schemes for the subversion of protestantism, and made them known to Elizabeth. He learnt that they were distrustful of their niece, and that they had resolved, in case she joined sincerely with the protestant leaders, to desert her and raise a faction in Scotland against her, which was to be led by the duke of Châtelherault and his son the earl of Arran, the earl of Huntley, and the lord Hume.

At this moment the attention of the court was called to the turbulence of the Scottish borderers, and the lord James was dispatched, with the title of the queen's lieutenant, and a powerful force, to reduce them to order. He marched to Jedburgh and Dumfries, and pursuing the border robbers into their strongholds, destroyed their petty fortresses, hanged twenty of the chief offenders, and sent fifty more in fetters to Edinburgh. He then held a meeting with the English wardens for the arrangement of border disputes. This occurred at the end of October and the beginning of November, and during the lord James's absence, an attempt had been made by the Roman catholic clergy to establish themselves at court. But it did not suit the policy of the house of Guise to support them, and their advances were not only received coldly, but Mary soon afterwards yielded to the protestants on a point which

could not fail to give great offence to the catholic priesthood. The protestant ministers had hitherto received no support from the state, and were entirely dependent on the scanty and precarious contributions of their congregations. Their case was brought forward in a general assembly of the church held in Edinburgh in the month of December. The revenues of the ancient church were at this time held partly by the protestant lords, who had obtained possession during the late troubles, and such of the catholic prelates and other beneficed ecclesiastics who still retained possession of the property of the church. The ministers demanded that a portion of the property which had belonged or did belong to the catholic church should be set apart for their support, and although this was strongly opposed by the protestant barons, who were unwilling to give up any of their share of the booty, and by none more than by Lethington, yet at last the proposal was so far agreed to, that the catholic clergy were compelled to surrender one-third of their revenues, as the only means of securing the rest. This third was to be applied to the maintenance of the protestant preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the crown, which had been much dilapidated. It was a very important concession, inasmuch as it amounted to a recognition by the crown of the right of the presbyterian ministers to be supported by the state; but it was so managed as to give satisfaction to nobody. The ministers complained that the great mass of the ancient possessions of the church had gone to enrich lay proprietors, that the crown had benefited by the remainder, and that a very small portion had been set aside for their wants. It appears, however, that the sum thus collected was much less than was expected, for the bishops and abbots had contrived to alienate to strangers a considerable portion of the church lands, with the intention of resuming it if they again came into power, and many of them now evaded the production of their rentals, or gave in false estimates. This was not the only cause of discontent given to the protestant preachers in this assembly; for the barons of their party had refused to accept the book of discipline, and they had determined to yield to the queen the private celebration of mass.

Mary had acted with much policy in this transaction, for, without giving her protestant opponents any great advantage, she had managed to add considerably to the influence of the crown, which was the aim of her French advisers. Even Cecil looked with dislike on this measure, and a letter to that minister, written by Randolph on the 15th of January, speaks on this subject with some asperity, and gives us a glimpse at the manners of the court, where apparently had been brought the freedom and licentiousness of that of France. "Where your honour," says Randolph, "liketh better the diminution of the bishops and other livings, than the augmentation of the crown therewith, what can I better say than that which I find written, *merx meretricis, et ad meretrices reversa est* (it is the goods of the harlot, and to harlots it has returned). I find it neither done for zeal to Christ's religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more. I find not also that all other men, besides the queen, are pleased with this: the duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Abroath; the bishop of St. Andrews [the duke's brother] from as much of his livings; the lord Claude, the duke's son, in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh; the abbot of Kilwinning, as much, besides divers others of that race; so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a begging." He adds, "I know not whether this be able to make the duke a papist again; for now *conferunt consilia* (they hold council together), the bishop and he."

It is not difficult to see that the whole policy of the Guises at the commencement of Mary's reign in Scotland was directed to one aim, that of obtaining from Elizabeth a formal recognition of her title to the English crown. They were convinced now of the error which had been committed in prematurely publishing her claims during the lifetime of her husband, the late king of France, and they now hoped, by making use of the protestants, to persuade Elizabeth to obtain an act of parliament declaring that Mary was the next heir. The reason of their anxiety to effect this object is now easily seen; if their plans for the suppression of protestantism succeeded, and they could employ the whole force of the catholic princes against England, Elizabeth being set aside for heresy, Mary would at once

succeed in her place without any room for opposition, and the house of Guise would be raised to the highest pitch of its ambition. Elizabeth no doubt penetrated these designs, but, independent of this consideration, the question of the succession was one on which the English queen was particularly delicate, and it required the greatest caution in moving it to her. Mary had scarcely arrived in Scotland, when the duke of Guise, in France, entered into communication with Throckmorton on the subject. The lord James and Lethington, the two great leaders of the protestants in Scotland, entered warmly into this plan, which they looked upon as one which would not only establish a lasting alliance between the two queens, but which would protect themselves and their party, and they laboured cordially to promote it. It had occurred both to Lethington and to the lord James during the period between the death of Francis and the return of Mary to her kingdom, and both had suggested it to the English ministers, but we cannot discover that the matter then proceeded any further. After Mary's arrival in Scotland, she had studiously sought the friendship of Elizabeth, and the amicable feelings between the two queens seemed to be gaining strength. Letters of mutual congratulation passed between them, and when the French nobles who had accompanied Mary to Scotland returned, they were received at Berwick with unusual pomp. The Scottish queen chose this moment for making a formal application to Elizabeth, and she employed on this difficult errand Maitland of Lethington. He was charged with a message from Mary expressive of her great regard for the English queen, and of her earnest desire to promote the alliance and friendship between the two countries. He is said also to have carried with him letters from the Scottish nobility, filled with professions of gratitude to Elizabeth for her former good offices, and requesting her to show kindness and courtesy towards their queen, both in public and private, in order that the friendship which was now begun, might not only be preserved by good offices, but that it might be daily knit closer; and they promised that they on their part would omit no opportunity of showing their zeal and anxiety for the preservation of perpetual amity between the two kingdoms. The ambassador then, according to his instructions, suggested that there was one certain way to bury in oblivion all ancient animosity, and destroy the source of discord for the future, which was, that the queen of England should procure an act of parliament, and confirm it by her own authority, declaring the queen of Scots the lawful heir to the English crown, next to herself and her children, if she should have any. After Lethington had advanced many arguments to show how equitable such an act would be, and of how much advantage to all Britain, he added, that no one should more earnestly labour in settling this question than herself, insomuch as Mary was her nearest relation, and expected such a declaration from her affection and kindness. Elizabeth replied to this proposal with an air of surprise. "I expected," she said, "a very different embassy from your queen, and I wonder that she has forgotten what, after a long contention, she promised before her departure from France, the ratification of the treaty entered into at Leith, which she was to perform as soon as she arrived in her own country. I have been long enough satisfied with words, and it is now time, if she have any sense of her own dignity, that her actions should correspond with her professions of friendship."

Lethington, in reply, stated that he had been sent on this mission before Mary had begun to apply herself to public business, that she had been engaged in receiving her nobles, most of whom she had never seen before, and that many, especially those from the north, without whom she was unwilling to enter upon so important a subject, had not yet presented themselves at court. Elizabeth then demanded with some warmth, "What need has your queen for consulting whether she shall ratify that which she has bound herself by her signature and seal to ratify?" The ambassador replied that he had no instructions on this point, and that therefore he was not prepared to enter upon the question. From this conversation Elizabeth returned to the proposal made by Lethington. "I have particularly noticed," she said, "that you have declared verbally in the name of your queen, and what you have said in the name of the nobles in support of it, you have reminded me, that she being sprung of the blood of the kings of England, I am naturally bound by that tie to love her as my nearest relation, a fact which I neither can nor wish to deny. I have shown openly to the whole world, in all my actions, that I never attempted anything against her safety or the tranquillity of her kingdom;

and they who are acquainted with my most intimate thoughts and feelings, are sensible that, even when your queen gave me the most justifiable cause of offence, by usurping my arms and laying claim to my kingdom, nothing could ever induce me to believe but that those grounds of animosity originated with others, and not with her. But, however these things may be, I hope she would not deprive me of my sceptre while I live, or prevent my children, if I should happen to have any, from succeeding; and if, in the meantime, any casualty should happen to me, she will not find that I have done anything which can either hurt or weaken whatever right she may choose to assert to the English throne. What that right is, I have neither thought it necessary to inquire, nor am I inclined very rigidly to call it in question; I leave it to those who are concerned to get this subject decided by the judges. But if your queen's claim be just, this she may assuredly expect from me, that I shall do nothing to injure it; and God is my witness, that I know no one, next to myself, that I would prefer before her, or who could possibly exclude her, if the succession were disputed." Elizabeth concluded by stating that, on so grave and weighty a subject, now for the first time seriously agitated, she required a longer time for consideration; and thus the ambassador was dismissed from his audience.

A few days after this interview, the Scottish ambassador was again called to court, and Elizabeth assumed a tone still less conciliating. "I wonder exceedingly," she said, "what the nobles intend by making such a demand immediately upon the arrival of their queen, especially knowing that the cause of the former offence is not removed. But what do they demand? That I, after being so seriously injured, should gratify her without any satisfaction having been given me. This demand is little better than a threat; and if they persist in it, I desire them to know that I am not more deficient than they in strength at home, and allies abroad, who will defend my right." Lethington declared that, so far from intending disrespect, the nobles had entered upon this question, not merely for the sake of their own queen, but in the hope of thereby establishing the public peace, and strengthening the alliance between the two nations; that they had the less apprehension of giving offence to Elizabeth, from the experience they had had of her former kindness, and that they were influenced in some degree by a wish to provide for their own safety, which would be seriously compromised should the alliance between the two countries be broken. Upon this, Elizabeth entered upon a long justification of her refusal. "If," she said, "I had ever attempted anything which would have lessened the claim of your queen, then there might have been just cause to require that what was wrong should be corrected; but this demand, that, while alive, I should place my grave-clothes constantly before my eyes, is unexampled—nothing like it was ever asked of any prince before; yet I take in good part the design of your nobles in asking it, and the more so, because I perceive in it their desire to honour their queen and promote her dignity. Nor do I less commend their prudence, which would provide for their own security, and spare the effusion of Christian blood, which I confess could not be avoided, should any faction arise to lay claim to the kingdom. But what faction of this kind could there be, or to what strength could they trust? However, passing this over, suppose I were of my own accord inclined to grant what they require, do they think I would do it sooner to satisfy the wishes of the nobles, than to gratify the inclinations of their queen? There are, besides, many other considerations which render me averse to this measure. First, I am aware how dangerous it is to touch this string, and it has always appeared to me prudent to abstain from whatever might tend to bring the right of succession into dispute; for there has already been so much controversy and debate about legal marriage, about bastards and legitimate children—each, according to his inclination, flattering one party or the other—that on account of these disputes I have myself hitherto delayed entering into the matrimonial state. Once, when I publicly accepted the crown, I married myself to this kingdom, as a pledge of which behold the ring I constantly wear; with regard to any other marriage, however that may be, I am determined, as long as I live, I shall be queen of England. When I am dead, let whoever has the best right succeed me; and if that right belong to your queen, I shall in the mean time do nothing to obstruct it; but if any other have a superior claim, it is unjust to demand that I should openly injure it. If there be

any law against your queen's succession, I am ignorant of it, nor shall I willingly inquire too strictly into the matter; but if any such exist, I, when I ascended the throne, swore to my subjects that I would not change their laws. Now with regard to your second assumption, that a declaration of the succession would bind our friendship more closely, I am afraid that it would have a contrary effect. Can you believe that I would willingly have my funeral robes constantly before my eyes? Kings have frequently this peculiarity, that they dislike even their children who are to succeed them by right. What dislike had Charles VII. of France to Louis IX.? And he again to Charles VIII.? Of late, how did Francis hate Henry? It is therefore likely I might become averse to my relation, if she were once declared my heir, in the same manner that Charles VII. became indisposed towards Louis XI. To this must be added, and this possesses the greatest weight with me, that I know the inconstancy of this people. I have seen how tired they are apt to be of a present government, and how eagerly they turn their eyes towards the next successors. I know it is natural for many, as they say, to adore the rising rather than the setting sun. But, to pass over other examples, I have learnt this from my own times. When my sister Mary reigned, how ardently did many desire to see me seated upon her throne, and how solicitous were they in advancing my interests; nor am I ignorant what perils some men would have encountered to have accomplished their design, if my will had kept pace with their wishes. But now perhaps the same persons have not the same affection for me; like the boy who, when asleep, rejoices over an apple that he has had offered to him in a dream, but in the morning when he awakes and perceives his disappointment, his joy is turned into tears. So is it with those; when I was plain Elizabeth, they attended me with the greatest affection, and if by chance I looked pleasantly upon any one of them, he thought immediately within himself that, as soon as I ascended the throne, I should reward him, rather according to his desire, than to the services he had done me; but now when the event has not answered this expectation, there are many who would desire a change on the chance of bettering their fortunes. For no wealth of a prince, however great, is capable of satisfying the insatiable appetite of men; but if the affections of my subjects have grown weaker, and their inclinations are changed, because I am moderate in bestowing largesses, or from any other trivial cause, what might I not expect of these discontented subjects, if a certain successor to the throne were appointed, to whom, upon every disgust, they might resort, and to whom when irritated they might carry their complaints? To what danger should I then expose myself, do you think, with so powerful and near a prince for my successor, to whom inasmuch as I added to her strength by confirming her succession, in so far should I take away from my own security? And this danger can neither be averted by any degree of caution or restraint of law, nor is it easy for princes to whom the hopes of a crown are presented, to confine themselves within the bounds of law or equity. If, indeed, my successor were once publicly declared, I should never after consider my situation secure." At another audience, a few days afterwards, the ratification of the treaty was again discussed, and Elizabeth, some short time afterwards, sent sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland on an embassy, the object of which was to prevail with Mary to delay it no longer. In October, 1561, Mary proposed that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to reconsider and revise the treaty, but her answer was not satisfactory to the English queen, and on the 5th of January the queen of Scots wrote her the following letter, which is an interesting declaration of her sentiments at this time. "Whereas," says Mary, "by your letters of the 23rd of November, we understand that, for our answer given to sir Peter Mewtas, as he has reported it, ye see no cause to be therein so well satisfied as ye looked for, we cannot well imagine what lack could be found therein; for as our meaning in the self (*same*) is and has been sincere, just, and upright, so in the uttering of our mind to him we so tempered our answer, as we thought might well stand with your contentment and quietness of us both; and to that end wished that the treaty, which ye required to be ratified, might be reviewed by some commissioners sufficiently authorized on both parties; whereunto ye have in your letter apponed (*applied*) such a just and necessary consideration, that the world shall not, by our dealing by open assembly of ambassadors, take occasion to judge that the amity is not sound, but in some points shaken or crazed (*weakened.*) As we not only do well allow, but also take

the same for a plain declaration of your good mind and an infallible token of your natural good love meant towards us. And, therefore, where ye think it better that we should communicate either privily to your servant Thomas Randolph, or rather by our own letters to you, what be the very just causes that move us thus to stay in the ratification, we do willingly embrace that same rather, and presently (*now*) mean so plain to utter our mind unto you, as ye shall well perceive the memory of all former strange accidents is clean extinguished upon our part, and that now, without any reservation, we deal frankly with you, in such sort as is conventient for two sisters professing such firm amity to treat together. We leave at this time to touch in what time that the treaty was past, by whose commandent, what ministers, how they were authorized, or particularly to examine the sufficiency of their commission; which heads are not so slender, but the least of them is worthy of some consideration; only will we presently touch that head which is meet for us to provide, and that which on your part is not inconvenient, but such as in honour, justice, and reason, ye may well allow. How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by very inspection of the treaty itself ye may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger for it. We trust, being so near your cousin, ye would be loath we should receive so manifest an injury as awnterlie (*perhaps*) to be debarred from that title which in possibility may fall unto us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that ye deal friendly with us; we will have at this present no judge of the equity of our demand but yourself. If we had such a matter to treat with any other prince, there is no person whose advice we would rather follow; so great account do we make of your amity towards us, and such an opinion have we conceived of your uprightness in judgment, that although the matter partly touch yourself, we dare adventure to put mickle (*much*) in your hands. We will require nothing of you but that which we could well find in our heart to grant unto you, if the like case were ours. For that treaty, in so far as concerns us, we can be content to do all that of reason may be required of us, or rather to enter into anew, of such substance as may stand without our own prejudice, in favour of you and of the lawful issue of your body; provided always that our interest in that crown, failing of yourself and the lawful issue of your body, may therewithal be put in good surety, with all circumstances necessary and in form requisite; which matter being once in this sort knit up betwixt us, and by the means thereof the whole seed of dissension taken up by the root, we doubt not but hereafter our behaviour together in all respects shall represent to the world as great and firm amity as by stories is expressed to have been at any time betwixt whatsoever couple of dearest friends mentioned in them—let be to surpass the present examples of our own age—to the great comfort of our subjects, and perpetual quietness of both the realms, which we are bound in the sight of God by all good means to procure. We leave to your own consideration what reasons we might allege to confirm the equity of our demand, and what is probable that others would allege if they were in our place, which we pass over with silence. Ye see what abundance of love nature has wrought in our heart towards you, whereby we are moved rather to admit something that others perchance would esteem to be an inconvenient, than leave any root of breach; and to set aside the manner of treating accustomate amongst other princes, leaving all ceremonies, to propose and utter the bottom of our mind, nakedly, without any circumstances; which fashion of dealing, in our opinion, deserves to be answered in the like frankness. If God will grant a good occasion that we may meet together, which we wish may be soon, we trust ye shall more clearly perceive the sincerity of our good meaning, than we can express by writing. In the mean season we desire you heartily, as ye term us your good sister, so imagine with yourself that we are so in effect, and that ye may look for no less assured and firm amity at our hands than if we were your natural sister indeed; whereof ye shall from time to time have good experience, so long as it shall please you to continue on your part the good intelligence begun betwixt us. And thus, right high, right excellent, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the tuition of the Almighty."

In the month of December, 1561, Paul de Foix was sent from France as ambassador to

Mary, to compliment her on her safe arrival in her own kingdom, and an ambassador from Savoy, the marquis of Morretta, arrived in Edinburgh at the same time. In the suite of the latter came the celebrated David Riccio, or Rizzio. De Foix, after his mission to Scotland, was sent, in the February of 1562, as resident ambassador of the king of France in England, where he was charged also to watch over the affairs of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE OF THE LORD JAMES; ARRAN'S MADNESS; PROPOSED MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO QUEENS; REBELLION OF THE EARL OF HUNTLEY.

Amidst these negotiations, the lord James seemed to be daily rising in favour with his young sovereign. On the 7th of February, Mary created him earl of Mar, and next day she celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence his marriage with Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl Marshall. We are assured that the solemnity of this event was "such as the like had not been seen before." The whole nobility of the realm attended at the ceremony in the church of St. Giles, and conveyed the married couple in great state from thence to the palace of Holyrood, where the queen gave a great banquet. Randolph, in his correspondence with Cecil, told him how devotedly Mary pledged the health of the queen of England in a cup of gold which weighed eighteen or twenty ounces, and then sent the cup as a present to the ambassador, as he was sitting in the midst of her nobles. The evening was spent in amusements of various descriptions, and the queen, in honour of the marriage, created a number of knights. The festivities, which were much in the taste of the young queen, were kept up next day. Mary's taste for pleasure was, indeed, strongly pronounced, and it is evident, not only from the complaints of the ministers, but from information derived from other sources, that her court at this time was gay and licentious.

This marriage was followed by an event that caused a great sensation among the Scottish nobility, between some of whom feuds had been springing up ever since the queen's return, and in several instances their quarrels had disturbed the peace of the capital. Huntley and Bothwell, two nobles equally devoid of honourable principles, were generally, one or the other, at the bottom of these tumults. Although the Hamiltons had been received at court, their attendance was not constant, and they seemed only to come from time to time to save themselves from suspicion of disaffection. It is said that the earl of Arran had become violently enamoured of the queen, and he was accused of having plotted to gain possession of her person, and force her into a marriage with him, and this is said to have been made a pretext for the establishment of a body-guard like that which existed in France. In the night of the 29th of March, Arran went mad, and escaping from his father's house by a window, he hurried to Falkland, where the court then was, and accused himself, his father, the duke, the earl of Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, of having entered into a conspiracy to seize the queen, murder the new earl of Mar, and take possession of the government. Bothwell, who was notorious for his profligacy, he charged with being the originator of the plot.

The old writers give us accounts more or less credible of the circumstances of this strange affair. The earldom of Mar had once been in possession of the Hamiltons, but it had been forfeited to the crown for treason, and it is said that Huntley's hostility to the lord James was much increased when the earldom of Mar was given to him. Huntley is said to have made many attempts in vain to undermine the lord James at court, and then, with the aid of the earl of Bothwell, he employed all his talents at intrigue to raise a strong faction against him, and to seduce the Hamiltons into it. This seemed to be the less difficult, as there was a matrimonial alliance between the two families, one of Huntley's sons having

married a daughter of the duke of Châtelherault. Bothwell is said to have first offered his services to the lord James in ridding him of his enemies, the Hamiltons, and, on meeting with an indignant repulse, to have gone over immediately to the Hamiltons, and urged them against the lord James. Bothwell, it is said, suggested to the duke the facility of seizing the person of the queen when she was riding, as was her daily custom at Falkirk, to a short distance from the palace, attended by the new earl of Mar and a very small retinue of unarmed attendants. The earl of Mar, as it was represented, might easily be slain in the scuffle, and thus, having the queen in their power, they might dispose of the government at their pleasure. The young earl of Arran is said to have been dragged into the plot by his father, and to have been an unwilling conspirator. Anxious to save the earl of Mar, he wrote him a private letter to warn him of his danger, and by some mistake of the messenger the reply of the earl of Mar fell into the hands of Arran's father. Upon this, Buchanan, from whom this story is taken, tells us that a consultation was held by the principal conspirators, "and Arran was committed to close confinement by his father, from which, having escaped during the night, he hurried to Falkland. As soon as his flight was known, horsemen were dispatched in all directions after him, to apprehend and bring him back, but he concealed himself in a wood during the night, and reaching Falkland in the morning, he gave a detailed account of the conspiracy. Soon after Bothwell and Gawin Hamilton, who had undertaken to carry it into execution, followed him into the castle of Falkland, where they were detained by order of the queen. When the whole design was thus made manifest, and the leaders had arrived at the spot, at the time mentioned by Arran, spies were sent out, and reported that horsemen had appeared in many places. Arran, when interrogated respecting the details of the conspiracy, became a little disturbed in his mind—deeply enamoured of the queen, and united in close friendship with the earl of Mar, he greatly desired to be of service to them; yet, at the same time, he wished to free his father, who was too easily drawn into such hazardous enterprises, from any concern in the conspiracy; and his mind, tormented during the solitude of the night between filial affection and love, became so deranged, that his distraction appeared evident, both in his countenance and conversation. There were other previous causes which might likewise affect the young man. Having been educated liberally, and living in a style agreeably to the splendour of his family, till now, that his father, a man of penurious habits, by the advice of some who encouraged his avarice, had reduced his numerous retinue to one servant only. Those who had undertaken to perpetrate the deed were committed to custody, Bothwell to the castle of Edinburgh, and Gawin to Stirling, till the matter should be inquired into. Arran was sent to St. Andrews, whither the queen was proceeding, and ordered to be taken care of in the archbishop's castle. While confined there, during his lucid intervals, he wrote such rational and collected letters, respecting himself and others, that he became suspected of having feigned madness, to free his father from the conspiracy of the murder. The rest he accused constantly and earnestly, and being often brought before the council, when, from the design having been so secretly managed that it was impossible to confirm his testimony by other witnesses, he offered to prove his charge against Bothwell by arms." As the inquiry proceeded, Arran's statements became more incoherent, and his mental derangement more evident. He talked of enchantment and diabolical operations, and declared that he had been bewitched by the mother of the earl of Mar, whom he spoke of as a notorious sorceress.

What we know of the circumstances of this extraordinary case from such writers as Buchanan, who wrote partly from popular rumour, and from the brief notices in Randolph's dispatches, is very unsatisfactory. The conduct of Bothwell and the abbot of Kilwinning appeared suspicious enough to justify their retention in prison. The duke of Châtelherault protested his innocence so earnestly and feelingly, that Mary forgave him all offences which he might have committed towards her, and she proposed to the council that a pension might be granted to the earl of Arran, to allow him to live according to his rank, independent of his father. But in the end she obtained from the latter the surrender of the castle of Dumbarton.

At this time various proposals and suggestions were made for the marriage of the Scottish queen, which took no effect, either from policy, or from dislike on the part of Mary. At the end of April, an ambassador

arrived from Sweden to negotiate a marriage between Mary and the Swedish king, but after being kept in Scotland for some weeks, he returned with an answer declining the proffered alliance. It is said that Mary was guided in her policy on this occasion partly by the wish to give no offence to Elizabeth, to whom also the king of Sweden had offered his hand. The earl of Lennox, and his wife the lady Margaret (daughter of Margaret Tudor and her second husband the earl of Angus, and therefore niece of Henry VIII.,) were at this time living in England with their son the lord Darnley, and had entered into a suspicious intercourse with the catholic faction. This was discovered by Elizabeth, who saw in it, perhaps correctly, a plot for the marriage of the young earl Darnley with the Scottish queen, and she suddenly committed Lennox and his countess to the tower. Mary gave her full approbation to this proceeding, and declared her firm resolution never to unite herself with one of that race.

Indeed the friendship between the two queens seemed at this time to be mutually sincere, and Mary especially was anxious for a personal interview. Two parties, however, in Scotland, were opposed to this step, and from similar motives. The catholics, who had looked with great uneasiness at Mary's concessions to her protestant subjects, were fearful lest the personal influence of Elizabeth might complete the conversion of their queen from the Romish interests; while Knox and the extreme presbyterian party were equally afraid that Mary, in her visit to England, might be persuaded to adopt the prelatical scheme of the English protestants, which they looked upon with as much repugnance as Romanism itself. The principal objection to the meeting that existed in England, seems to have arisen from the discontent at the non-ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the assumption of the English title; but these were not insurmountable difficulties, and towards the end of May, the skilful diplomatist, Maitland of Lethington, was sent as ambassador to England to treat with Elizabeth on this important subject. Lethington's mission was successful; Elizabeth agreed to waive all other considerations, and consented to the meeting, leaving the place and time to be arranged, and as a testimony of her friendship she sent back by Lethington her portrait, as a present to the Scottish queen. The laird of Lethington arrived at Edinburgh on his return on the 12th of July, and proceeded to the court, which was then at Stirling. Mary was overjoyed at his message, and immediately addressed letters to all the nobility of the realm, calling on them to meet her at Edinburgh, for the purpose of making preparations for this important event. There appears to be no doubt that Mary's joy was sincere, but she was doomed to experience a sudden and unexpected disappointment. The great conspiracy against the protestant faith throughout Europe was now gradually developing itself. In France, the state of things became more and more alarming, and Elizabeth, who now felt the necessity of giving her support to the protestant party there, determined to put off the meeting with the Scottish queen, which was intended to have taken place in the autumn, until the following year, that she might remain in the south for the purpose of watching their interests. She accordingly sent sir Henry Sydney as her ambassador to Scotland, in July, with a very warm and cordial message to Mary, expressing the extreme reluctance with which she had delayed the meeting, which she had looked forward to with the greatest pleasure, and stating that she had sent her ambassador to confirm the treaty for the interview, begging her to fix the period at her own pleasure, at any time between the 20th of May and the last day of August in the year ensuing. The sorrow of Mary on receiving this message, as described by her ministers and by the English ambassador, was of the most poignant description. Moreover, she is said to have intimated suspicions of Elizabeth's sincerity, but she was reassured by Sydney's assurance of her friendship and good intentions, and she proposed to confirm the meeting immediately, and to fix the day. It happened that most of Mary's council were at this moment absent, and Lethington thought it prudent to delay till they could be called together; whereupon Mary promised that she would send her final resolution within a month.

Everything we know seems to show that Elizabeth was sincere in her preparations for the meeting. The place first proposed was York, but as the English queen became more anxious to remain in the south, this was changed for Nottingham. The French ambassador in England, in a dispatch of the 11th of July, printed in the collection by M. Teulet, informed the French king

and Catherine de Medicis, that the meeting was to take place on the 8th of September. Four English peers, the earls of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and lord Arundel, were to receive Mary at Berwick, and from the moment she entered England all the charges of herself and her household were to be defrayed by the English treasury. The archbishop of York and the earl of Rutland, as governor and lieutenant-general of the county, were to receive her with all possible honours on the borders of Yorkshire, and when she approached York, she was to be met by the duke of Norfolk, who would conduct her to Southwell in Nottinghamshire, where the queen of England was to meet her, and they were to proceed in company thence to Nottingham.

Such is the programme of their intended interview, as it was stated by the ambassador of France, who requested of his sovereign particular instructions for his conduct on this important occasion. For, whatever feeling might exist in England or Scotland, it is certain that at the French court it was looked forward to with great apprehension, and that there was a wish to hinder it by every possible means. The remarks of M. de Foix, in the dispatch just referred to, are worthy of particular attention. "The experience of the past," he says, "has shown (what in fact is probable in itself), that princes do not willingly incur the great expense required by such interviews for mere friendship and good-will, and to salute and see each other, but they have always a design for their common profit, and often to the prejudice of a third; as is witnessed by the interviews of the kings of France with those of Spain and England, and the popes. On which account such visits have always been looked upon with suspicion by neighbouring princes. And even supposing this meeting had the effect only of uniting the two queens in a strict friendship, this would be prejudicial to the king, to whom it has always been very advantageous that the English should have an enemy at their back, to hinder them from easily undertaking anything in France. Which being well known to preceding kings of France since the time of Charlemagne, and especially since Philip de Valois of good memory, they have by all means hindered the reconciliation and union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and king Charles VII., who by his prudence and courage drove out the English, married his son the dauphin to a daughter of king James III. of Scotland, named Margaret; who afterwards succeeding to the throne as Louis XI., preserved all his life this amity, being accustomed to call the Scots the rampart and bulwark of the French against the English. And king Francis I. also, both by marriages and other means, always tried to preserve this amity; insomuch that in the year 1542, when king Henry VIII. of England went to York to hold an interview with the king of Scotland his nephew, who had promised to come and meet him at York, to arrange a marriage between his son Edward and her who is now queen of Scotland, and by this means to unite the two kingdoms, he was the means that the king of Scotland, contrary to his promise, did not go. This amity will naturally render it more easy for the queen of England to undertake any enterprises she will in France, even for the recovery of Calais; to which the great preparations she has made and makes daily, in munitions, arms, ships, and other sea equipages, seem to tend; on account of which, it seems necessary, in anticipation of the future, to retain the Scots in this island in league and amity with the king. Not only their sex, age, and relationship, but the profits of both princesses, seem to give an occasion for amity between them. For the queen of England will see in it a great advantage and security, for it will deprive her subjects, both catholics, who are in no small number, and others, from receiving any support from the queen of Scots, . . . while the latter will satisfy Elizabeth in anything to obtain a declaration in her favour relating to the succession."

With these declared sentiments, no one can doubt that there was a foreign influence employed to hinder a meeting between Mary and Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Mary fulfilled the promise she made to sir Henry Sydney, and a copy of the treaty for the meeting, ratified and signed by the queen of Scotland, is preserved in the British Museum. By the first article of this treaty, it was "accorded by the commissioners (Maitland of Lethington and lord William Howard), upon certain knowledge of the natural affection that both the said queens of Scotland and England do bear one to the other, and consequently of their mutual earnest desire to meet personally together, that both the said

queens shall, by the permission of Almighty God, meet together at the city of York, or in default thereof at some convenient place betwixt the said city and the river Trent, in the realm of England, betwixt the 20th of August and the 20th of September" [1563.] The second article declared that, "because the meeting of the two queens should be full of joy, and give cause both to continue their present entire love and affections, as also to increase the same, it is accorded that neither of them, nor any of their councillors, servants, or subjects, shall do anything of one part to the other that may be prejudicial to either of the said queens, the realms, or the liberties of the same, provided, nevertheless, that the queen of England may at her pleasure require the ratification of the treaty made at Edinburgh, 6th of July, 1560. The said queen of Scots shall not be pressed into anything which she shall show herself to mislike, before that she be freely returned into her own realm, nor that she or any person coming in company with her, and being of her train, shall be challenged or troubled during her abode within the realm of England, for anything past or by-gone before her entry into the realm of England." The next articles provided for the manner in which any offence committed by the Scots in her company against the laws of England should be tried and judged; and that all Scots going on their queen's business should have a safe passage backwards and forwards. It was further provided that, "for the more certain knowledge of the number that shall come with the said queen of Scots, there shall be on the part of the said queen a certificate made in writing of the names and surnames, with their qualities, of all noblemen and persons of great estate, and of the number of all sorts, that shall come into the realm of England by virtue of the said articles; that is to say, the number of such as shall be reputed to be of the said household by itself, and likewise of the train of every other nobleman attending upon her; which certificate shall be delivered at the least ten days before her coming to the frontier, to the warden of the marches, and by him shall be delivered to such principal person of the nobility as shall be sent from the queen of England to receive the said queen of Scots upon the frontier, and to conduct her to the place of interview. And it is further accorded that the said queen of Scots shall, if she please, enter into this realm of England by the town of Berwick, so as her train within that town exceed not the number of three hundred persons at one time, and that in the whole, from the time of her entry until her return, there may pass and repass through the said town the number of three hundred persons, and not above, and the rest to pass by Norham and Wark." The queen was to be permitted, during her stay in England, to use the rites and ceremonies of the Roman catholic religion. In ratifying this treaty, Mary stated that, "seeing that it hath not pleased God to grant unto us both the occasion of this present year to meet together, we have, nevertheless, thought good for the manifest declaration and countenance of our great desire to meet with our said dear sister, to confirm and ratify the tenour of the said articles of accord, which by these presents we do ratify, reserving the time of our meeting unto the next summer, in which time we trust that Almighty God will give remedy to these impediments, remove all occasions tending to the contrary, and will of his goodness further our good meanings, being grounded upon a sincere, mutual, and natural love the one to the other, and intended principally to the perpetual weal and repose of both realms and subjects."

In his dispatch of the 11th of July, quoted above, the French ambassador, De Foix, concluded by giving information of the arrival in Scotland of a papal legate, "whom, as I have heard say, the queen of Scotland has been constrained to cause to be stopped at Dunbar, by the remonstrance of my lord James and others of the council," until the principal lords of Scotland had been called together to decide whether he should be received or not. We learn, however, from the letters of Randolph, that the papal messenger, who brought a secret message from the pope, was conveyed by stealth into the queen's closet by Lethington, while the protestant nobles were at the sermon. It happened unluckily that the sermon was shorter than usual, and the earl of Mar coming suddenly into the ante-chamber, with Randolph and others, the envoy of the pope was hurriedly smuggled away by the queen's four Marys. Randolph, however, caught a glimpse of him, and his suspicions were excited, but he was subsequently assured by Lethington that his errand was merely to ask the queen to send some bishops to the council of Trent, then sitting, and to urge her to remain steady in the Romish faith. The jesuit had a narrow escape, for it was

no sooner known to the more zealous protestant leaders that he was in Scotland, than it was determined he should be put to death, and it was only through the exertions of the earl of Mar that he was allowed to depart uninjured. Randolph intimates his opinion, that this envoy had some other secret business under cover of that which had been stated to him by Lethington.

As it was now certain that the meeting with Elizabeth would not take place this year, Mary determined on making a progress in the northern parts of her dominions. It is said that the object of this visit was to put a check upon the treasonable designs of the earl of Huntley; but it seems certain that that nobleman and his friends entered into a conspiracy for the ruin of the earl of Mar, and the re-establishment of the catholic influence, which was to be carried into effect during the queen's visit to the north, where the power of the Gordons lay. The earl of Mar appeared indeed to be rising in favour every day, and he certainly justified it by the vigour and ability he displayed in the government of the kingdom. During Lethington's absence in England, the Scottish borders were again disturbed by the tumultuous disorders of the wild chiefs who inhabited them. The centre of these outrages was the town of Hawick in Roxburghshire, where Mar, armed with full powers against the offenders, arrived by a sudden march. Having surrounded the town with his soldiers, the earl proceeded to the market-place, and having caused a proclamation to be read, forbidding any one on pain of death from receiving or sheltering a thief, he apprehended fifty-three of the most notorious outlaws, of whom eighteen were drowned, for lack of trees and halters. The others were carried to Edinburgh, where six more were hanged, and many thrown into prison.

The royal favour, joined with his abilities and successes, drew upon the earl of Mar the especial hostility of the catholic party, who are said to have been urged on by encouragements from France. It was believed that his influence over the queen was the sole reason of the protection given to the reformed faith, and of the leaning towards England; and it was currently reported that her uncles the Guises had written privately to her, remonstrating on her too great indulgence to the protestant party, and urging her to entrap its leaders and put them to death. But this and many other intrigues of this period are involved in profound obscurity, into which we cannot penetrate for want of authentic documents. Huntley is said to have caused several attempts to be made to assassinate the earl of Mar. On one occasion he is accused of having excited a tumult in the capital, in order that, when the earl of Mar, as usual, went in person to appease it, some of his creatures might murder him in the crowd. This plan not succeeding, Huntley is said to have placed some of his men within the precincts of the court, to intercept and slay his rival as he left the queen's presence at night; but Mar having received information of this design, and caused some of the assassins to be arrested, Huntley was called before the council to explain why his followers were found in arms in such a place at that late hour, and made his excuse that they were some of his attendants returning home armed, who had been detained unexpectedly beyond the ordinary hour. Huntley's animosity against his rival had just now been increased by a new subject of offence. The two earldoms of Mar and Murray, forfeited to the crown, had been left for several years under the management of the earl of Huntley, who enjoyed at least a great part of the revenues, and hoped eventually to obtain a grant of them. That of Mar, as we have already seen, had been conferred on the lord James, but it was subsequently discovered that one of the Erskines had a title by blood to this earldom, and it was determined to restore it to him, and give the lord James that of Murray instead. Thus Huntley was disappointed in his hope of obtaining either, and in his anger he resolved to take summary vengeance. Huntley's family was at this time in especial disfavour. One of his sons, sir John Gordon, in consequence of a private feud, had attacked lord Ogilvy in the streets of Edinburgh, and desperately wounded him, for which he was seized and thrown into prison. But he escaped, and fled to his estates. His mother, the countess of Huntley, was a woman of great talent for intrigue, and is represented as endowed with extraordinary powers of persuasion. She interceded with the queen, and exerted her influence with her son, and it was finally agreed that sir John should be pardoned, on condition of his surrendering himself to the queen's officers, and he appeared before his sovereign, and

was ordered to ward in the castle of Stirling. But for some reason or other he repented of his submission, and, on the way to Stirling, he contrived to escape from his guards, and to fly again to his estates, where he collected a thousand horsemen, and was now setting the royal authority at defiance.

Although capricious and changeable, Mary was warm in her attachments and bitter in her resentments, and she was now extremely provoked at the conduct of the Gordons. It was no doubt this partly which decided her to make her progress to the north. Huntley was aware that this could forbode him no good, and he determined to be upon his guard; but he saw in it also an opportunity of carrying into effect his treasonable designs, by drawing the queen into his power, and ridding himself of his rival. It was said, also, that at this moment the earl of Mar had partially fallen into disfavour, because, though his conduct had been marked with the greatest moderation, yet he still retained enough of the formal morality of the puritan to render him sometimes an irksome check on Mary's indulgence in those pleasures and gaieties for which she had imbibed a taste in the court of France. The presbyterian writers declare that the queen at this very moment was contriving Mar's disgrace, and even his death. Be this as it may, she was received in state by the earl of Huntley at Aberdeen, on the 13th of August. It is said that the countess was employed to practise all her arts upon her sovereign, who, to facilitate still more Huntley's designs, was invited to visit his palace at Strathbogie. We are assured that Mary, on her side, was dissimulating her designs against the Gordons, and that thus, under an insincere show of friendship, they were mutually intriguing against one another. But the Gordons were anxious not to let slip the opportunity; sir John contrived to surround the town with his followers, and it was determined to carry into effect the project for murdering the earl of Mar, and gaining possession of the queen's person before they left Aberdeen. Their design, however, was defeated by the vigilance of Mar, and the queen, suspicious of their designs, insisted on the delivery of sir John Gordon into ward, and this demand being evaded or denied, she refused to visit Strathbogie, and proceeded to Inverness, in the castle of which it was her intention to hold her court.

Buchanan gives us the following account of Mary's departure from Aberdeen. He says that, while the intrigues between the queen and the Gordons remained still in suspense, by the mutual dissimulation of both parties, the queen resolved to proceed, and being invited by John Lesley, one of the barons dependent on the house of Huntley, to visit his house, about twelve miles distant from the town, that place being lonely, appeared to the Gordons well adapted for effecting the assassination of the earl of Mar; but Lesley, who was acquainted with their secret designs, earnestly entreated them not to load him or his family with the infamy of appearing to betray the life of the chief man in the kingdom, the brother of his queen, and one against whom he had no quarrel. Next night the court rested at Rothmay, a village of the Abernethys, where everything passed quietly, because the queen had promised to go to Strathbogie next day, to which time the project of the murder was deferred, as the court would then be entirely in the power of Huntley. On their way the earl of Huntley entered into a long conversation with the queen, and at last openly demanded the pardon of his son sir John, whose fault, he said, was simply that of having fled from prison, into which he was thrown for no act of treason, but for the mere act of being concerned in a tumult of which he was not the cause. The queen insisted that, for the vindication of her authority, sir John Gordon should be restored to ward, and suffer imprisonment for a few days. This Huntley refused to do, because, as we are told, it would have seriously embarrassed his plans, as his son would thus be a hostage in some sort for his good behaviour, and he had designed, if the attempt failed, to throw all the blame on him, which could not be done if he were already in custody.

The queen was so highly offended at Huntley's behaviour on this occasion, that, although almost within sight of his magnificent mansion, she halted, and gave immediate orders for changing their course and proceeding to Inverness. Here, to her still further indignation, she found the gates of the castle closed against her. Huntley's son, lord Gordon, was governor of the castle of Inverness, and his lieutenant, who was one of Huntley's retainers, refused to open the gates, except by the express orders of his master, who contrived to be absent. The position of the queen was now critical, for

Inverness was a weak town, entirely commanded by the castle, while the country around was filled with the vassals of the Gordons; sir John hovered near with his thousand horse, and some of the fiercest of the clans had been summoned from the mountains. But the spirited conduct of the queen, ably seconded by the earl of Mar, again defeated their plans. Strong watches were placed on all the approaches to the town, preparations were made to render the defence of the place by a small number of men the most effective possible, and the vessels which had followed the court with provisions were brought up the river to such a position that, if attacked, the queen and her court might embark without difficulty. With these precautions, the queen passed the night in Aberdeen, well informed, by the capture of some of Huntley's spies, of the designs which had been formed against her. The opportunity was thus again lost, for next day, when it became known for what purpose Huntley's forces had been collected, the whole of the clan Chattan deserted him and went over to the queen, and their example was immediately followed by the Frasers, Monros, and others of the bravest of the highlanders.

Mary now felt sufficiently strong to chastise her opponents, and preparations were made for attacking the castle; the queen herself declaring that "she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapscull." The garrison, however, did not wait for the assault, but surrendered the castle, and the captain was immediately hanged. If Mar had been in any disfavour before, he seemed now to have completely regained his place in the affection of his sister, who took advantage of this moment to show her sense of his faithfulness and of the dangers to which he was exposed by formally conferring upon him the earldom of Murray. She then commenced her journey back to Aberdeen at the head of three thousand men, and having been informed that Huntley had posted himself with considerable force in the woods on the bank of the Spey to attack her by surprise, she crossed that river in search of him, but found him not. The English ambassador Randolph, who accompanied Mary in her northern progress, wrote to Cecil in one of his dispatches—"What desperate blows would that day have been given, when every man should have fought for so noble a queen and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours and not to be bereft of them, your honour may easily imagine."

The queen had no sooner reached Aberdeen, than she proclaimed the earl of Huntley a traitor, or, in the language of that time, put him to the horn. Huntley now, overrating his own strength, determined to resist, and, having fortified his castles of Findlater, Auchendown, and Strathbogie, he collected his forces, and marched to Aberdeen in the hope of taking the court by surprise. The opportunity seemed favourable, for most of the highlanders who had joined the queen at Inverness had been sent home, and the royal forces were not considerable; but Huntley's followers disliked the service on which they were employed, and they gradually fell off until, when he encamped on the banks of Loch Skene, he mustered only eight hundred men. When certain information had been received of Huntley's approach, the new earl of Murray, with the earls of Morton and Athol, marched out to meet him, and they found him stationed at the hill of Corrichie, about twelve miles from Aberdeen. At this time his forces are said to have amounted to no more than five hundred men, who were soon dispersed, and Huntley himself perished, while his two sons were taken prisoners.

The battle of Corrichie took place on the 28th of October, 1562. Buchanan has given a rather detailed account of the circumstances connected with it, the main features of which appear to be confirmed by the contemporary entry in the *Diurnal of Occurrences*. Huntley, he tells us, perceiving that the whole appearance of the court scenery was shifted, the earl of Murray, but lately destined for death, being now in the greatest favour, while he himself, fallen from the highest expectations of honour and dignity, had become an object of the most implacable hatred, imagining that he had proceeded too far to expect pardon, had recourse to the most desperate measures, and perceived no other remedy for his present dangers than to get in any way he could the queen's person into his power. For, though he knew she would at first be highly offended, he did not despair of being able to bend her womanish mind, in time, by assiduity, flattery, and the marriage with his son, which

he believed was in accordance with the wish of her uncles. "Wherefore, having communicated his intention to his friends, it was determined to cut off Murray by any possible means; for on his removal, there was no one to whom the queen could entrust the government, or who was able to manage it, if she gave them her confidence. His spies encouraged him with hopes of accomplishing his purpose; and among his supporters was the earl of Sutherland (John Gordon), who, by assiduous attendance at court, and great professions of affection towards the queen, obtained the knowledge of her private counsels, and communicated them to Huntley. He not only watched for the convenient time and opportunity, but even offered his assistance to effect the murder of the earl of Murray; besides, though the town was adapted for the purpose, being open on every side, and convenient for lurking assassins, the citizens, either conciliated by bribes, joined in alliance, or restrained by fear, durst attempt nothing. The highlanders were sent home. The earl of Murray had but a small number of attendants brought from the most distant parts of the country, whose opposition was not much to be dreaded; and as Huntley had the command of the whole of the neighbouring districts, the affair might be effected almost without bloodshed, for one man only being slain, and the queen in their power, all other sores would be easily healed. Urged by these considerations to make the attempt, when everything was arranged, the interception of certain letters of the earl of Sutherland and John Lesley led to the discovery of the whole design. Upon this, Sutherland fled; but Lesley acknowledged his fault and obtained pardon, and afterwards, during his whole life, he remained a brave and faithful subject, first to the queen, and afterwards to the king.

"Huntley, who waited the issue with a great band of followers, in a situation surrounded with marshes, and almost inaccessible, having learnt what had taken place at court, determined by the advice of his friends to retreat to the mountains; but induced by the promises of many of the neighbouring nobility, then with the queen, who were his allies, he again changed his intention, and resolved to await the event of a battle in a station fortified by nature. Murray, with the troops in which he could trust, amounting to scarcely a hundred horsemen, and followed by the nobles who were present, especially James Douglas earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay, advanced against the enemy. The rest of his army, about eight hundred, collected from the country around, and, having for the most part been previously corrupted by Huntley, more likely to draw on Murray's troops to their ruin, than afford them any assistance in the hour of danger, marched along with him, boasting mightily, and promising that they alone would defeat the enemy, while the others might look on as spectators. Some horsemen being sent forward to secure all the avenues round the marsh, in order that Huntley might not escape, the rest advanced more slowly; and although during the preceding night a great number of the Gordons had deserted, above three [five] hundred still remained with him, keeping possession of their station. When Murray had arrived at a neighbouring declivity whence there was a view of the marshes, he halted with his party drawn up in order of battle in one line by themselves; the rest immediately on being led against the enemy, openly discovered their treason by sticking in their bonnets sprigs of heather, of which great quantities grew there. When they drew near, Huntley's party, confident of the result, ran towards them; and when they saw their line thrown into confusion by the traitors, and already flying, they threw away their spears, that they might more quickly pursue them, and drawing their swords and shouting treason, to strike terror into the ranks which remained unbroken, then rushed forwards at a quick pace against their enemies. The traitors, thinking they should sweep along with them the line which still remained firm, rushed towards them; but Murray, who saw no hope in flight, and believed that nothing remained but the glory of an honourable death, ordered his soldiers to present their spears, and not allow any of the fugitives to pass through; and, thus excluded, they passed on both wings in great disorder. Huntley's men, who now thought the affair ended, when they saw the line, though small, bristling with extended pikes, and themselves scattered, disordered, and unable to come to close quarters on account of the length of the spears of their opponents, they became panic-struck, and turning their backs, fled with greater speed than they had advanced. The traitors, when they beheld this change of fortune, instantly turned upon the fugi-

tives, and, as if to wipe away their previous fault, slew all they could overtake. About a hundred and twenty of Huntley's men were slain, and a hundred made prisoners; while on the other side no one was hurt. Among the prisoners was Huntley himself, with his two sons, John and Adam. The father, heavy through age, and asthmatic through corpulence, died in the hands of those who took him; the rest were brought late in the evening to Aberdeen."

The house of Gordon now experienced the full weight of the royal displeasure. Huntley's eldest son, the lord Gordon, was found guilty of treason, and imprisoned; and his second son, sir John Gordon, who was accused of having been the first promoter of this rebellion, was executed immediately after his capture. The third son, Adam Gordon, was pardoned on account of his youth; but the immense estates of the family were seized by the crown, the title was forfeited, and this great family was reduced to indigence.

CHAPTER III.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; GAIETY OF THE SCOTTISH COURT; VIOLENT REMONSTRANCES OF JOHN KNOX.

The assistance given to the French protestants, involved England during the present year in hostilities with France, which caused some suspicions at least to be mixed up with the relations between England and Scotland. If Mary did, as we might naturally suppose, sympathize with her uncles and the French catholics, she acted with such profound dissimulation, that even Randolph was convinced that she clung more to the friendship of Elizabeth than to her connexion with France; and although several French agents arrived in Scotland at this period, and were received at court, that able diplomatist intimates his belief that they were entrusted with no mission of importance. In a letter to the lord Robert Dudley (soon afterwards created earl of Leicester), written from Edinburgh on the 18th of November, 1562, Randolph informs that nobleman of the arrival of two distinct messengers from France to the Scottish court, and declares that, as far as he could gather, they were not of a political character. "This advantage," he adds, "I have gotten by the hasty arrival of these two gentlemen, and by the suspicion that is grown of their coming, which gave all men occasion to think that they came for little good, that I perceive that if the queen were both of will and power to annoy my mistress, that she should want both counsellors thereunto and ministers to be employed therein, except such as dwell upon the borders, who, what kind of men they are, your honour knoweth right well. * * * Touching the good will that is borne unto the queen's majesty, my sovereign, in the queen herself, I find it nothing diminished of that that at any time I have before written; and in her subjects (I mean only the godly) I find it so increased, in special since the support sent into France, that I think her majesty the happiest woman alive."

Both queens were at this time suffering from sickness, Mary from an attack of an epidemic resembling influenza, which had swept through her court, and Elizabeth from a more serious disease, on her recovering from which she wrote a complimentary letter to the queen of Scots. The latter, at the end of the year, sent Lethington on a new mission to England, to congratulate Elizabeth on her recovery, and to offer her mediation in restoring the peace between England and France. He was instructed to "impart to our said good sister the unquiet thoughts and manifold cares which these troublesome times do breed unto us, wherein the present calamities we see be so great, that they cannot well receive any increase, and yet we cannot but fear worse to come. The desolation already chanced in that noble realm is lamentable to all men, be they never so far strangers unto it, yea, I think very enemies, in whom nature mon (*must*) work some horror or compassion, either for pity, at least for the example's sake, to see the people of any country,

kinsfolk and brethren, run blindly and headlong to the destruction the one of the other; but to us mon be most dolorous, for the honour and particular interest we have there. We consider the broader the flame groweth, it shall entangle and endanger all the neighbours the more; and therefore Christian love and common charity requireth that every one put to his helping hand to quench the fire. The matter is so far gone already, and our conscience begins to prick us, that we have too long forborne to deal in it so far as we might conveniently, at least to assay if by our mediation any good might be wrought." After stating that she was embarrassed by the circumstance of her near relationship to the contending parties on both sides, Mary proceeds, "we feared that entering once to meddle anywise in it, we could not so justly hold the balance, nor so indifferently, but we should appear to incline more to the one side, and by that means offend the other; so that how uprightly soever our proceeding should be, we should thereby hazard the loss of some of our dearest friends. This preposterous fear has thus long kept us in suspense; but now when we weigh on the other part the matter to be so far gone already, that it mon end by victory, or else by treaty; the victory, whatsoever it shall be to others, it must to us be most dolorous; for whosoever win, our dearest friends shall lose, having on the one part our good sister, and on the other the king our good brother and our uncles, so that we cannot but abhor to think that we shall be spectatrix of so unpleasant a bargain; for avoiding of the which, of necessity, we mon turn ourself to the only remedy that remains, to have the matter, if it be possible, taken up by treaty, whereof as none has better cause to be desirous, so if our credit be as good with the parties as our affection towards both designs, there can be no more fit an instrument to procure good ways."

In pursuance of these sentiments, Lethington was to sound the English queen, and ascertain her inclinations with regard to a treaty with France. But this was not the only object of his mission to England, for he received another set of instructions, relating to Mary's claim to the English succession. Elizabeth had just called together her second parliament, and Mary, knowing the prejudice of the people of England against her as a catholic, was alarmed lest any step should be taken injurious to her claims. Lethington was therefore sent, under the pretext of offering her mediation between England and France, to watch the proceedings of the English parliament. He was accordingly directed, in a paper entitled "Other instructions to the laird of Lethington, our secretary and ambassador, to be used if the cause so requires, and at his discretion," that, "if he gets any knowledge, advertisement, or understanding, that in the parliament of England presently holden, it be proposed, moved, or any question or difficulty arise touching the succession of the crown of England, failing of our good sister and the lawful issue of her body, wherethrough any danger may appear, that either by misknowledge of our title, or neglecting the same, the succession may be established in the person of any other than us; then and in that case, our said ambassador shall not only renew unto our said good sister, and reduce to her remembrance all conferences and communications past betwixt our said good sister and him, touching that matter, but also shall enlarge unto her and make manifest the good title and interest we have and pretend to the succession of that crown, as nearest and lawful in the right line from king Harry the Seventh, by just descent from his eldest daughter Margaret, sometime queen of Scots, and desire our good sister that according to justice and equity, having also respect to the good amity and intelligence presently (*now*) standing betwixt us, entertained for our part by all good offices, she neither do, procure, nor suffer to be done or procured, anything that may be prejudicial to us and our title aforesaid; and in case her own conscience, the love of her country, or earnest suit of the people, press her to establish" otherwise, he was to make an earnest protest to the contrary. "*Item*, Ye shall desire to have access and ingress in the parliament-house, to the effect ye may in the presence of the estates of the realm declare the validity of our title, and the interest we pretend; and desire of them the heads contained in the former articles; answer, if need be, the objections to be moved in the contrary; and in case they would so far neglect the common law, good order, and equity of our cause, that setting the same apart, they will refuse our reasonable desire, and proceed further to the contrary; ye shall in our name, and upon our behalf, publicly and solemnly protest, that we are thereby injured and offended, and for such lawful remedy is at the law and consuetude

(*custom*) has provided for them that are enormously and excessively hurt."

There appears to have been no necessity on this occasion for Lethington's interference, and indeed circumstances were not favourable for any new declaration on the part of Mary for this favourite object of her desires. During the sitting of the parliament, discovery was made of a plot among some of the English catholics, for which several persons were executed. One of the chief conspirators confessed that they had been intriguing with the duke of Guise, to bring over six thousand French soldiers into Wales, in the month of May following, and there to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England. They urged in their defence that they had no design of attempting anything during Elizabeth's life, but that they had been assured by a magician that Elizabeth would not live beyond the month of March; and when we couple this with the circumstance that this year the pope promised pardon and absolution to any one who would privately murder the English queen, we can hardly doubt that some infamous design against her person was contemplated by the French catholic princes.

We have, however, at present, no reason for believing that the Scottish queen had the slightest knowledge of this affair; although, among the few secret documents of this period which are preserved and have seen the light, there are one or two which prove that Mary was not sincere in the indulgence she showed to her protestant subjects. On the 30th and 31st of January, 1563, she wrote letters to her uncle the cardinal of Lorrain, and to the pope, declaring her firm and unchanged resolution to persevere in the faith and obedience of the church of Rome, and expressing her regret that her refractory subjects still continued in their heresy. In her letter to the cardinal she declared to him the grief she felt at the miserable condition of her country, her wish to restore the catholic faith, even at the risk of her life, and her determination to die rather than give the least countenance to heresy.* The same sentiments are repeated in the letter to the pope, whom she assured that it had been her fixed intention, ever since her return to her dominions, to employ all her thought and power to reduce to obedience to Rome her "poor people," whom she had found, to her great displeasure, "out of the good way, and submersed in the new opinions and damnable errors" which then prevailed in some parts of Christendom.†

The sentiments here expressed were certainly not in accordance with those which Mary professed in public, and they are sufficient to justify the suspicions and fears of Knox and his fellow-preachers, that if they put their trust in the queen's promises of indulgence, they would find eventually that they had rested upon false hopes. The preachers failed not to raise the cry of alarm, and they probably knew best the form in which it would reach most effectually the hearts of their countrymen; but they spoke with a violence of language which shocked not only the court, but many of the leading men of their own party, and even the English ambassador Randolph, who blamed their intemperate zeal and their want of charity towards their opponents. Knox and his friends were at this time greatly scandalized at the increasing gaiety and freedom of manners. The chief occupation of Mary's court appears, indeed, to have consisted of masques and dancing, and the scandal such scenes caused among the more rigid reformers was increased by the suspicion that they were intended to mark the joy of their queen for the proceedings of the Guises against their protestant brethren in France. In one of his Sunday discourses in the middle of December, Knox gave vent from the pulpit to a violent invective against the evil practices of princes, which was intended to apply more especially to the chiefs of the house of Guise in France, but some parts of it were interpreted as an unjustifiable attack upon the Scottish queen. Next day the preacher was summoned before the queen, and in an audience of some length he explained and defended his ser-

* ... Supplicandolo a tenermi per sua divota figluola, facendogli testimonianza—come potrete fare, se vi piace—del despiacere che ho di questo miserabile paese, et credere ch'io mi stimerò felice di poter rimediare, se ben bisognasse con la propria vita, la quale io perderò più tosto che, cambiando mia fede, approvar in parte alcuna le loro heresie. Both letters are in Italian and are printed in Prince Labanoff's collection.

† Essendo sempre stata nostra intenzione d'impiegare, come noi habbiamo fatto, il nostro studio, il pensiero, la fatica, et il modo, che è piaciuto a Dio di darci, doppo il nostro ritorno in questo reame per ridurre il nostro povero popolo, il quale habbiamo con nostro grandissimo dispiacere truovato fuori della buona via, et sommerso nelle nuove opinioni et dannabili errori, li quali sono oggi nella christianità in diversi luoghi.

mon, which he declared had been misreported. "My text," Knox said to her, "was this, 'And now, O kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour wherein God has placed them, and the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question: But oh, alas! what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme judge whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth; for whilst that murderers, bloodthirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed? And how can it be otherwise? for princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them; but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand. For in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we are all born, but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, madame, I said that, albeit in scripture I found no praise of it, and that in profane writers it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy, than of sober men; yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided; the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing; secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be to drink in hell, unless they repent."

Bold language like this could not be agreeable to the royal ear, although it was not the first time that Mary had been compelled to hear such from Knox. She reproached the preacher with his bitterness, told him that as she knew he held different opinions from her uncle, she could not expect him to approve of their actions; but she begged him, if he saw any blame in her, to come and admonish her in private, and not to reprove her in public. Knox's hatred of the persecuting Guises was not to be restrained; "I am assured," he replied to the queen, "that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his son Jesus Christ; and for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am assured their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now."

The few glimpses we obtain of the interior of Mary's court at this time show us the queen in her gaiety and love of admiration descending from her rank to an undignified familiarity with her courtiers, which might well shock the too sensitive feelings of the rigid reformers. At the same time several circumstances occurred to show that the gaiety of the court was not without danger. One of the Hepburns had presumed on these familiarities to insult the queen in a manner which rendered it necessary for him to seek safety in flight; while the fate of a young French gentleman named Chastelard, who came over to Scotland in the suite of M. de Damville, was more tragical. Chastelard was handsome and accomplished, and excelled especially in Mary's favourite science of music, and he was led by the favour shown to him, and the familiarity to which he was admitted, to aspire to her love. One night in the February of 1563, a few minutes before the queen entered her bedchamber, he was discovered concealed in it by her female attendants. Next morning, when Mary was informed of what had occurred, she contented herself with ordering him to leave the court. Chastelard seems to have supposed from the lenity with which he was treated, that Mary was not really offended at him, but that she had inflicted this punishment to disarm public opinion, and he followed her secretly to Burntisland, where, on the night of the 14th of February, as the queen was stepping into bed, with none but her ladies in attendance, he started from a recess in the chamber where he had again concealed himself, and threw himself at her feet. The court was soon roused by the shrieks of the ladies, and

MAY GOD BLESS AND PROTECT THE CHILDREN OF OUR LAND

Chastelard was seized, and acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt upon the queen's honour. Mary, in her first anger, ordered the earl of Murray, who was one of the first to come to her assistance, to dispatch the offender with his dagger; but Murray desired that justice should be done in a more deliberate manner, and he caused him to be secured and committed to safe custody, until he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, within a few days after the offence had been committed. This man's fate brought scandal on the court in more ways than one. We are told by Brantôme, that his behaviour at the place of execution showed a contempt for all religion, and that drawing from his pocket a volume of Ronsard, instead of a missal or breviary, he read aloud that poet's hymn to death, and then resigned himself to his fate with indifference and gaiety. Many, who imagined that such attempts could not have occurred unless Mary had thrown aside the reserve and self-respect which ought to have been her protection, complained that religion and morality were equally disregarded in her court.

The irritation caused by Knox's attack on the court gaieties had hardly subsided, when a new cause of offence arose in the loose manner in which the laws against popish ceremonies were administered. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the prior of Whithern led the papists in a general disregard of the queen's proclamation, believing, probably, that she would approve of their conduct, and the Roman clergy began to celebrate mass commonly in private houses. The vigilance of the protestants was soon roused, and the catholics, finding it dangerous to act so openly, retired to more secret places to practise the ceremonies of their religion. The protestants believed that they were encouraged in their proceedings by the queen, and taking upon themselves to enforce the law, they pursued and seized several of the offenders. At the same time they announced to the Romish clergy in general that in future they would not content themselves with making complaints to the queen or to the council, but that they would proceed on their own responsibility to carry the proclamation into execution. Mary, who was then residing at Lochleven, was alarmed at this proceeding of the protestant preachers, and immediately summoned Knox to appear before her. She expostulated with him earnestly on the persecuting spirit which animated his acts and his discourses, and recommended more moderation in future. Knox argued that it was the duty of princes to carry into force without hesitation or partiality the laws against idolatry which were in existence, and that, if they failed to do so, others must do it for them, and he quoted examples from scripture to show that this might be done even by those who did not possess the authority of the magistracy. He ended by beseeching the queen to administer the laws strictly herself, and leave no occasion for others to interfere. The queen seemed offended, but, for some reason or other, her sentiments appeared to have undergone an entire change before the next day, when she sent for Knox again, and he met her as she was engaged in hawking. She received him with unusual favour, entered into confidential talk, and professed to have been convinced by his arguments of the preceding day that offenders against the proclamation ought to be proceeded against and duly punished. At the same time she warned him against the bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for the protestant office of superintendent of the district of Dumfries. In accordance with the sentiments expressed by the queen on this occasion, the archbishop of St. Andrews, the prior of Whithern, the parson of Sanquhar, and other Romish ecclesiastics, were subjected to judicial proceedings on the charge of celebrating mass in Scotland; "after great debate, reasoning, and communication had in the council by the protestants, who were bent even to the death against the said archbishop and other churchmen," the archbishop was committed by the queen's order a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and the prior of Whithern was sent to the castle of Dumbarton. Other priests were similarly imprisoned in different places.

This happened on the 19th of May, the day before that on which the parliament was to assemble. Next day, the meeting of the states was held with unusual ceremony. The queen rode to the Tolbooth in procession, accompanied by her ladies, and their beauty and brilliant dresses added not a little to the effect of the scene. They surrounded the throne and filled the galleries of the hall of assembly, when the queen opened the session with a speech, which had been written in French, but which she translated and read in English; and she

delivered it with so much grace as to excite the admiration of all present. Nevertheless, the session promised to be a turbulent one, for the preachers exercised a considerable influence over the representatives of the nation, and under their direction stringent measures were in preparation to repress the licentiousness and extravagance which had been imported from France. At this stage of the proceedings the earl of Murray interfered to hinder measures which he said would only irritate and disgust the queen, who had shown them so much moderation and indulgence. Knox was indignant at what he looked upon as Murray's apostacy, and in a personal interview reproached him with so much asperity, that it was followed by a temporary estrangement between them. The last words which Knox addressed to his old friend for several months summed up briefly his sentiments on this occasion; "I leave you," he said, "victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your sovereign; should this continue, none will be more glad than I; but if you decay (as I fear ye shall), then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you—it was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent papists."

Disappointed in his expectations of reform, Knox's preaching increased in violence, and gave offence both to catholics and protestants. He entered the pulpit to address a strong appeal to the protestant leaders, reminding them of all they had gone through in defence of their religion and liberties, and reproaching them with their remissness now that the victory seemed to be secured. His words came with the more force, as he had been their companion throughout the struggle, and his eloquent voice had often supported them in the day of tribulation. As he warmed with his subject, his gestures became so energetic, that one of his hearers tells us he expected to see him "dang" the pulpit to pieces and fly out of it; and when he reminded the protestant chiefs of their earlier trials, he appeared as though the vision of the past presented itself bodily before his eyes. "I see before me," he said, "the beleaguered camp at St. Johnston (Perth); I see your meeting on Cupar Muir; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and, worst of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eye, in which all of you, my lords, in shame and fear left this town—and God forbid I should ever forget it! What was then, I say, my exhortation unto you? and what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth? Speak, I say; for ye yourselves live to testify! There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The queen says, 'ye will not agree with her.' Ask of her that which by God's word ye may justly require; and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds; forsake not your former courage in God's cause, and be assured he will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage; dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my lords, will I say—note the day, and bear witness hereafter; whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Jesus Christ from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country."

Knox confesses himself that his extraordinary freedom of speech on this occasion gave offence to men of all parties. He was again summoned to court, and the queen, who appears to have been especially offended at his allusions to the question of her marriage, upbraided him with great bitterness for the violence of his language, and she burst into weeping and lamentation when she complained of the little effect her former admonitions and warnings had produced upon him. She accused him of ingratitude, because he had rejected all her proffered favours, and in spite of them, still continued to preach against her. Knox excused himself on the plea of that sort of inspiration which many of the reformed preachers laid claim to. He said that in the pulpit he was not his own master, but the servant of God, and it was his duty to preach openly and boldly the word of God, without sparing the princes of the world. As to Mary's offers of favour, he was not one who sought to



attend in the courts of princes or in the chambers of ladies, but he was a preacher of Christ's gospel. Mary interrupted him to ask what he had to do with her marriage, or what he was within the commonwealth? Knox himself appears to have been irritated at this last question. "I am," said he, "a subject born within the same, and albeit neither baron, lord, nor earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger; and, therefore, what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face. Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband [he meant, of course, a papist,] they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself." On hearing this, Mary burst into a new passion of tears and lamentation, and, in spite of all the exertions of Erskine of Dun (who had brought Knox to the queen's presence), to soften and appease her, she indignantly ordered the preacher to leave the room. It was soon known that Knox had fallen under the queen's serious displeasure, and as he passed into the outer chamber, the courtiers assembled there looked upon him with coldness and avoided him. As he passed on, his eye fell upon a party of the queen's ladies, seated together, and dressed in all the gorgeous apparel, the extravagance of which had provoked his severe reproof from the pulpit. Knox stopped, and addressed them in what he calls a "merry" mood,—his words, as related by himself, being as follows:—"Ah, fair ladies," he said, "how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven in this gear! But fie on that knave Death, that will come whether ye will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can carry with it neither gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones." Knox's conduct on this and the previous occasion, entirely alienated from him Lethington, and the result was a temporary schism between the moderate and the violent reformers.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS AND INTRIGUES RELATING TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN.

The suspicion and alarm which the various projects of marriage for the Scottish queen excited in the minds of Knox and the more zealous protestants, appear to have been equally entertained in England, and to have led to a series of intrigues of a mysterious character which it is not now easy to fathom.* Elizabeth feared that a match with any continental prince would lead to new combinations against protestant England, and disturb the good understanding then existing between the latter country and Scotland, and she determined to use every effort to promote a match with some grandee in Scotland or England. Mary had one object at heart for which she was willing to make great sacrifices—the obtaining an act of the English parliament acknowledging her rights as next heir to the crown; and other means having failed in procuring this acknowledgment, she appears to have been willing to make her marriage a step towards it. The Scottish protestants saw in any foreign marriage a prospect of imminent danger to their religion, and they were in general willing to give their support to the views of Elizabeth in this respect. The autumn of 1563 and the winter follow-

* It is much to be desired that the letters and other documents relating to Scotland at this period, preserved in the English state paper office, were printed. We can only at present use them in the extracts given by Tytler, who unfortunately was too much in the habit of seeing only those parts which told for his own views, and overlooking or neglecting those which told against them.

ing were spent in negotiating and intriguing on this subject, but it was not till the latter end of the February of 1564, that Elizabeth at length authorized her ambassador Randolph to propose for the honour of Mary's hand her favourite the lord Robert Dudley. This proposal created surprise among all parties, for it was generally believed that Dudley aspired to the hand of Elizabeth herself, and that that princess was not altogether adverse to the alliance. Murray and Lethington suspected at first that the proposal was not sincere; and Mary, when Dudley's name was first mentioned to her by Randolph, told him that she was taken by surprise, but that she thought a mere subject of the queen of England like the lord Robert Dudley was not a becoming match for a queen of Scotland. But she soon began to show less disinclination to the proposal, and she ended by intimating that she was willing to receive the English lord for her husband, on condition that, as a preliminary, her title to the English crown should be acknowledged.

To judge of Mary's sincerity in this matter, we must bear in mind that it appears from her published correspondence that during this same time, the spring of 1564, she was engaged in a correspondence of the most secret kind with the cardinal de Granvelle and with her French relations, which had for its object to bring about a foreign marriage; and that it is sufficiently evident from allusions in the letters which remain that she was not placing herself so confidingly in the hands of Elizabeth as some have supposed. A passage in Mary's letter to the cardinal, dated on the 5th of March, shows us the under current of Mary's feelings towards her protestant nobles at this time: "I like much better," she says, "without occasion, to receive displeasure from those who seek to give it me, than to have given it to them or others; for their ill-will towards me arising only from my not having like them broken my faith to God and men, I feel honoured by it, and I will endeavour to keep myself and my kingdom in peace, and to secure my right elsewhere (*i e.* the English title), with as much equity as they by their fraudulent dealings have hazarded country, friends, and reputation; from whom I hope to preserve myself, with the aid of God, who has been my only conductor so far, and who I feel assured will not leave me; yet I will not appear to know anything of their fine designs, and keeping myself out of reach of their plots, I shall be glad for men of character to judge of our behaviours." In another letter, written to the cardinal de Granvelle, on the 11th of March, speaking of the danger of a new war between France and England, Mary says, "Neither party pleases me by boasting of my support; for I have no great desire to meddle in their quarrels, being satisfied to remain in friendship with both, until I see further what is best for me to do."

It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that the purposed marriage with Leicester was not agreeable to Mary, and she seems to have continued the negotiations on the subject chiefly in the hope of securing her favourite object, her appointment as next heir to the English crown. There were many difficulties in the way of such an acknowledgment, of which Elizabeth and her ministers felt the full force. It had not been a usual custom in England to make such appointments with regard to the crown, and the people of England in general, as Mary probably knew well, were exceedingly opposed to the nomination of a papist, which they knew her to be, to the English succession. It was at this very time, indeed, that one John Hales published in England a book against Mary's title, which gave so much displeasure to Elizabeth that she caused him to be committed to the Tower. It seems clear, at the same time, that Elizabeth felt the force of these objections, and that she had no intention of acceding to Mary's wish without some security for religion; but she seems to have thought that with so stanch a protestant as the lord Robert Dudley for a husband, the effect of Mary's atachment to the Romish faith would be in a great measure counteracted. On the other hand, it is very doubtful, from the general tone of Mary's correspondence with her friends on the continent, if she had ever any intention of marrying other than a catholic husband. In the October of the very year of which we are now speaking, Mary wrote a letter to the pope approving of the decrees of the council of Trent, and assuring him of her humble devotion to the see of Rome; "We shall study," she said, "more and more for the increase and union of our mother holy church, and we will make all our subjects obey her, if God by his grace can reduce and annihilate their heresies (as I hope), along with the good order and reformation which your holiness shall be able to enforce;

and on our part we shall spare no means in our power to that end."

With such a complication of contrary policies, interests, and sentiments, we cannot be surprised at the continual delays which took place in these difficult negotiations, or that Elizabeth should be at last driven to confess to her ministers that she was lost in perplexity. She was now desirous that the interview with the Scottish queen should take place, but this time it was Mary who was backward, and, on the excuse that the season was too far advanced, she postponed it to the next year. In fact at this time another secret intrigue was in progress which had results of the most disastrous kind for Mary's happiness. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, who had acted so prominent a part in the turbulent scenes of Mary's childhood, for which he had suffered attainder and confiscation, remained still a banished man in England, where he had become a subject of the English crown. His countess was the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the earl of Angus and queen Margaret, and their son Henry lord Darnley was first cousin to Mary, and stood to the English queen in the same relation as herself, all three being grandchildren of Henry VII. of England. It seems impossible to say when first originated the suggestion of a marriage between Mary and Darnley, which was not an unlikely one, as it tended to strengthen Mary's title to the English throne, and it was generally believed that the earl of Lennox and his son were at heart catholics. It is certain that the countess of Lennox, who was an ambitious and intriguing woman, was more or less concerned in it, and it appears from subsequent occurrences that it was warmly advocated by some of Mary's favourite and confidential attendants. Be this as it may, it is certain, that the project of a marriage with Darnley was talked of before the return of the earl of Lennox to Scotland, and it was perhaps the principal cause of his recall. Nevertheless, it was so contrived (we hardly know how), that Elizabeth was induced to take up warmly the cause of the earl of Lennox, and to solicit his restoration to his dignities in Scotland. At the recommendation of Cecil, Murray and Lethington were both gained over to favour him, and he accordingly received a permission from Mary, under the great seal of Scotland, to revisit his country, with the hope that his forfeiture would soon be removed by an act of the Scottish legislature.

No sooner was it known in Scotland that Mary had consented to the return of the earl of Lennox, than Knox and his party took alarm, and he made representations to the English ministers which seem to have excited their alarm also. Elizabeth at once entered into their feelings, and Cecil was directed to write to the two Scottish ministers, Murray and Lethington, to inform them that he had received secret information from his best friends in Scotland, warning him of dangers likely to arise there from the return of Lennox, and to require them to prevail with Mary to revoke her permission; and at the same time the English queen took steps to hinder the earl's departure. Murray and Lethington were offended at Elizabeth's sudden change of mind, and they replied with a freedom of diction which gave no little offence. Lethington reminded Cecil how warmly he, as well as his royal mistress, had interceded with Mary in Lennox's favour, when he was last at the English court, and urged with what an ill grace it would come from the queen of Scots to revoke without reason a promise which she had made so freely and liberally. He ridiculed the fears of those who thought the protestant cause was in any danger. "The religion here," he said, "doth not depend upon my lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeve of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the queen's majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her majesty in honour, having once permitted her licence so freely; unless she might shadow the change of her mind by the queen her good sister's request, and forbid it for her pleasure, which I perceive is not your sovereign's meaning; who would she would take the matter upon herself, which she thinketh too hard." This letter was written on the 13th of July, and at the same time Mary replied to a letter of Elizabeth on the same subject, in a manner which likewise gave considerable offence. But the correspondence on this subject was not permitted to transpire, and Elizabeth having withdrawn her opposition, Lennox proceeded to Scotland, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 23rd of September, Mary being then on a progress to the north.

The day before his arrival, open proclamation had been made at the market cross relaxing his outlawry, and the earl of Athol, a catholic peer, received the wand of peace for him, and thus became his pledge. Before the end of the month Mary returned to Edinburgh, and Lennox was then ordered to present himself at court. He rode to the palace preceded by twelve gentlemen clad in velvet coats, with chains about their necks, and well horsed; and he was followed by thirty other gentlemen and servants, also mounted, and all clothed in coats of grey livery. His reception by the queen was flattering, and as he brought with him a letter of recommendation from Elizabeth, he was supposed to have come with that princess' full concurrence, for the intrigue to hinder his return was kept a profound secret, and is only now known by the records in the state-paper office. Mary had been informed of the offence which her previous letter had given to Elizabeth, but on the present occasion she replied only to the letter brought by Lennox, in another cautiously worded as follows:—"Right high and mighty princess, our dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, we greet you well. By your letters given at Northampton, the first of this instant, and delivered to our hands by the earl of Lennox, we perceive how entirely ye tender the causes of him and of our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin his wife, and to the effect it may appear not only to yourself, but also to all others in both the realms, what good regard we have to your request, by our gentle entreating of such as from you are earnestly recommended, we have not only at the very first given him some taste of our good will in the favourable receiving of him and hearing of his petitions, but also mean to proceed further to the full restitution of him, whereby he shall be able to enjoy the privileges of a subject, the liberties of his native country, and his old titles; besides that, we intend to deal so favourably with him and our said cousin, his wife, in all their suits and causes reasonable, that they shall have good occasion to acknowledge themselves bound unto you for the benefit they shall receive at our hands, and therefore render most humble thanks unto you, for whose sake and recommendation most chiefly our favour is extended towards them. We will always willingly embrace such means as shall be offered, whereby ye may clearly understand how well we can be content to do your pleasure. And so, right high and mighty princess, our dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, we pray the Almighty God to grant you as prosperous success in all your affairs as we wish unto ourself."

This letter was dated on the 28th of September, the day after Lennox's reception at court. It was sent to Elizabeth by sir James Melvil, the celebrated author of the "Memoirs," a very accomplished gentleman, and one likely to insinuate himself into Elizabeth's confidence, and he tells us that he was instructed to do his utmost to gain her familiar ear by turning his various accomplishments to advantage. The ostensible object of his mission was to pacify Elizabeth's anger at Mary's previous letter. "First," said his written instructions, "when you shall have delivered your letters of credit and made the usual compliments, with the greatest politeness possible, you shall declare to Elizabeth that since my journey to the northern parts of the kingdom, I have received neither letters nor news from her; that, in my impatience for them, and to contribute as much as shall be in me to straighten the ties of our friendship, I have thought fit to send you to her, to inform her of my health, and to inform me, on your return, of the state of her health, which is not less dear to me, wishing her all the happiness and prosperity that I wish to myself. You will add that I have learnt by the letters of my lord Dudley to Lethington, and by those of secretary Cecil to the earl of Murray, my brother, that she is offended at the letter which I wrote to her on the subject of the earl of Lennox, as though I had taken ill her counsels. You will tell her that I am very much mortified that she has so wrongly interpreted it. I doubted not for a single moment that her counsels came from truth and simplicity of heart, and I thought I might answer them with the same frankness. I cannot recollect the terms of my letter, not being in the habit of keeping a copy of those which I write with my own hand; though I should perhaps have done better to keep one in this instance, which would have furnished me with the means of explaining it and justifying myself. You will therefore beg her to communicate to you the passage which has wounded her, in order that you may explain to her its true sense, and calm her suspicions. It is true that when I read

her letter, I felt myself somewhat moved, and it was not without reason; for they gave me to understand that the nobles were discontented at the return of the earl of Lennox, whom I had permitted to come back to Scotland, and they tried to make me believe that his arrival would give rise to disturbances. Murray and Lethington told me themselves that they had been accused of holding the same sentiments and of having wished to oppose the return of Lennox, although both protested to me that they had never thought of such a thing, and the proofs I have had of their faithfulness, with the benefits I have conferred on them, and the confidence I have had in them, hinder me from suspecting them of this perfidy. But I am exceedingly irritated against whoever it may be who has spoken so ill of my subjects, as though they were disposed to address their complaints to others rather than to me. All this had so affected me, and put me into such a rage, that even if the terms of my letter had been stronger than they were, I should always have hoped that my good sister would not have taken it ill, inasmuch as I had in nowise the intention of offending her. Moreover my character is such that I cannot disguise my sentiments, and even if I could, I do not think I ought to do so with a sister to whom I have always written familiarly. You will try, therefore, to calm her suspicions, and if there be in my letter any expression capable of two meanings, you will pray her to choose the better; if she will do so, I am quite sure that, as I had no design of offending her, she will find that there is nothing offensive in my letter."

The conclusion of these instructions, which it must be stated we have only on the authority of Melvil himself, show us that the real object of Mary's anxiety was concealed under this errand of friendship. The parliament of England was again sitting, and the Scottish queen, knowing probably that there was a strong prejudice against her in that country, was afraid that something might be done to weaken her title. "Inform yourself with care," she continues in her directions to Melvil, "of the dispositions of the present parliament, and consult those who can enlighten you upon it. Endeavour to know why it has been convoked, what are the affairs which will be treated in it, and how long it will continue; above all try to discover if any matter that concerns me will be brought forwards in it. You may say to the queen, as though of your own motion, that I flatter myself with the belief that nothing will pass there, with her consent, which can prejudice my rights directly or indirectly. She knows that my council and I have always consulted her in our deliberations, and that we have ruled ourselves according to her advice; thus the affair of the succession having been proposed in the last parliament, and being reserved apparently for settlement in this one, I doubt not that she will interest herself in my favour, were it only to show everybody what are her dispositions towards me, and to impose silence on our enemies, who pretend to doubt our good intelligence, and who would have reason to say that we are friends in word and not in effect."

Before we proceed, we will call attention to a document which throws considerable light on the nature of the intrigues which were now going on. It is no less than Mary's own statement of her conduct at this moment, committed to paper, for what purpose is not known, but apparently to defend her marriage with Darnley, which had just taken place; it is now preserved among the documents in the state-paper office, from whence it is printed in the collection of prince Labanoff. She begins by alluding to the project of marriage with the prince of Spain, promoted by cardinal Granvelle and others, to which she was favourable, but which was "broken off against her will by an agreement made without her knowledge by her kinsmen in France with don Charles (the son of the emperor), in whom, besides the displeasure she bore for the rupture of the other, she found no advantage for her kingdom, being a foreigner, poor and far off, and the youngest of his brothers, not agreeable to her subjects, and without any apparent means or forces to aid her in the right which she claims to the succession of this island." She resolved, therefore, she continues, "not to hazard offending her subjects, unless it were for one who would be able to reduce them by his forces; for she had none, and was, as it were, in their ward, without forces, or money, or even loyal counsel, among people who were unknown to her, and for her long nurture out of the country and difference of religion, and the recent reconciliation, forced as far as she was concerned, for the treasons and crimes perpetrated by

them against her father, her mother, her lord and husband, (the late king of France) and her; which considered, she resolved to marry rather one of this island, to which both the catholics and the protestants earnestly solicited her, and threatened openly not to suffer the contrary. Then madame de Lennox (as she has always done since I was first moved by her,) sent a messenger to me, and by letters and tokens solicited me to accept her son, of the blood of England and Scotland, and the nearest after me in succession, a Stuart by name, in order always to support this surname so popular with the Scots, of the same religion as myself, and who would always respect me as he would be bound by the honour which I should do him in this. This match was pressed by the earl of Athol, the lord Lindsay, all the Stuarts, and the catholics. The protestants brought forwards Leicester, who, on the other side, wrote to me and caused me to be solicited by Randolph; to which Murray pretended to listen, although he knew that, though his queen had written to me in his favour, it was only to deceive me and retard the others. And this Leicester himself wrote me underhand by means of Randolph, showing me the ways how on the other part to induce her by fear to consent, even by the troubles in Ireland, while I had the influence, which she feared much. Murray, on the other hand, sought to obtain underhand his legitimation, and pretending affection to me, never left me a step, and would himself provide for all the offices and strong places, and for the whole government of the kingdom, and as my lieutenant-general had rendered himself so powerful that he held me in ward, and at last proposed to me to give my crown to him and to the earl of Argyle, and rid myself of the Hamiltons, as I had done with Huntley, which put it in my mind to listen to the marriage, and in this, if not to please all, at least to please those who merited my confidence, the catholics and those of my surname; of which determination I informed Athol and those who had urged it upon me, in order that they might make themselves acquainted with the wishes of the others who joined them in it; and my mother-in-law and her husband (the earl and countess of Lennox) then used all means that her husband might be allowed to come and be established in his goods and honours, and under this colour treat for his son with me. Having obtained this, he came here and began to employ all his friends, and practise with the others, and especially with the earl of Murray, who, thinking that all this would come to no effect, inasmuch as he could break it whenever he liked, at first was willing to agree with Lennox under colour of their surname, and in the hope that they might jointly ruin the Hamiltons, whom otherwise he dared not attack. Lennox, in this expectation, sends for his son, and in the mean time I hold a parliament in which, with the general consent, I re-establish them in their goods. The son comes but by stealth, and so Murray seeing that I was inclined really to this marriage, used means in England to have him countermanded by the queen; but he, advertised of this by his friends the catholics and others of the country who were no less". . .

The rest of this curious document is unfortunately lost, but there is enough of it to prove by Mary's own confession, that throughout these transactions she was acting with the most profound dissimulation. It appears from her own words, that she had never ceased to regard her protestant subjects with distrust and aversion; that the favour she had shown to Murray arose only from her belief that she could not, under circumstances, do without him; that she never had any intention of marrying Leicester, but that, on the contrary, the intrigue with Lennox and his countess for her marriage with the lord Darnley had commenced before the earl of Leicester was proposed, and was carried on during the whole time that that match was under negotiation.*

The honour with which Lennox was treated on his return to Scotland, was indeed enough to surprise every one. It was evidently something more than the mere return of a banished man; and we find him, as Mary herself states in the foregoing paper, entering immediately into a faction with the earl of Athol and the catholics, although, to save appearance, he still attended the protestant place of worship. A month after his return, on the 24th of October, Randolph wrote to Cecil, "I dined with my lord of Lennox, being by him required in the morning. I found nothing

* Yet Tytler, who obtained his materials for this part of his history from the very bundles in the state-paper office where this document is preserved, made no use of it, but insists that Mary's conduct in these transactions was nothing but openness and candour.

less for the beautifying and furniture of his lodging than your honour hath heard by report; the house well hanged [i.e. with tapestry], two chambers very well furnished, one special rich and fair bed, where his lordship lieth himself, and a passage made through the wall to come the next [*nearest*] way into court when he will. I see him honourably used of all men, and that the queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour. There dined with him the earl of Athol, in whom he reposes singular trust, and they are seldom asunder, saving when the earl of Lennox is at the sermon. There was also his brother, the bishop of Caithness, a protestant, who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great, and his household many, though he hath dispatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse money very fast, and, of his seven hundred pounds brought with him, I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may perchance be to him a dear purchase. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account; a clock, and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones; and a looking-glass very richly set with stones, in the four metals; to my lord of Lethington, a very fair diamond in a ring; to my lord Athol another, as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what; to divers others somewhat, but to my lord of Murray, nothing. He presented also each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect. The bruit is here, that my lady herself, and my lord Darnley, are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young lord, and many that desire to have him here."

Mary had, meanwhile, summoned a parliament, which assembled in Edinburgh in the month of December. Its principal acts were, the reversal of the attainder of the earl of Lennox, and his restoration to his estates and honours; the confirmation of the grant of the earldom of Murray to the lord James; and a re-enactment of the severe measures against people celebrating mass. Mary addressed the parliament on the subject of the restoration of Lennox, and told them that one of the chief causes moving her to it, was the earnest suit of the queen of England; and the act of the parliament restoring him was proclaimed with great solemnity at the cross.

During these proceedings, the negotiations for the marriage with the lord Robert Dudley continued, and the intrigues to promote that with lord Darnley were still concealed. Melvil was received at the court of Elizabeth with distinction; he ingratiated himself with that princess by his polite manners, and by flattering her vanity, and he has given in his memoirs an amusing account of his interviews. She constantly declared her friendship for the Scottish queen, and her wish for a personal interview, and Melvil went so far as to propose that she should pay a secret visit to the northern court, in disguise. While Mary's ambassador was at the English court, the lord Robert Dudley was created earl of Leicester, and Melvil being present at the ceremony, Elizabeth asked him how he liked the new peer, and received one of his courtly answers; upon which, Melvil tells us, she said, "Ye like better yonder long lad," pointing to lord Darnley. Melvil had been secretly commissioned by Mary to confer with the countess of Lennox to procure that the lord Darnley should obtain permission to go to Scotland, on pretence of visiting his father, and he skilfully parried Elizabeth's remark. "My answer again was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced."

On Melvil's return, Randolph, who had been recalled, was sent back to Scotland to continue the negotiation for the marriage of Mary with the earl of Leicester, in regard to which it is evident that the English ministers now entertained little hopes. A secret meeting was held at Berwick, in the month of November, between Murray and Lethington and the earl of Bedford, to discuss this question. "At this present," Cecil writes on the 26th of that month, "I think my lord of Murray and Lethington are upon the frontier treating friendly with our wardens for border matters; but that is I think a cloak to deal upon another matter, that is, to commune of a marriage between the queen of Scots and Leicester, which I think will not succeed." On the 30th of December, Cecil wrote again, "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester placed in this

high degree to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness." These "conditions" were the declaration of the title, which Mary appears to have insisted on being complied with before the marriage. Randolph was assured that Mary was ready to accept the marriage proposed by Elizabeth, if her title were previously established by law in England, and on the 14th of December he wrote very earnestly to Cecil, in apparent confidence that Leicester's suit would be successful. Yet at this very moment the earl of Lennox declared that his own son was destined to be Mary's husband, and it was commonly rumoured in Scotland that the lord Darnley was on his way home for that purpose. The ministers on both sides introduced much mystery into their correspondence on the subject, which is not easy to understand; but it is quite evident that they were anxious that this match should take place, for they regarded it as the great security of Scottish protestantism.

The French ambassador in London, M. de Foix, wrote in the month of January to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, on the return of an ambassador named Roullard, who had been sent to Scotland to propose a marriage between Mary and the dauphin of France, which was rejected; "Roullard," says the ambassador, "will tell you the pleasant and easy life of the said lady (queen Mary), employing all her mornings in the chase and her evenings in dances and masques; and though your majesty will think it strange, as you were pleased to write to me in your letters of the 5th of the past month, nevertheless it is the ordinary and every day practice in Scotland, where the earl of Lennox, as the greatest favourite, most frequently leads the said lady to the dance, and sometimes, for want of another, one of her gentlemen servants. And the bearer (Roullard, apparently) tells me that he has heard say several times that she would marry within six months; though I myself do not believe that she is in so great a hurry. She has begun by marrying her four Marys, and says that she will be of the band. The son of the said earl, who is called lord Darnley, at length and after long suit, has obtained permission of the queen of England to proceed to Scotland, and he is to go in two or three days, accompanied very honourably. By this your majesty may conjecture that the earl of Leicester has no hope to marry the said lady, although the queen of England has offered in favour of the said marriage to give the said earl a duchy with a revenue of two thousand pounds sterling, and also to declare the said lady her successor.

Nevertheless, Mary was at this moment preparing to lend her ear again to the proposed marriage with Leicester, or at least to appear to do so, and that measure seemed to take a more decided form. In a letter dated on the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph gave Cecil an account of a visit he had made to Mary at Aberdeen, where she had retired to devote herself still more to her favourite pleasures and amusements. She told him it was her holiday time, and she had taken up her residence there in a merchant's house, with a small company, resolved to throw aside her pomp and avoid business; and though she received him in a friendly and familiar manner, and made him dine and sup with her every day, she refused to listen to him when he would talk of graver affairs. At length his patience could endure no longer, and he pressed for leave to treat secret and grave matters." "I had no sooner spoken the word," he says, "but the queen said, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the queen cometh thither, for I assure you you shall not get her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you should think I am she at St. Andrews that I was at Edinburgh.' After some further conversation in this strain, Mary promised him he should have a letter for his mistress before he left St. Andrews, and then, said she, 'for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you.'"

Next day Mary made the ambassador dine with her, and after dinner he accompanied her in her ride, during which she conversed with him on Elizabeth's proposals. She told him that on this point she had always been willing to follow the advice and accept the proposals of her good sister the queen of England, and that it was on her account that she had refused the foreign marriages. This we know from Mary's own statements

was not the case. She told him also that it was not her intention to defer long her marriage, but she said that as she had good offers from abroad, she thought she ought not to give up her foreign alliances without receiving some good advantage in exchange. Her allusion, of course, was to the declaration regarding her title to the English succession. She then proceeded to talk of the friendship between the two countries, and of her own good-will towards Elizabeth; and, on being asked how she liked the suit of the earl of Leicester, she said, "My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of a very good gentleman, as I hear say by many; and such a one as the queen your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be mine. Marry, what I shall do lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."

At this very moment lord Darnley, under pretence that as his father's heir his presence in Scotland was necessary for the affairs of the family, was preparing for his journey. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 12th of February, and crossing the Firth, he proceeded to the castle of Wemyss in Fife, where Mary was resting in her progress. He was received at court in the most flattering manner, and immediately became an object of general interest among the courtiers. Although generally suspected to be a papist, he dissimulated so far as to go in the morning to the sermon, and profess to place himself entirely under the guidance of the earl of Murray. In the evening of his first day at court, he danced a galliard with the queen. From the first moment of his appearance, the rumour became more rife than ever that he was the person really intended for Mary's husband. Yet Mary concealed her intentions; and, though she showed little inclination to listen to a proposal of the cardinal of Lorraine to obtain a dispensation for her marriage with the king of France, her late husband's brother, yet when urged on the subject of the marriage by Randolph, she declared that she intended to marry such a husband as Elizabeth would give her, adding, however, that if Elizabeth did not use her as a sister, she must do the best she could for herself.

In the middle of these intrigues, we find that Murray was suddenly alarmed for his own safety, in case the marriage with the earl of Leicester should not take place. He pretended that in the course of the negotiations he had said and done many things on his own responsibility, which, though dictated solely by attachment to his sovereign and zeal for the interests of his country, might be seized hold of as pretexts for persecution, if the queen should marry a papist or one who was personally hostile to him. He became on this account urgent with the English ministers to press forwards the negotiations. We perceive at the same time some other slight intimations of danger to Murray, and the young lord Darnley himself was rumoured to have used threatening expressions towards him. A long letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated on the 20th of March, throws considerable light on the state of things in Scotland at this moment. "I hear daily," he says, "so many and grievous complaints of the state of government of this country, that either there is great lack of wisdom in those that have the chief charge to direct all things as they ought to be, or great fault in the subjects that, through their disobedience, no good order, be it never so well devised, can be observed. What troubles have risen in this country for religion, your honour knoweth. All things now are grown into such a liberty, and her grace has taken unto herself such a will to do therein what she list, that of late, contrary to her own ordonnances, as great numbers have repaired to her chapel to hear mass, as sometimes come to the common churches to the sermon. To have her mind altered for this freedom that she desireth to have all men live as they like, she can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her, being a prince in her own country, to have her will broken therein. The subjects who desire to live in the true fear and worshipping of God, offer rather their lives again to be sacrificed, than that they would suffer such abomination; yea, almost permit herself to enjoy her mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the preachers, than ever was the pope of Rome. This kindleth in her a desire to revenge, and breedeth in others a liberty to speak and a will to attempt to amend that by force which by no other means they can get reformed. What this may grow unto, except some speedy help be put unto it, I leave your honour to think; for myself, I would I were far enough from the sight of it. Two notable blasphemies lately against God, yet not worthily punished, though somewhat done, with difficulty enough, to have the doers committed to prison. A schoolmaster in Haddington

made a play to exercise his scholars against the ministers, and baptized a cat in the name of the Father, the Son, &c. One of the queen's chapel, a singing man, said that he believed as well a tale of Robin Hood as any word that was written in the Old Testament or the New. Her own mass, and the resort unto it, such blasphemies as these unpunished, her will to continue papistry, her desire to have all men live as they list, so offendeth the godly men's consciences, and so many besides as desire alteration, that it is continual fear that these matters will shortly break out to some great mischief."

"By the way," continues Randolph, "I will tell your honour a merry tale, but very true, which commonly tales are not. There is one that attendeth upon this court called Moffet, who commonly once in three years entereth into a phrenesie. Within these twenty days his passion taketh him with such an imagination that he is the queen's husband. A great protestant he is, and very godly, when he is in his wits. He came one day into the queen's chapel, and finding the priest at mass, drew out his sword, drove the priest from the altar into the vestry, broke the challice, overthrew and pulled in pieces all the robes and reliques, cross, candlesticks, and all that was there cut and broken. The mass-sayer was the doctor of Sorbonne, and at the hearing of it was the queen's physician, and, as he saith himself, never in greater fear of his life, and hid himself behind the tapestry until the execution of this mass-God was past. This doth as much anger the queen, as it doth please many others, to have her sacred place thus disturbed."

Randolph then goes on to observe, "These oft debates, these common controversies between her and her nobles, must needs breed great misliking, and so often renewed, yea, almost daily, to her great grief to hear of them, must needs grow to a mischief. Above all the rest, this is it that is feared that will be the breach of all good accord and quietness of this estate, though the rest be borne with; that is, if she match herself with a papist, by whom she may be fortified to her intent. Of this point there is no small care taken, and much doubt risen, what shall become of all those that in times past have so far attempted, as to establish here churches, and without her consent. Sometimes they take advice to be suitors and means unto the queen's majesty, that she will be so careful of this estate, and of those that with all reverence and humble sort are ready to serve her and obey her next unto their own sovereign, that she will so work and travail, yea, and so provide for her in marriage, that they may be void of that care which now they do doubt, which they do think can be no ways so well as if those matters that so long have been in consultation took effect; as to match her with my lord of Leicester, being himself a protestant, should easily enough bring her to be of the same religion, or, at the least, cause her to deal more moderately in those matters than yet she doth. If this take not effect, whereunto she is now meekly well inclined, assuredly, whomsoever she doth marry, it shall be greatly to their discontentment, besides other things that are to be doubted, of the inconveniences that may arise between the two realms; as if she either ally herself again with France, or match with Spain, whereof what likelihood there is, or how she is able to bring it to pass, your honour may know much more than I. But to what end this journey of my lord of Lethington is to the cardinal, and what devices are between Granvelle and him, I know no farther than that which I wrote in my last letter. One thing I must also say, that all men here that either love their commonwealth, or know what a benefit it is to live in peace, think this country happy if they may get (as they call him still here,) my lord Robert."

Randolph next proceeds to speak of the earl of Lennox, "I have been always of opinion that my lord of Lennox coming into this country might do more hurt than good, wherein I never had so much respect unto himself, or any other man here, as I did what these men should judge of my sovereign, or whether it might be an occasion of altering of divers men's affections towards her majesty, who was, and yet is, accounted a protector and defender of the godly of this realm, in whom they had always such trust and hope, that as she hath delivered them out of their enemies' hands, so would she have a continual care over them, and to keep from them such inconveniences as may fall upon them. My lord of Lennox is come home, restored and established in his land, in peace and credit with the queen, an instrument and ready to serve her against any, especially those

whom she most misliketh. To this end he fortifieth himself; he joineth with those in most straight familiarity that are noted greatest enemies to all virtue, as Athol and Caithness, earls; Ruthven and Hume, lords: the lord Robert [Robert Stuart, bishop of Caithness,] vain and nothing worth, a man full of all evil, the whole guider and ruler of my lord Darnley. These things being spied and noted to the world, it is easy to be seen whereunto they are bent, that in their hearts are enemies to the truth, and desire nothing so much as the subversion of those that have been maintainers of the same, as in special the duke and the earls of Murray and Argyle, who now perceiving their intents, seek by the best means that they can to prevent the same. Their chief trust, next unto God, is the queen's majesty, whom they will repose themselves upon, not leaving in the mean season to provide for themselves the best they can. The duke, my lord of Murray, and my lord of Argyle, have joined themselves within these eight days in a new bond, to defend each other's quarrel, that is not against God and their sovereign. My lord of Argyle hath taken into his defence, in all his just actions, the earl of Montgomery, alias Eglintoun, and intendeth to make a marriage between the earl of Cassillis and the duke's daughter, or, if that cannot be, between him and the countess of Crawford, his near kinswoman, and the greatest marriage in Scotland. To both these earls my lord of Lennox hath actions, who being now thus joined in friendship, shall be able enough to defend themselves, or if he intend anything by way of deed, shall be able enough to debate their quarrels. Always they are loath to come to this, and are sorry that any such guest is suffered to come amongst them that may give occasion to enter into such terms as now they are forced into. It is now found by the wisest amongst them how great an oversight it was for them to give their advices to let him come home; and because it was much easier to have been stayed by the queen's majesty, than to be withstood here, when this queen's affection towards his return was known, they are sorry that her majesty did so much yield unto her will to let him come, who may and is like enough to be occasion of so great troubles. Of my lord Darnley they have this opinion, that in wisdom he doth not much differ from his father. The honour, countenance, and entertainment that he hath here, maketh him think no little of himself. Some persuade him that there is no less good will borne unto him by many of this nation, than that they think him a fit party for such a queen. How easily a young man so borne in hand, daily in presence well used, continually either of the best or next about her, may be induced, either by himself to attempt, or by persuasions of others to imagine, I leave it to the judgment of others. Of this queen's mind hitherto towards him, I am void of suspicion; but what affections may be stirred up in her, or whether she will be at any time moved that way, seeing she is a woman, and in all things desireth to have her will, I cannot say. This is also needful for your honour to understand, that the queen hath conceived displeasure towards my lord of Argyle. Her hatred is still mortal towards the duke, which lately burst out in over many words and in too many men's hearing. He thinketh himself in evil case. I find him more pitied and better beloved than ever he was. He keepeth continually at home. Few of his name repair to court. They seek all quietly to live, and through innocency or not offence of law to avoid all dangers that are intended, or what mischiefs soever shall be preached against them, whereof they do most assure themselves if this queen do marry any other than my lord of Leicester, but specially if she take my lord Darnley. This putteth no small fear also among the Douglases, for what cause your honour knoweth. With divers of them of late I have had some talk. I maintain them in good hope, the best I can, that there is no danger that way. From the duke I have received this message, that he cannot be without fear of the overthrow of his house, if the lord Darnley marry the queen. As he hath hitherto shown himself friend and servant to her majesty, so he hopeth not a little but he shall always have occasion to serve and honour her during his life, and make his whole house bound unto her for ever. He did put me in remembrance of a letter written unto him by the queen's majesty a little before his sovereign's home coming, assuring him of her majesty's favour and support, if anything should be unjustly attempted against him, he doing his duty to his sovereign. He will, therefore, repose himself wholly in the queen's majesty, and

desireth her highness to have such care over him as one willing to serve her and may hereafter be able to be a friend at commandment. Of this message was my lord of Kilwinnie messenger, and the same again confirmed by my lord of Argyle, who for his own part offereth all service that lieth in his power, and of whom I have received the effect of that which I have written in my whole letter.

"These things I doubt not shall be weighed and considered of your honour. To help all these unhappy men I doubt not but you will take the best way, and this I can assure, that contrary to my sovereign's will let them attempt, let them seek, and let them send to all the cardinals or devils in hell, it shall pass their powers to bring anything to pass, so that that be not refused here that in reason ought to content her. How long the kingdom will stand between my lord of Murray and my lord of Lennox, your honour may judge by this, that my lord of Lennox hath joined himself with those whom my lord of Murray thinketh worst of in Scotland. What opinion the young lord hath conceived of him, that lately talking with the lord Robert, who showed him in the Scotch map what lands my lord of Murray had, and in what bounds, the lord Darnley said that it was too much. This came to my lord of Murray's ear, and so to the queen, who advised my lord of Darnley to excuse himself to my lord of Murray. The truth is, these be no matters to make or to take quarrels for, yet these suspicions, doubts, and heart-burnings between these noblemen may break out to great inconveniences, and for my own particular I would not greatly care (though this be unadvisedly spoken, for I know there is of many of those much good will borne unto me) which end went forward, so that the queen's majesty may ever be thought of and reputed to be a patron and friend to this nation, as presently (*now*) she is."

Mary had now evidently made up her mind to the marriage with Darnley, and there only remained the rather delicate task of imparting this resolution to the courts of France and England, and that of obtaining the consent of her nobility. In England the opposition to this alliance was sure to be great, and one of Mary's first cares was to send the laird of Lethington, whose diplomatic skill was well known, on an embassy to Elizabeth. We know from a dispatch of the French ambassador in England, M. de Foix, written on the 24th of March, that Lethington's mission had then been announced at the English court, but at that time Elizabeth seems still to have believed that the negotiations for the marriage with the earl of Leicester were progressing satisfactorily. On the 15th of April, Lethington arrived in London, and at the same time came a letter from Randolph with information that not only had the marriage with Darnley been resolved upon, but that the queen of Scots already lived on terms of such familiarity with him as to give rise to a variety of injurious reports. Elizabeth saw that she had been duped in the affair of the Lennoxes, and her indignation was great; but the principal offenders were then out of her reach. Under pretext, however, that the whole proceedings were connected with plots among the English catholics, in which the countess of Lennox was a principal agent, she caused that lady to be confined to her own house, and subsequently committed her to the Tower; and, being informed by Lethington that Mary had not proceeded so far as to be unable to retrace her steps, she sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton in haste to Scotland to use his utmost efforts to dissuade the young queen from such an alliance. Throckmorton set out on his embassy at the beginning of May, and three days afterwards Lethington followed him.

During his absence the progress of events in Scotland had been very rapid, and not less important. Darnley's mind was soon intoxicated with the amorous attentions of the queen and with his sudden elevation, so that he became so vain and overbearing as to disgust the greater part of the nobility, of whom he spoke with scornful disdain. He even talked openly of reducing the exorbitant power of the earl of Murray, and he boasted of his great influence among the catholics in England and of the strong party which he could raise there. Mary was on her side led entirely by her passion for the young lord, and she acted with a greater degree of wilfulness than she had ever shown before. The Hamiltons, who looked upon Lennox as their bitterest enemy, were greatly alarmed at the increasing favour in which he stood at court; and the earl of Murray, professing disgust at the increase of popery in the queen's household, kept away. It was at this moment that the young earl of Bothwell, a man

notorious for his unprincipled character, returned suddenly to Scotland. He had been accused of a plot to murder the earl of Murray and obtain possession of the queen's person, and, on being summoned to stand his trial, he made his escape to France. Murray, whose life had often been threatened by Bothwell, looked upon his return as foreboding no good to himself, and he and the earl of Argyle now demanded justice against him, and the queen summoned him to stand his trial for high treason. On the evening of Tuesday the 1st of May, the day before the trial was to take place, the earl of Murray came to Edinburgh for the purpose of prosecuting it, accompanied by a force of five or six thousand men; and Randolph states that more would have come, "saving that they were stayed by the queen, who hath shown herself now of late to mislike that my lord of Murray so earnestly pursueth him, and will not give his voice to take the like advantage upon some others whom she beareth small affection unto." Bothwell was unwilling to venture among such a large concourse of his enemies, and he sent his kinsman Hepburn of Whitsum to appear for him, and protest his innocence. Judgment, however, it is said, would have been pronounced against him but for the interference of the queen, who was popularly believed to have used her influence in screening him. If such were the case, it was probably done at the desire of the catholics, of whom he was a reckless partizan.

It is quite evident that at this moment Scotland was in a state of great agitation. The protestants took the alarm and began to associate together for mutual defence, and people talked openly of the necessity of placing the queen under restraint, or taking some other violent method of hindering a marriage from which they all saw so much to apprehend. A breach was apparent between the queen and those protestant leaders under whose directions the government of Scotland had been carried on with so much moderation and wisdom since the queen's return to her dominions, and people dreaded the consequences. "To this point it is come," writes Randolph on the 3rd of May, "that my lords of Murray and Argyle will at no time be in the court together, that, if need be, the one may relieve or support the other. The duke is content to live at home, and thinketh himself happy if he may die in his bed. The preachers look daily, by some means or other, to have their lives taken from them; or to be commanded to silence, as already she hath done one Mr. Thomas Drummond, a godly and learned young man that preached at Dumblane. With my lord of Argyle there came to this town the lord David, the duke's son, with most part of the duke's friends. Assured bands and promises are made between the duke and my lord of Murray, that nothing shall be attempted against each other, but it shall be defended to the uttermost of their powers. The earl of Glencairn having been required by the earl of Lennox to enter into the like band, hath refused it and joined with the duke. My lord of Morton this time was absent, but so misliked, that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that my lady's grace (the countess of Lennox) will give over her rights of Angus, and so he will become friend to that side. In this Lethington laboureth, not much to his own praise. The lord Ruthven, Lethington's chief friend, is wholly theirs, and chief counsellor amongst them. Suspicions do rise on every side, in which I have my part, as of late, because I was at the west border, and am thought to practise with the master of Maxwell, I know not what myself. My lord of Murray was willed not to have to do with me; and when he said he could not choose but speak well of me, 'Well,' saith she (the queen), 'if you will, let not Argyle have to do with him.' For all that, I have supped thrice with my lord of Murray. My lord of Argyle took the pains to come to my lodging; he brought with him the lord David. He hath been plain, and, to be short, misliketh all."

Mary appears at this time to have been much ruled by the inferior attendants on her person, by her ladies, and especially by her private secretary, David Rizzio, or Riccio. This man was an Italian who came over in the suite of Monsieur de Morette, sent by the duke of Savoy on an embassy to Mary's court in 1561, and he had first obtained the queen's favour by his musical talents. She subsequently took him into her confidence, and admitted him to great familiarity, and gradually advanced him over the heads of those who were much superior to himself; and by this means, and by the pride and petulance which accompanied his advancement, he had gained

many enemies. It was said that he was the main promoter of the marriage with Darnley, and the latter had taken him into his most intimate confidence, and seemed to treat him as his only friend. "The chief dealers in these matters," says Randolph, in the letter just quoted, "are, David Riccio, the Italian, Mingo, valet-de-chambre, Athol, and Ruthven, whom I should have named first. Thus your honour seeth our present estate, and how things do frame amongst us. So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. My lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse-meat; if he have no more from you, we shall see him presently put to his shifts. His men are bolder and saucier, both with the queen's self and many noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne; divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their doings. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them. My young lord, lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the duke to knock his pate when he is whole."

The protestant preachers were especially alarmed at the new state of things, and on the 3rd of May, the day on which this letter was written, they held an assembly to consult on their interests. "This day," Randolph goes on to say, "the chief of the protestants that at this time are present with the ministers, assembled in the church. Consultation was had what order might be put unto that confusion that had grown up, wherein every man might do and say what he would, without reproof, against God's glory and his word. Their deliberation contained three heads: first, how to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the queen's chapel, as others; next, that her own laws might be put in execution without offence; the third, that liberty might be granted, without inhibition or reproof, to such as are admitted to preach the true word of God. Long reasoning hath been hereupon. It was determined that the request should be put in writing, and certain appointed as messengers for the rest."

Mary was particularly embarrassed by Murray's opposition to her marriage with Darnley, and she now tried every means, not sparing either flattery or threats to obtain his consent, but in vain. At length, in an interview in lord Darnley's chamber, on the 8th of May, she attempted to gain her object by taking him by surprise. Drawing him aside, she suddenly placed in his hands a paper containing a written approval of her marriage, and an engagement to promote it with all his power, and required him to sign it at once, if he would show himself her faithful subject, and avoid her extreme displeasure. He declined firmly, but respectfully, alleging reasons why he could not conscientiously approve a measure which he thought had been adopted too hastily, and would be injurious to her kingdom. Mary burst into one of her passionate appeals, at one minute caressed and flattered him, and at another threatened; and at last, finding she could not prevail, after many "sore words," she accused him of ingratitude, and dismissed him with expressions of violent resentment.

Mary now determined to delay no further, and she summoned the Scottish nobility to meet at Stirling on the 15th of May, that she might announce to them her intentions and obtain their consent. She at the same time sent one of her courtiers, named Beaton, with new instructions to Lethington, worded, we are told, in very passionate language, and directing him to tell the English queen that, having been so long held in suspense by her fair words and promises, she had now determined to listen to her no longer, but to make choice of a husband for herself, and to that end she should call her nobles together and take their advice. Lethington was directed to proceed from England to France, and there use his utmost exertions to obtain the French king's approval of her union with the lord Darnley. Lethington had, however, left the English court on his return, and Beaton met him near Newark, and delivered his dispatches. Hitherto Lethington appears to have given no decided intimation of the part which he took at this difficult crisis, and while the queen seems to have regarded him as entirely in her interest, we know that Murray and his friends were fearful that he would not be willing so far to compromise himself as to declare openly against the marriage. But these new instructions seem to have decided him in the course he intended to take. Instead of obeying them, he put them in his pocket, and hurrying forwards, overtook Throckmorton at Alnwick,

to whom he communicated the instructions he had received, and in very angry terms expressed his high displeasure at the course which Mary was now pursuing, and his wish that Elizabeth might interfere to prevent it. The two ambassadors continued their route into Scotland together.

Throckmorton arrived in Edinburgh on the 15th of May, the very day on which the convention of the nobles was held at Stirling, whither he immediately proceeded. The nobles had assembled in great numbers; the leading catholic peers and all the lords of the queen's party were there, and those who were opposed to the marriage seem to have been overawed into acquiescence. Having obtained a declaration on the part of the convention in accordance with her wishes, Mary immediately conferred the honour of knighthood on the lord Darnley, and then created him lord of Ardmanach and earl of Ross, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. It was at this moment that it was announced that the queen of England's ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was at the castle gate, and demanded an immediate audience. He was at once ushered into the royal presence, where he delivered in strong language the remonstrances of Elizabeth on the ill-advised proceedings of the Scottish queen, and on the presumption of Lennox and Darnley, who, Elizabeth's own subjects, had dared to engage in such enterprises without consulting with her. At the same time he summoned them both to return immediately to England, on pain of confiscation there. Mary expressed her surprise at Elizabeth's interference, declared that she had rejected all foreign suitors to please her, and said that she had supposed she was acting in full conformity with her wishes in selecting an Englishman for her husband.

Amid these intrigues, Knox began again to stand forth boldly with his warnings and denunciations. He had never been deceived by the queen's declarations of favours to the protestants, but had always believed that she was dissimulating, and many of those who were at one time scandalized at his violence, now thought that he was in the right. The party of Murray and Lethington began again to act in alliance with him. The protestants, indeed, were now becoming so alarmed, that they began to meditate desperate measures, and the question is said to have been seriously discussed, whether it would be best to slay the lord Darnley, or to seize him and his father and deliver them up to the English. According to the accounts we have, Riccio and Darnley seem to have been at this time the chief directors of the queen's counsels, and the pride of Darnley especially had given offence to all the nobles except those who hoped through him to overthrow the protestant influence. Randolph, a close observer of what was going on, wrote to the earl of Leicester on the 3rd of June—"David is he that now worketh all, chief secretary to the queen, and only governor to her gude man; the bruits (*reports*) here are wonderful, men talk very strange, the hazard towards him and his house marvellous great; his pride intollerable, his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies, as I hear say, that sometimes he will be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all, and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life, to live under such estate and government as this is like to be. What comfort can they look for at the queen's majesty's hands, or what support, if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end he was sent into this country. I spare here to speak so much as I have heard; and knowing so little of the queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give."

Mary was at this time preparing a new embassy for England, and she chose her master of requests, John Hay, who, as a man of character and moderation, was likely to be listened to with attention, to labour to reconcile Elizabeth to her union with Darnley. His instructions were dated at Perth, on the 14th of June, and it was directed that, "In the first, after our most hearty recommendations made to our said good sister, ye shall declare unto her that, whereas by the message of sir Nicholas Thockmorton, knight, her late ambassador here, we heard, although besides (*contrary to*) our expectation, of her great discontentation and misliking of our choice of the earl of Ross to be our husband, a matter which at the first appeared to us most strange and uncouth, thinking rather to

have received good will and approbation of our intended purpose, principally in consideration that by the space of a whole year past, or thereby (*thereabouts*), by the declaration of master Randolph, her agent in this our realm, shown in manner of advice, we have always understood, and taken it for her meaning, that in case we could be contented to forbear to deal with the houses of France, Spain, and Austria, in marriage, and join with any subject of this whole isle, and specially of England, that then she would most willingly embrace and allow our doing. And when as we followed the same her advice and counsel, moved by it, and taking a greater regard of the same, than of the advices of any our other nearest friends, which for her respect we passed over and disdained to use, had thus inclined ourself to match with one of this isle, her own subject and near cousin, thinking thereby to have fully pleased her, and by the contrary, understood her said misliking and discontentment, we could not wonder enough, finding our sincere meaning so mistaken. And although before the coming of her ambassador, we had fully condescended with ourself, and in our heart were determined, to have my said lord of Ross in husband, and thereupon had written to our friends, our whole nobility agreeing without variance to the purpose, as both they and we continue in the same mind; yet having consideration of our amity, and regarding her message declared by her said ambassador, we were contented to delay and suspend the final accomplishment and solemnization of our marriage for a convenient season, that thereby our said good sister might well perceive, that as heretofore we have always used her advices, specially in this most weighty cause of our marriage, and think we have done no otherwise." The document is here injured, but Mary goes on to propose that commissioners on both sides should meet to arrange the differences which were likely to arise between the two queens.

"Further," says Mary, "ye shall declare unto our said good sister, how we cannot but think very strange and fremmit (*extraordinary*), the sharp intreating and handling of our dear cousin the lady Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox, our father's sister, and can judge no other but that this her evil and hard intreating is for our cause, seeing that the day immediately preceding the coming of the lord of Lethington, our secretary and late ambassador towards our said good sister, it pleased her to visit the said lady in her own chamber, doing her therethrough great honour, and showing her as great humanity (*politeness*) in that point as of the prince by the subject could be asked or looked for; although that conceit continued not long, for even on the morn, and ever since, her case has been so to our knowledge that we pity it; and she herself being our said good sister's subject, and so near cousin, we doubt not but the same will be repaired, and she relieved of her present trouble; at least, if it were for no other cause, but to make the sowers of rumours disappointed, who think and make all men to believe that her hard intreating is for our sake; which opinion, as we know to be vain and untrue, so would we wish by her liberty and restitution it might be cut off and deled forth of memory. Item, ye shall declare to our said good sister, with what good heart and affection our cousin the earl of Lennox is minded to do her humble service; and because his living lies both in Scotland and England, and he therethrough obliged and devinct (*bound*) to us both, and both our kingdoms; that therefore it may be the pleasure and goodwill of our said dearest sister to grant and give full licence and liberty to the said earl to pass and repass betwixt this our realm and the realm of England, as oft as he thinks good, without prescription, or any certain time of returning or remaining. And in case by that liberty it may perchance be suspected that he is able to do or procure things in hurt or prejudice of our said good sister and her realm, it may be answered on this behalf, that during his remaining in Scotland, his lady and youngest son shall remain in England as pledges for the loyalty and good behaviour of the said earl to our said good sister, and towards her realm and lieges; so that, on the other part, his said lady and son may remain in Scotland when he is in England."

Hay arrived at Elizabeth's court on the 27th of June. The English queen and her council had been much irritated and embarrassed by the course things were taking in the north, for it is quite evident they saw in this marriage considerable danger to English protestantism. On the 3rd of June, the French ambassador, de Foix, paid a visit to Elizabeth, and found her playing at chess in her private chamber. Knowing that the subject of greatest interest at this moment

was the marriage of the lord Darnley with the Scottish queen, De Foix began the conversation by observing that the game of chess was an image of the discourses, cautions, and events of the actions of men, in which, when one lost a pawn, it seemed indeed but a small thing, yet very often it led to the loss of the whole game. The queen replied, that she understood very well the allusion of the ambassador; she knew lord Darnley was but a pawn, yet that he would nevertheless be enough to give her mate, unless she took great care. Elizabeth then rose from the game, took the French ambassador aside, and expressed to him great anger and resentment for what she characterized as the disloyal conduct of the earl of Lennox and his son. Throckmorton had returned home from his embassy on the 1st of June, and his report seemed rather to have increased Elizabeth's irritation. On the 12th of June, she submitted the question of Mary's marriage with Darnley formally to the privy council, and it was agreed that it was fraught with danger to the protestant establishment in England, and, consequently, to Elizabeth's crown. They accordingly recommended that all possible steps should be taken to prevent it.

Such was the state of things at the English court, when the protestant party in Scotland, lead by Murray and Argyle, applied secretly to Elizabeth for assistance. The latter, while she summoned Lennox and Darnley, as her subjects, to return to England, and wrote to the queen of Scots to express a strong disapproval of her proceedings, gave Murray and his friends assurance that she would protect them against their enemies, as long as they laboured together for the support of protestantism and the preservation of the amity between the two countries. The first open manifestation of the discontent of the protestant barons was occasioned by the convention of the nobility, which Mary had appointed to take place at Perth on the 22nd of June, to give their final consent to the marriage, and fix the day. Murray absented himself on the excuse that his life was in danger; while the preachers, encouraged by Knox and the earl of Argyle, not only raised their voice loudly against the marriage, but, in order to embarrass the court still more, they appointed the general assembly of the church to be held in Edinburgh at the very time when the nobles were to meet at Perth. The protestants in this assembly drew up a petition to the queen, praying that the blasphemous mass and all popish idolatry should be utterly abolished, not only throughout the kingdom, but in her own household; that she herself, as well as her subjects, should profess the true religion as it was based on the word of God; and that all persons should be compelled to attend the preaching of the ministers. They also required that further provision should be made for the support of the latter; that pluralities should be abolished; that greater care should be taken in the appointment of teachers in colleges and schools; that a fund should be established for the relief of the poor; and that the agriculturists should be relieved from the burthen of tithes. The earl of Glencairn and five commissioners were appointed to present this petition to the queen, a duty which they performed at Perth on the 1st of July. She replied cautiously but firmly, that as she believed in the truth of the catholic faith, she could not consent to abandon it herself or to banish it from her household; but she reminded the commissioners that she had allowed a complete liberty of conscience to her subjects, which she hoped they would extend to her. With regard to the other points contained in the petition, she said that she was willing to refer them to the decision of the three estates.

The protestant lords now began to meditate more desperate designs. It was determined, at all risks, to seize upon Darnley and his father; and the earls of Murray and Argyle held a secret meeting with lord Boyd at Lochleven, on the 1st of July, to consult on the best means of carrying their design into effect. As Mary was then at Perth, and it was known that she was to proceed thence with Darnley and her court to Callander, near Falkirk, the seat of lord Livingston, the conspirators determined to intercept her at a wild spot near Beith, where she must pass, and while the queen was taken to St. Andrews, Darnley and his father were to be held in custody until arrangements could be made for delivering them up to the English. With this object, they communicated with Randolph, and obtained an indirect assurance that the English commander at Berwick would receive the two captives. Mary, however, received timely warning of her danger, and, having ordered Athol and Ruthven to assemble their followers, she left Perth at day-

break on the 3rd of July, with an escort of three hundred horse, traversed the distance between that town and the firth of Forth, and reached Callander without encountering any interruption on the road. Argyle arrived at Kinross only to learn that the royal party had passed that place two hours before him, and that his object was thus entirely defeated.

Mary now perceived the dark cloud that was gathering round her, and she attempted to avert it by new professions of her resolution to support the protestant religion as established in Scotland. At Callander she attended for the first time a protestant sermon, and professed her willingness to listen to the arguments of Erskine of Dun against the church of Rome. She thus drew many of the more moderate of her subjects from joining in the agitation that was going on; while Murray and the lords of his party became more and alarmed, and not only entered into bonds among themselves, but made application directly to Elizabeth for protection and assistance. Everything now threatened the country with civil war. Mary, however, was resolved to persevere in her own course, and her proceedings against the lords who opposed her were marked by courage, firmness, and ability. Early in June, the earl of Argyle had collected his forces to attack the earl of Athol, upon which Mary sent them a peremptory order to remain at peace. The earl of Murray, having summoned his adherents to meet him at Glasgow, she sent a herald to that city to forbid the meeting, on pain of treason. She prorogued the parliament from July, when it was to assemble, till the month of October. Then, following up these energetic measures by one still more decisive, she summoned her subjects to attend her in arms at Edinburgh, provisioned for fifteen days, to be ready to march against her enemies, and directed letters to many of the chief protestants, appealing to their loyalty, and declaring solemnly that she had never harboured the thought of doing anything against the free exercise of the protestant faith. One of these, to whom addressed is unknown, but dated from Edinburgh on the 16th of July, is preserved in the British Museum, and is worded as follows:—Trusty friend, we greet you well. The evil bruit and untrue report spread by seditious persons amongst our lieges has grieved us indeed, as that we should have intended to impede or molest any our subjects in the using of their religion and conscience freely, a thing which never entered in our mind, although over many have credited the report; and to the effect that this vain bruit may evanish as a thing without ground or foundation, we have directed our letters to signify our sincere meaning to all our good subjects, and with that we thought it very meet and convenient to write unto you in particular, as one of whom we never had but good opinion, and saw your ready good will to serve when the occasion of the common weal required. The effect is to certify and assure you that, as hitherto ye have never perceived us mean stop, stay, or molestation, to you or any others in using your religion and conscience, so may you look for the same our good will and clemency in time coming. For next God, behaving you as a good subject to us, think no other but to find us a favourable and beneficial mistress and prince, willing to contain you in good peace and quietness, without innovation or alteration in any sort. And in case ye shall be desired to rise and concur with any man, as under pretence of these vain bruits, we pray you to estay and take no heed to them that so shall desire you, as also if it shall happen us to have to do either with our old enemies, or otherwise, we look to be certified by you presently in writing with the bearer what we may lippin (*expect*) for at your hands; farther of our mind we have declared to the bearer hereof, whom-to ye shall give firm credit. Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the 16th day of July, 1565." A postscript immediately follows:—"After this our letter written, and when we hoped that so suddenly we needed not to charge you, we are constrained to give you warnings and pray you effectuously, that ye, with your kin, friends, and force ye may make, address you to come to us, being in feir (*array*) of war, and be provided for fifteen days after your coming to attend and await upon us. For seeing armour taken on already without occasion, it were little enough that we looked to our own surety and estate. This we doubt not but ye will do according to our lippinnis (*expectations*), with all possible haste. We have not a commodious bearer ready, and yet would not delay our letter, for it will sufficiently enough declare our meaning."

At the same time with these proceedings, an attempt at justification was made with regard to the earl of Murray. He had



HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY.

KING OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1567.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE LATE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

refused to attend the convention at Stirling, on the plea that Lennox and Darnley had designs upon his life. He was now summoned by the queen to appear and make good this accusation. She gave him a safe-conduct, countersigned by such of the privy council as were with her, for himself and eighty attendants, a small escort for a nobleman in his position in Scotland in those times and under such circumstances. Lennox and Darnley disclaimed any design against him, and the former offered to fight the man who had accused them of it. But Murray was too well aware of the value of such protests and threats, and he again refused to obey.

There was in the mind of queen Elizabeth a strange mixture of liberality on one side, and of extravagant notions of the divine right of kings on the other. She had a feeling for oppressed subjects, especially if they suffered for religion, but she had no notion of their being helped by themselves. A rebellion of subjects she looked upon with the utmost abhorrence, however they might have been provoked to it. Hence she acted on a very wavering policy towards the Scottish, as well as towards the French protestants. She would not allow them to be entirely crushed, while she still anxiously avoided the appearance of taking part with them; and by giving them such equivocal countenance, she often led them into disasters which might have been avoided. At the same time, this very crafty policy was perhaps the salvation of liberty, both religious and civil; for had she prematurely provoked that terrible contest which happened more than half a century later, it is very difficult to conjecture what might have been the result. Elizabeth's policy was, however, certainly injurious to the protestant lords in Scotland at this time; for by that degree of encouragement which her agents held out to them, they seem to have been led to compromise themselves more than they otherwise would have done; while the little open support she gave them exposed their weakness.

CHAPTER V.

MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH DARNLEY; RISING AND FLIGHT OF THE PROTESTANT NOBLES; MARY JOINS THE CONTINENTAL CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

It was under these unpropitious circumstances that Mary consummated her marriage. The bishop of Dunblane had been sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation for it, and the queen only waited his return, which took place on the 22nd of July. The banns of marriage were immediately published in the church of St. Giles. Darnley had, on the 20th, been created duke of Albany; and on the 28th Mary addressed letters patent to the heralds, announcing her intention on their marriage to confer upon him the title of king, and ordering proclamation to this effect to be made throughout the kingdom. "Forasmickle," said this document, "as we intend, at the pleasure and will of God, to solemnizate and complete the band of matrimony, in face of haly kirk, with the right noble and illustrious prince Henry duke of Albany; in respect of which marriage, and during the time thereof, we will, ordain, and consent, that he be named and styled king of this our kingdom, and that all our letters, to be directed after our said marriage, be completed by and in the names of the said illustrious prince, our future husband, and us, as king and queen of Scotland, conjointly." Next day, Sunday the 29th of July, the marriage took place in the chapel of Holyrood-house. Between five and six in the morning, the queen was first conducted to the chapel by several of her nobles, and it was remarked as ominous, that she was dressed in a mourning gown of black, with a wide mourning hood. She was led into the chapel by the earls of Lennox and Athol, who left her there while they went to fetch the bridegroom. They were received by two catholic priests, who, after the banns had been asked the third time, and a

notary had drawn up an instrument to the effect that no man opposed the marriage or alleged any cause why it should not proceed, performed the ceremony. Mary was then conducted to her chamber, followed by her husband, and, as a part of the ceremonies, she was required to cast off her care, and, laying aside the sorrowful garments she then wore, to give herself to a pleasanter life. After some feigned reluctance, she consented, and then every man that could approach her was suffered to take a pin out of her dress, and she was committed to her ladies, who undressed her, and arrayed her in garments more fitting for the occasion. After this commenced the festivities of the day. As the newly-married couple were conducted to the dinner, the trumpets sounded, and a "largess" was cried, and money was thrown in great abundance to the crowd of attendants. The king and queen sat together at the high table, the latter served by three earls, Athol as sewer, Morton as carver, and Crawford as cup-bearer; while three other earls, Eglintoun, Cassillis, and Glencairn, performed the same offices to Darnley. The time between dinner and supper was occupied with dancing and other gaiety, which were repeated after supper until the hour of retiring.

Mary was at this time in her twenty-third year, and Darnley had just completed his nineteenth. It was said that she had expressed a wish that his proclamation as king should be postponed till he was of the age of twenty-one, or at least till it had been confirmed by parliament; but Darnley, who had entirely gained the ascendancy over her, refused to wait, and insisted that he should be proclaimed king at once. "Whereupon," says Randolph, in his graphic description of these ceremonies, "this doubt is risen amongst our men of law, whether she being clad with a husband, and her husband not twenty-one years, anything without parliament can be of strength that is done between them. Upon Saturday, at afternoon, these matters were long in debating, and before they were well resolved upon, at nine hours at night, by three heralds at sound of the trumpet he was proclaimed king. This was the night before the marriage. This day, Monday, at twelve of the clock, the lords, all that were in this town, were present at the proclaiming of him again, when no man said so much as amen, saving his father, that cried out aloud, 'God save his grace!'" There is no room for doubt that this marriage raised gloomy forebodings in the minds of Scotchmen in general. "So many discontented minds," says Randolph, "so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage. So little comfort as men do take, was never seen at any time where men should have shown themselves to rejoice, if that consideration of her own honour and of her country had been had, as appertained in so weighty a case. Thus they fear the overthrow of religion, the breach of amity with the queen's majesty, destruction of as many of the nobility as she (Mary) hath misliking of, or that he do pick a quarrel unto."

The principles which were in future to guide Mary's government were now soon apparent. Three days after her marriage, the earl of Murray was summoned to appear at court, and on his failing to present himself, he was proclaimed a rebel and put to the horn, which was in Scotland the formality of denouncing the extreme penalties of the law. At the same time the queen's subjects were ordered to join the queen in arms to proceed against her domestic enemies. On the 5th of August, the earl of Bothwell was pardoned of all offences, and permitted to return to Scotland, where he was soon afterwards promoted by the queen to some of the highest offices of the state; thus showing that the complaints of Murray's friends were not without foundation, that the Scottish queen, while pretending resentment against Bothwell, really hindered the proceedings against him.

As soon as Elizabeth heard of the marriage, she dispatched one of the gentlemen of her bedchamber, Mr. Tamworth, to the Scottish court to express her dissatisfaction, and to urge upon Mary a reconciliation with the earl of Murray. He was instructed to tell the queen of Scots that she looked upon her actions as very strange, not only towards her, but towards her own poor subjects, and she feared that it would lead to deplorable consequences. Elizabeth complained that Mary had accused her of deception and dissimulation in her proposals for a marriage with the earl of Leicester, assuring her that in all her negotiations she had acted with perfect sincerity; and she expressed her astonishment that, although Lethington had been sent to England to

communicate with her on the marriage with Darnley, and she had sent back sir Nicholas Throckmorton to signify her disapproval, Mary had proceeded so far, before the return of Lethington, or the arrival of Throckmorton, that her advice was no longer in time to retard the marriage, although she had promised Elizabeth a delay of three months. The English queen protested against the detention of her subjects, Lennox and Darnley, in Scotland, which she said was contrary to the faith of existing treaties, and an offence which she could not forget. She further complained that, on the part of Mary, an embassy had been sent by John Hay merely to amuse her, and she demanded an explanation of a passage in the letter sent by this envoy which implied a threat on the part of Mary to call in the aid of foreign princes in support of her title as next heiress to the English throne. She begged her not to break the amity between the two countries, urged her above all to make no change in the religion as then established in Scotland, and appealed to her in favour of her brother the earl of Murray.

Tamworth found Mary at Edinburgh, just returned from an expedition against Murray and his friends, who had been compelled to retire into Argyle. She received him in a spirited manner, and spoke proudly of her claims to the English throne. In the written replies to Elizabeth's expostulations and complaints, she defended her conduct with regard to the marriage, and declared that the embassy of John Hay was a *bonâ fide* one. With regard to the remonstrance of Elizabeth, that other princes would think strangely of this marriage, Mary replied that "she knew well enough the wishes of the greatest princes in Europe." She offered similar justifications with regard to Elizabeth's other charges. "She could not," she said, "take it well that the queen of England should judge so lightly of her enterprizes, the more so as she felt satisfied she had done nothing hastily, and she believed that she had the means of effecting successfully all her enterprises. And, as to the government of her own kingdom, she had never been curious to know how the queen of England conducted herself with her subjects, inasmuch as it was not the custom of princes to intermeddle in one another's affairs, and that she expected the same forbearance of the queen of England, according to justice and equity." Mary denied absolutely any intention to interfere with the liberty of her subjects in matter of religion, or to make any change in Scotland in respect to it. With regard to the earl of Murray, she requested that her good sister the queen of England would refrain absolutely from all interference with regard to him or to any other of her subjects.

The dispatches of M. de Foix, the French ambassador in England at this time, contain allusions to these events which show that Randolph did not, as Mr. Tytler assumes, misrepresent the state of public feeling in Scotland. On the 12th of August he sent to the French king the first intelligence he had received of the Scottish marriage, and informed him that it was so unpopular, that on the Sunday night, the day of the nuptials, the people of Edinburgh rose up in a tumultuous manner, and continued during the whole night in so great a riot, that, to appease it, the queen was obliged next morning to call before her the principal citizens, to whom and to such of her protestant lords as were at court, she gave her answers to the articles which had been presented to her on the part of the protestants, "with the gentlest words she could possibly employ; which she could not be prevailed upon to do before." She said that having been bred in the catholic religion, and having all the great princes her friends and kinsmen of the same faith, she could not conscientiously relinquish the private celebration of the mass, and therefore she begged her subjects to allow her that degree of liberty which she freely gave to them, and at the same time she promised them that they should none of them be disturbed by her means in the free exercise of the protestant faith and ceremonies. With respect to the other demands of the protestants, she declared that she could not give a distinct answer until the meeting of the estates, but that to whatever should be determined in parliament she would scrupulously adhere.

The few foreign letters of Mary during this period, which have been brought to light by the researches of prince Labanoff, are, as far as they go, important documents in showing the real motives and sentiments of the Scottish queen at this time. Probably the most valuable of all are shut up in the secret archives at Rome, where they are permitted to be consulted by nobody. The following letter, written by Mary to the king of Spain, on the 24th of July,

and therefore five days before her marriage, must convince us of the insincerity of her declarations of tolerance towards her protestant subjects, and at the same time it shows us that the protestants were justified in their suspicions of her real intentions. "My good brother," she says to Philip II., "having so perfect a knowledge of the virtues with which God has endowed your majesty, I see that he has not only entrusted to you the lot of so many peoples whose king you are, but also that he appears to have placed and commissioned you in this world above all the others, to be the defender of the holy catholic faith. As I am also one of those to whom God has given the charge of a kingdom, I have always resisted, as much as it has been in my power, against those who hold a belief contrary to my own; and, in order to have more means of carrying this into effect, I have resolved, according to the advice of my subjects, to marry the son of the earl of Lennox. I am assured that your ambassador, whose duty it has been to interfere in all this in order to put a stop to the progress of the new sect, will already have informed your majesty of the reasons which have decided me to take this step. They wanted to compel me to renounce the celebration of the mass; having refused, and taken the resolution to persist in it until death, I have informed your ambassador of everything that passed, feeling assured that, having so much need as I have of your aid and assistance, your majesty will grant them me to maintain the faith for the support of which you arm such great forces against the Turks. And, as I can well say that there is no war more dangerous for Christendom, and more pernicious to the obedience due to princes, than that of these new evangelists (may it please God that your majesty may never experience it in your estates), I supplicate your majesty, as much for that reason as in consideration of the will which I have had, and which I shall have all my life, to be leagued with your majesty towards and against all, to have the goodness to urge upon your ambassador to support the rights which the said son of the earl of Lennox and I have in England, and to give him direction to declare to the queen of England that your majesty will not permit anything to be done to our prejudice. I hope the day will come when we shall be able to acquit ourselves of the obligations which we shall thereby have contracted towards you; and, in the mean time, I recommend myself to your favour, praying God, monsieur my good brother, that he give your majesty as much life and prosperity as you can desire. From Edinburgh, the 24th of July, 1565. Your good sister, Marie R."

We here see distinctly that for some time before her marriage Mary was in confidential communication with Spain, through the ambassador of that country at the court of Elizabeth, and that the object for which she sought this alliance was the overthrow of protestantism in Scotland. These communications can hardly have passed without being at least suspected by Elizabeth's ministers, who seem also to have had good information of intrigues carried on with the English catholics to shake the throne of their queen. This will help to explain the irritation which was now gaining ground between the two queens.

Nor was the negotiation with Spain a mere matter of words. Philip declared privately his determination to assist her with a sufficient force to subdue her protestant rebels, maintain the catholic faith, and enforce her claim to the English throne; and he sent to his ambassador in England, who had conducted the correspondence with her, a sum of twenty thousand crowns, to be employed "with the utmost secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." The pope, to whom also she had applied for assistance, had sent her a remittance of eight thousand crowns; but the vessel which carried it was wrecked on the English coast, and the money fell into the hands of the earl of Northumberland.

It is no doubt to the encouragement given her by Philip and the pope that we owe the resolution with which she now acted against Murray and his confederates, and her determination to listen to no terms of peace with them. She insisted that Elizabeth should immediately recognise her right of succession to the English throne, and that she should promise to give no encouragement whatever to her rebellious subjects. She ordered Elizabeth's ambassador, Randolph, to attend the privy council, where he was required on his honour to discontinue all communication with the earl of Murray's party, or to submit to the alternative of being placed under a guard which would keep watch on his movements. Randolph set the council at defiance, telling

them he would "promise nothing, either on honour, honesty, word, or writing; and as for guards to attend me, they shall fare full ill, unless stronger and better armed than my own servants." It was proposed to him by Lethington, who still remained with Mary in the office of secretary, that he should retire for a while to Berwick; but this also he refused, insisting that it was his duty, until recalled, to attend at the Scottish court. Randolph appears, for the present, to have been no further molested; but it fared worse with Elizabeth's extraordinary ambassador, Tamworth. He carried his refusal to acknowledge Darnley by the royal title so far as to refuse a passport on his return, because it was to be signed by him as king. The borderers were duly warned of this circumstance, and on his return he was waylaid, maltreated, and carried a prisoner to Hume castle.

This occurred on the 21st of August. The day following, Mary, who was now preparing to act with vigour against her opponents, issued a proclamation, by which the earls of Murray and Argyle, with their friends and adherents, were declared rebels, and she called upon her subjects to meet her in arms for the purpose of proceeding against them. Urgent letters were at the same time addressed to many of the Scottish lords, calling upon them for their active services on this occasion. One of these is preserved in the British Museum; it is dated from Edinburgh, on the 23rd of August, and runs in the following words:— "Trusty friend, we greet you well. That which we before suspected has now declared itself indeed, for our rebels have retired them to the in-country, the suffering whereof is no ways to us honourable. We mind, God willing, in proper persons to pass for their pursuit, whereunto it is needful that we be well and substantiously accompanied. We pray you therefore effectuously that ye, with your kin, friends, and household, well bodin in feir of war (*well equipped in warlike gear*), and provided to remain full fifteen days after your coming, address you to meet us at Edinburgh the 25th day of August instant, by six hours at even, and so to pass forward with us, as ye will declare the good affection ye bear to us and our service, and do us most acceptable pleasure." It is signed by Mary and her husband, as queen and king.

About four thousand men are said to have obeyed this call, and with these Mary and her husband marched from Edinburgh. They were at Stirling on the 28th of August, and from thence they proceeded direct to Glasgow, where we find them at the end of the month. The lords had also assembled a considerable force, but they seem to have been weakened by a division of opinion as to the object for which they had taken up arms. According to the account of Buchanan, the duke of Châtelherault and the Hamiltons proposed that the queen as well as Darnley should be deposed and put to death, the result of which would have been that the crown would descend to the duke's family; but Murray and his friends, who were opposed to the ambition of the Hamiltons, insisted on the adoption of a more moderate course, upon which the greater part of the Hamiltons refused to rise, though the duke remained with the earls. According to this historian, the lords were in force at Paisley, when Mary advanced to Glasgow. But, instead of waiting for her, they made a counter-movement, and, calculating on the zealous protestantism of the south-eastern counties, the earls of Murray and Glencairn, and the duke, at the head of a thousand men, advanced to Edinburgh, which they entered on the last day of August. Thence they addressed a letter to the queen, deprecating her hostility, and declaring if she continued to persecute them their blood should be dearly bought. At the same time they dispatched their agents to England, with urgent entreaties for assistance.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh were stanch protestants, and neither Darnley nor the queen were popular among them. We perceive, indeed, from contemporary notices, that while the court had remained in the capital there were continual broils between the citizens and his followers or partizans. But the castle was held by a governor devoted to the queen, with a sufficiently strong garrison, and the citizens stood too much in awe of its guns to dare to join openly in the insurrection. During the short period the lords remained in Edinburgh, these guns continued to be fired from time to time upon the town, until, informed of the approach of the royal army, the lords evacuated it, and retired to Dumfries, from whence they dispatched Robert Melvil to the English court, to represent urgently their wants, and to solicit an immediate aid of three thousand men, with some English ships of war in the firth.

When Mary was assured of the retreat of

the lords to Dumfries, instead of pursuing her course to Edinburgh, she returned to Glasgow, where she established her court for a short time, and employed herself in acts of vengeance against her opponents. On the 10th of September she wrote from that city a letter to Philip of Spain, of which the following is a strictly literal translation:—"Monsieur my good brother, the affection with which you have always employed yourself for the maintenance and support of our catholic religion, has caused me heretofore to seek your favour and aid, foreseeing that which is now come to pass in this kingdom, which tends to the entire ruin of the catholics, and to the establishment of those wretched errors, to which we, the king my husband and myself, wishing to offer resistance, shall be in danger of losing our crown, and, by the same means, the right which we claim elsewhere (*i.e.* to the English crown), if we have not the aid of one of the great princes of Christendom. Which being considered, and the constancy with which you have proceeded in these matters in your estates, and how much more than any other prince you have firmly supported those who have propped themselves with your favour, we have chosen to address ourselves above all others to you, to aid us with your counsel, and enable us to conquer by your aid and support; to have which, we have dispatched to you this English gentleman, a catholic and faithful servant of the king my husband and myself, with ample charge to render you an account of the state of our affairs, with which he is well acquainted, praying you to give credit to him as you would to ourselves; and dispatch him back very soon, for these occasions are so necessary, as it concerns us so much for the crown and the liberty of the church for ever, to maintain which we will spare neither life nor estate, being supported and counselled by you; to whom, after having kissed your hands, I pray God to give monsieur my good brother, all prosperity and felicity."

At the very time when this letter was addressed to the king of Spain, avowing Mary's hostility to the established religion, and introducing an agent to him to consult on the means of subverting it, she was drawing up a declaration to her subjects of her firm resolution to support it. This declaration is preserved in a French translation which had been sent to the court of France, and which is printed in the collection of documents published by M. Teulet. It is dated at Dundee on the 15th of September, and is to the following effect:—"The king and queen having understood the seditious and false reports sown among their subjects, as well by mouth as by writing, by the rebels and their adherents, as if their majesties had no other deliberation but to ruin the state of religion which they found everywhere publicly established on their arrival in this country, to revoke and abolish the law of oblivion, and not to keep a single point of all that was said and promised by the queen's majesty at Stirling; tending thereby to seduce the poor people and alienate their affections from the obedience they owe to their majesties, although there is nothing of all that and the subject of such false rumours has never entered the hearts of their majesties. To obviate which, and in order that the authors of such lies may be made known for such as they are, namely, mutineers, seditious, and enemies of this commonwealth, and that all the subjects may be informed of the truth, and wholly assured of the sincerity of their intention towards the establishment of their said religion, their majesties have, by the advice of the lords of their privy council found good to make known to them, that as their said majesties have not heretofore forced any one in matters of conscience, nor undertaken anything against the religion which on their arrival as is aforesaid, they found everywhere received, so all their good subjects may hold themselves assured to be entirely secure of the same for the future. And, in order that it may be duly established, and that all the ordonnances, laws, and constitutions, as well canon and civil as municipal, prejudicial to, it may be annulled and abolished, their majesties have advised and deliberated to hold the estates as soon as time will permit. Which would already have been put in effect, if the chiefs of this tumult had not themselves been the cause of delay, and hindered, by their defection, the execution of what their majesties had, as they still have, good desire to do. Moreover they intend to keep and accomplish in every point all which the queen's majesty said or promised at Stirling, and to provide for all things tending to the safety of those who have made profession of the said religion, in their bodies, goods, lands, and possessions, as they themselves shall advise it and can

with reason require. Their majesties will also ratify and confirm anew the said law of oblivion, and finally they will make no difficulty in yielding to their said subjects all that justly they can demand or ought to expect from their majesties."

At the same time and from the same place new summonses were issued, urgently calling upon her subjects to join the royal banner. She had overrun Fife, where the protestants were strong, and plundered and destroyed the houses of Kirkaldy of Grange and other barons who had joined the insurgents. She levied heavy fines upon Dundee and St. Andrews, and her forces being now considerably increased, she prepared to attack her opponents in Dumfries. Mary's success had rendered her more resolute and more insatiable in her desire of vengeance, and her disinclination to hear reason was not diminished when she was joined by the profligate and unscrupulous earl of Bothwell, who now arrived at court with other reckless adventurers in his train. Bothwell possessed great power on the borders, and at the beginning of October he was confirmed in the hereditary office of great admiral of Scotland, and was entrusted with the command of the southern frontier. From this moment the earls of Huntley and Bothwell were the two most influential nobles of the queen's party.

The Scottish protestant leaders at least suspected, if they did not know, of the secret designs and negotiations of their queen, and this sufficiently justified their anxiety for the safety of their religion. This anxiety might appear extravagant to those who did not see the under-current of events, and probably the ultimate danger may not have been really so great as was apprehended, but the prospect before them was in appearance melancholy in the extreme. They believed—and we can have little doubt, after perusing Mary's letters to the king of Spain and to the pope—that if the queen had completely triumphed over the protestant nobles, she would have re-established the catholic faith. Their distress increased the urgency of their appeals to Elizabeth, and when expecting to be attacked at Dumfries, they sent a paper of instructions to their agent in England, Robert Melvil, which was entitled, "Informations to be given to the queen's majesty in favour of the church of Christ, now begun to be persecuted in the chief members of the same." In this document, which was dated on the 22nd of September, Melvil was instructed to declare to the queen of England that the real aim of Mary and her husband was to subvert utterly the religion of Jesus Christ within the realm, and to re-erect in its place papistry and superstition. Hence arose the persecution of the lords, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for the maintenance of the true religion, and who had attempted "to redress the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." They complained that they were at present ruled by low and crafty foreigners, such as the two Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, in whom alone the queen had placed her trust and affection. They alleged that the earl of Murray was persecuted merely because he would not countenance these foreigners in their abuses; while Darnley, a stranger and the subject of another realm, had intruded himself upon them as their king, without their consent, and contrary to all order that ever was used in that realm. It was their only wish, they said, to redress these enormities, and for this reason they were prosecuted as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth.

Elizabeth meanwhile was following her old hesitating policy. The last thing she contemplated was to allow the Scottish lords to be entirely crushed, yet she feared to give the example of a sovereign prince openly assisting rebels in a neighbouring country. She had encouraged Murray and his friends with pecuniary assistance, and with indirect promises just before they occupied Edinburgh, but she seems to have been convinced after that time that their party was too weak to make head against Mary's forces, and she attempted to bring about a reconciliation; but the Scottish queen refused to listen to any offers of intervention. The court of France was also at this time averse to her proceedings, and were preparing to send Castelnau de Mauvissière, one of the most distinguished of the French diplomatists of his day, to expostulate with her, and endeavour to compose the differences between her and her subjects. From the letters of the French ambassador in England, M. de Foix, we gain some interesting information on the proceedings of England and France under these circumstances. In a dispatch from the ambassador to the queen-mother, written on the 18th of September, we are informed that M. de Mauvissière had arrived in England, and

that at the desire of M. de Foix, expressed through Cecil, Elizabeth had announced her willingness to send an envoy along with him to Scotland, to join in an urgent appeal to Mary to act with more moderation towards the insurgent lords. But when he accompanied Mauvissière to the palace to receive Elizabeth's final determination, they found her in a state of great excitement against the Scottish queen. She read them a letter which Mary had written to Randolph, informing him that, if it pleased Elizabeth to send her an ambassador to treat of the differences between them, the two queens, she would receive him and listen to him with pleasure, as there was nothing she desired more than to maintain the amity between the two kingdoms; "but if it was in any fashion whatever to meddle with composing the affairs between her and her subjects, she wished to be understood she would not endure that either the queen of England or any other prince should meddle therewith in any fashion, having very good means to chastise the rebels and bring them to reason." Elizabeth then told the two French ambassadors, that, considering that the queen of Scotland had already twice refused the offer she had made of intervention, she could not consistently with her dignity send another envoy, or attempt any further "to put her in repose against her will;" assuring him at the same time that she had greatly desired to effect a pacification in Scotland, and to save Mary's subjects, "whom she had placed in great danger, and, as it were, led to the butchery." She declared that she had hitherto sent envoys to admonish them not to take up arms against their queen, but "seeing that the latter did not cease unjustly to pursue them to death, and would not listen to any honest means of accord for the defence and preservation of the said subjects, not to offend her, she (Elizabeth) would now aid them with all the means which God had given her, and she wished that to be known and understood by all." M. de Foix was alarmed at the bitter tone in which Elizabeth uttered this menace, and he did not attempt to offer any justification of the Scottish queen; but he requested a passport for M. de Mauvissière, and begged that the English queen would strengthen him with her counsels. Elizabeth appears to have taken this personal appeal in good part, and, after some slight objection, she appointed some of her ministers to consult with MM. de Mauvissière and Foix on the subject.

In the same dispatch, M. de Foix repeats some Scottish intelligence which he had received from one of Mary's servants who had brought him a letter from her, and adds his own opinions on the state of Scotland, derived from the same authority. "As to making a reconciliation," says the ambassador, "I do not think that monsieur de Mauvissière can effect it, nor any other but necessity, which is the grand teacher of the imprudent and ill-advised." Each party, he says, accused the other of plots of assassination, which had led to such bitter hatred between them that it would be very difficult to appease. On the other hand, "I hear," he says, "that the queen of Scots is possessed by young and necessitous adventurers who, by their imprudence and desire to enrich themselves with the goods of others, will keep up these divisions. And this the bearer himself, Beaton (Mary's messenger) has confessed to me, and named to me as her favourite counsellors two Italians, the one named David (Riccio), who was a musician, and was given her by monsieur de Morette when I went into Scotland by your commandment, and he is now her principal secretary; the other named Francisco, her maître d'hotel. The earl of Athol has been made lieutenant-general, and presides over the council, a very great catholic, bold, and valiant, and active, they say, but without judgment or experience, and the irreconcileable enemy of the earl of Argyle. And where such personages hold the helm in the midst of tempests, your majesty may easily think in what danger the ship is." The ambassador finishes his dispatch with the following account of Mary's proceedings, chiefly received from persons of her own party. On the 9th of September, he says, she was "at 'Feclan,' and had dismissed, as Beaton told me, a part of her forces to recruit themselves; and with the rest, as the queen of England told me, she was going to the house of the earl of Murray, to seize his goods and turn out of doors his wife, who was with child and in her ninth month near her time of delivery. The duke and others of his league were then at Dumfries, which is a strong place near England, on the western border, and convenient for Ireland. The earl of Morton, chancellor of Scotland, has retired to his house. Max-

well, governor of the Scottish marches, who is one of the ablest and most powerful of the lords, has held hitherto with the queen; but seeing that she no longer approved of his counsel, he has left her, and has joined the duke's party."

On the 29th of the same month, M. de Foix wrote to Catherine de Medicis another letter on the affairs of Scotland. He had received further intelligence from that country, and a letter from Mary, in which, as far as we can gather, she repeated her refusal to accept the intermediation of Elizabeth. With this letter he again sought and obtained an interview with the queen of England, who, on hearing the contents of the letter, merely said that "she pitied that the queen of Scots should be so ill-advised as to seek the ruin of her most faithful subjects, taking it upon her oath that she desired all her subjects were as devoted to her; and then she began to praise warmly the conscientiousness, probity, and goodness of the earl of Murray, who desired [she said] nothing but the service of the queen his mistress." Elizabeth then, in answer to a question put to her by the ambassador, denied that she had given the insurgents any assistance. She went on to tell him that she was aware of Mary's secret embassies to Rome and Spain, and that she knew that they had plots in progress against her own crown. The ambassador stated to the queen dowager, from his own information from Scotland, that on the 21st the queen was at Edinburgh, ready to start for Stirling, to join her forces, which were assembled there, and amounted, he tells us, to fifteen thousand men, chiefly cavalry. The lords, who were still at Dumfries, had with them, he says, not more than a thousand horse, so that their cause seemed for the moment desperate. In fact, with the consciousness of momentary superiority, Mary appears to have shown less discretion than usual, and to have talked among her friends in no measured terms of the revenge she would take not only on her rebellious subjects, but upon her good sister of England. After stating that Elizabeth's suspicions had been excited by the knowledge of Mary's secret negotiations with Rome and Spain, and by her boasts that she had extensive intelligence among the catholics in England, M. de Foix proceeds to say, "And, in truth, I believe it is not without reason, for this very bearer (the messenger of Mary) told me himself that the queen of Scots had charged him to say that she hoped that, within a few days, she should have the means of giving her a good pledge and earnest of the loan and pleasure she should receive from your majesties; and that, one of these days past, having been remonstrated with by some of her lords that she took too much pains and labour, being continually with the army and in the field in very disagreeable weather, she answered that she would never cease to continue such labours until she had led them to London. But, in my opinion, this will not be so soon as she thinks; and I feel sure that she will find herself deceived in these vain expectations with which ambition and youth too soon feed themselves."

The sanguine and passionate temper of Mary is nowhere shown more distinctly than in a letter written to her ambassador in France, the bishop of Glasgow, which has been accidentally preserved. It bears date from Edinburgh, on the 1st of October, and begins with a complaint of the long time which had elapsed since the bishop had informed his royal mistress of his proceedings. "As for our news," says the queen, "you shall know that Mauvissière had commission to treat of an accommodation, which I would willingly have accepted with the queen, my neighbour, but not with my subjects, having behaved themselves in the fashion they have done; I would rather lose all! But I feel assured that you have heard enough on this point by your brother, and, since, by Chalmers. The only news at present is that they go every day from worse to worse, and that they are now at Dumfries, where they have determined to remain until I move from hence, which will be to-morrow, and then to go, as I am informed, to Annan, which they intend to hold strong against me with the aid of three hundred English arquebusiers from the English garrison; and they boast that they will have further support, both by sea and by land, to enable them to hold against our army, which is to march to-morrow, or the day after at latest, where the king and I go in person, hoping that, when the time of the proclamation is expired, we shall retire and give them leisure to wait for the queen of England's army, which is to be ready by spring. Now, after having, as often as you can, by all means you can, persuaded the queen (Catherine de Medicis) to send us men and money in this necessity, send me

word in all diligence what I may expect; and take care always not to excite the jealousy of the man you know (perhaps the ambassador of the king of Spain in France), to whom in secret you will use the same persuasions; for at court they got to know something of your secret dealings at Bayonne. I will write more amply to you by the first convenient occasion. And above all, have an eye to see if my rebels shall enter into any secret dealings there with the protestants or Chatillon, or if the duke and the earl of Murray shall not have some agent near the queen; and you can assure the latter that they have liberty of conscience, and that it is not that which guides them any more than the public good; for I have changed nothing in the order to which they themselves agreed; and, if they have not been at the council, it is because I have never been able to make them come since I was married, except some who, after having given their opinion against them, went and joined them, of which many begin to repent. . . . . The traitor Maxwell is greatly ashamed at having broken his faith in so cowardly a manner, and has no great desire to send his son into England as a pledge, remembering how his last was treated; he has sent me word of this himself."

It is said that when the protestant lords left Edinburgh, it was Maxwell's urgent advice that made them establish themselves in Dumfries, where his power chiefly lay, and he was now preparing to betray them. We see by Mary's own letter just quoted, that he was in secret communication with the court; and when, early in October, the royal army approached, under pretence of making a last attempt to intercede for his friends, he went to Mary and entered into a treaty for himself. The terms he obtained, according to Buchanan, were the grant of a part of his father-in-law's estate, upon which he returned to the town, told the lords that the queen would listen to no terms, and that every one must shift for himself, and he set the example. It is certain that the Scottish lords, overawed by the great superiority of the force brought against them, left Dumfries and made their retreat into England.

This result had been foreseen by M. de Foix, and probably by the English court, for the chief object of Elizabeth at this moment seems to have been to protect the retreat of the Scottish lords into England, in case the last effort at reconciliation failed. Melvil was sent back to Scotland on the 29th of September, and he carried with him a formal promise that Elizabeth would assist the protestants with four hundred arquebusiers and two thousand pounds in money. M. de Foix tells us, on information received from Melvil himself, that this small body of troops was placed under the command of captains Read and Carey, who were instructed to proceed with them to Berwick, but who were ordered not actually to join the Scots unless they saw them reduced to extremities. He tells us that it was Elizabeth's great desire to help them to make terms of reconciliation with their queen, without risking a war between the two countries, and that this was strongly urged upon them in her recommendations to Melvil, though at the same time the large and frequent reviews of troops in England at that time were no doubt intended to show that Elizabeth was not unprepared for the other alternative. On the 12th of October M. de Foix had an audience of Elizabeth, for the purpose of declaring the desire of the French king to co-operate with Elizabeth in effecting a pacification of the Scottish troubles, and she then told him that it was not her intention to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; she assured him that she would give no assistance to the Scottish lords, unless she saw that it was necessary for her own security; but, at the same time, she told him that she knew of Mary's secret missions to Spain and Rome, and that she suspected they were full of peril to the protestant faith in these islands. She again assured him of her conviction of the honest intentions of the earl of Murray, and of her belief that he had no designs injurious to the interests of his royal mistress. It was then known that Mary had marched from Edinburgh against the rebels at Dumfries, and as it was the general conviction that they would be obliged to seek refuge in England, Elizabeth had given orders to the earl of Bedford, who had a strong force under his command in the north, to protect their retreat.

Meanwhile the embassy of M. de Mauvissière had produced as little effect upon Mary as the remonstrances of Elizabeth. That ambassador had reached Edinburgh on the 23rd of September, and obtained an immediate audience of the queen and her husband. Mary told him that her subjects had rebelled against her without any

other cause than their natural turbulence and ambition, that she had made no attempt to constrain them in matters of religion, and had manifested no design to interfere with the church establishment as it then stood; that it was her rebels themselves who had first consented to her marriage, and that they had afterwards opposed it, because they thought it would hinder them all from being kings themselves. She said that she had too much spirit to endure that her subjects should give her the law, or that her kingdom, which had long been a monarchy, should be now turned into a republic. She declared to him that all her hope was in the assistance of France, and she conjured him, as a friend of the house of Guise, to labour in her cause. She declared that she would listen to no proposals for an accommodation with her rebels, and that if the king of France did not assist her in crushing them entirely, she must embrace the alternative of throwing herself into the arms of another prince. Mauvissière had brought letters from the French king to the protestant leaders, exhorting them to moderation, and had given especial instructions to his ambassador to attempt to effect a reconciliation; but Mary begged that he would not let it be known to her subjects that such was the object of his mission, and she forbade him peremptorily delivering the king's letters or holding any communication whatever with any of her rebellious subjects; but on the contrary, she wished him to let it be understood that he came to announce the speedy arrival of assistance from France to enable her entirely to crush them. She desired him at the same time to write to the king of France that she was resolved to grant no terms whatever to disobedient subjects who she knew intended to put her and her husband to death. Mauvissière acknowledges that he was embarrassed by the violent language with which Mary spoke of her subjects, and he tried to moderate her by persuasion. He assured her of the constant friendship of the king of France and Catherine de Medicis, and that it was their only wish that she should live happily with her husband, her subjects in obedience, and the queen of England her friend; that, well aware themselves of the dangers and evils of civil war, they were anxious to warn her against it, and that they advised her earnestly to come to an agreement with her nobles, while it might be done with ease. The only direct reply he received to this proposal was, that Mary begged that the king, the queen, and M. de Mauvissière, would trouble themselves no further about this matter, as she was determined to consent to no agreement which she considered contrary to her honour and safety, but urgently prayed for immediate succour. Mauvissière said that, with respect to the succour for which she asked, it was no part of his instructions, for the king did not believe that affairs were in that extremity that they could not be arranged. As far as he could understand, her subjects did not demand anything more than the king had granted to his, which was, to live unmolested in their houses, and in liberty of their consciences, and he thought she ought to yield so far to their wishes. He suggested that the information as to their ultimate intentions was invented by their enemies, in order to make her more bitter against them. For, said he, princes were always liable to be imposed upon in this way, and they had therefore the more need of great prudence and consideration to fathom the designs of such informers; those who advise princes to extreme measures, and especially to war, not being always those best affected to their service. The ambassador declared that on this occasion he spent four hours in such expostulations, without producing any effect upon the Scottish queen. Next day, Mauvissière was sent for to attend on the queen and her husband in the garden of the palace, and Balfour, who now acted as secretary in place of Lethington, was employed to argue with him; but in the end the queen remained obstinate in her resolution to listen to no terms on the part of the protestant lords, and he prepared for his departure, very little satisfied with Mary's conduct or with the appearance of affairs in Scotland.

The earl of Murray and the chiefs of his party, when driven from Dumfries, had proceeded to Carlisle, whence they wrote to the English court, describing their miserable position, and imploring the protection of Elizabeth. The English queen at the same time received a letter from Mary, strongly protesting against any countenance that might be shown to her rebels by that princess. Elizabeth's embarrassment was increased by the intelligence that Murray himself was hurrying up to court, and she expressed some displeasure against

the earl of Bedford for having allowed him to leave Carlisle. There was now, however, no time to be lost, and a messenger was sent in the utmost haste to meet the Scottish earl on the road, and forbid him, on pain of the queen's high displeasure, from approaching nearer to the court until he received further orders. The messenger found him at Ware, and he remained there a few days, until another message from Elizabeth called him to court. The proceedings of Elizabeth on this occasion were singularly characteristic of her artful policy. The French and Spanish ambassadors were called before the queen on the 23rd of October, and in presence of them and of the lords of the privy council, the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning were introduced. They both fell upon their knees, and implored Elizabeth's intercession with their queen. The queen, with a proud air, complained of their presumption in presenting themselves before her, while they lay under the imputation of treason, and of having taken up arms against their sovereign, and she commanded Murray, on his faith as a gentleman, to declare to her if the accusation were true. Murray then denied the charge of treason, alleged that he had been so surrounded and dogged by enemies that he could not go to court without danger of his life, and declared that the charge of having plotted to seize the person of his sovereign, and of having received encouragement from the English queen, was utterly false. As soon as he had made this declaration, she turned to the foreign ambassadors and bade them mark well the words which absolved her from all complicity in their rebellion, declaring that she never had encouraged subjects to rise against their sovereigns. She then dismissed the earl and his friend from court with a severe rebuke for their traitorous practices.

When intelligence of this scene reached Scotland, it was a matter of great triumph to Mary, who was as much resolved as ever to pursue her enemies to utter ruin. She issued summonses for a meeting of parliament, which was to take place in February, with the avowed intention of procuring an act of forfeiture against Murray and his adherents. She addressed a long letter of charges against the fugitives, to the French ambassador in London, which she requested him to repeat to Elizabeth, and to declare her resolution never to forgive the offenders. He was to request, therefore, that Elizabeth would not intercede for them, and he was to remonstrate with her on the continued imprisonment of the countess of Lennox. Murray's alarm was so great, that he condescended to solicit the favour of David Riccio, to whom he sent a present of a rich diamond, with a letter asking for his intercession with Mary. Perhaps by his influence, and the advocacy of some powerful friends, she was induced at least to postpone the meeting of the parliament.

Mary's complete success against her rebels encouraged her to proceed with more decision in her secret negotiations with Spain and Rome, and she now made a more public profession of her own attachment to the catholic faith. A deep conspiracy had been formed for the destruction of protestantism by the catholic sovereigns, to which in all appearance Mary was privy; and her ambassador in France, the bishop of Glasgow, appears to have been actively employed in it. It is said to have been planned in the summer of 1565 by Catherine de Medicis and the duke of Alva, and the chief parties to it were the kings of France and Spain, and the emperor. When the secret treaty for this purpose was ready for signature, it received some delay from the death of the pope, Pius IV., who died early in December. Pius V., who was elected in the January of 1566, entered into the views of the secret confederates no less zealously than his predecessor. To him Mary addressed a letter on the 31st of January, which has been brought to light and printed. She reminded him of the fervent zeal of the late pope, not only for the universal flock entrusted to his care, "but especially towards those sheep, which in our kingdom of Scotland had been scattered and made a prey to the wolves," and said that he had sent her both his letters and his nuncios to advise and assist her in reclaiming them. "And although, as we trust, he always found in us the will and desire, which he expected of us, and of which we have no reason to repent, nevertheless, the affairs of this our kingdom, and the troubles into which they have been thrown, which are known to everybody, and also the enemies of our religion, who (alas!) are very numerous and confident in their power, which makes them formidable to us, have hitherto hindered us from attempting anything to satisfy his most pious and sacred demand." She goes on to express

her confidence in the zeal of the new pope to carry out the plans of his predecessor, and to announce the mission of her ambassador, the bishop of Dunblane, who was charged not only to assure him of her devotion, but to consult with him and demand his assistance against her protestant subjects. Now, she said, was the favourable moment to act, when her enemies were either exiled or in her power, though she feared that in the extremity to which they were now reduced they might be driven to make some desperate attempt.

Immediately after the date of this letter, in the first days of February, two gentlemen from the French court, De Rambouillet and Clernau, arrived in Scotland, ostensibly to invest Darnley with the order of St. Michael, but really, it is said, to carry on the secret negotiations. Clernau is said to have brought a special message from the cardinal of Lorraine. About the same time came Thornton, a messenger of her ambassador the bishop of Glasgow, who also was charged with a message from the cardinal, and who brought with him into Scotland the secret treaty or band against the protestants which Mary was to sign. Her letters to the pope and to the king of Spain, already referred to, show that she was fully prepared for this treaty, and she signed it, as far as we know, without reluctance. The French envoys encouraged her to pursue her rebels with the utmost vigour; and, after she had signed the treaty, she determined to hurry on the parliament for the forfeiture of Murray and his adherents, and the re-establishment of the catholic faith.

CHAPTER VI.

MURDER OF RICCIO.

In the midst of Mary's triumph, events were in progress which show how frail was the power on which she calculated. After the flight of Murray and his friends into England, Mary used every effort to discover evidence of assistance given them by Elizabeth, and she seems to have traced the delivery of a sum of money from Randolph to the countess of Murray. A man named Johnston came forward and declared that he had received the money from the English ambassador, and that he had himself delivered it to the lady. Randolph denied the whole matter, but when Johnston was confronted with him, he still persisted in his statement. As Elizabeth denied that any assistance had been given to the Scottish lords by her directions, Mary assumed that Randolph had acted on his own responsibility, and she ordered him to leave the court, and he retired to Berwick. At the same time she addressed a letter to Elizabeth, declaring her reasons for acting thus rigorously towards her ambassador.

But Mary's troubles were now to arise from another quarter. Her marriage had been a hasty and ill-advised match and, though for a few months the queen and her husband lived together in harmony, this soon gave way to mutual disgust and dislike. This seems to have begun to show itself openly at the beginning of the year 1566. In accordance with Mary's wishes, Darnley had begun to attend her mass at Christmas, and it was well known that at the opening of parliament measures were to be brought forward for the re-establishment of the catholic religion. The protestants, aware of this, were in the utmost alarm, which was not appeased by her promises that they should still enjoy liberty of conscience. Darnley's character was coarse and licentious, and he soon began to neglect his wife, and to offend her by his excesses. On the other hand, when they were married, Mary, in the heat of her passion, had promised him the crown matrimonial,—that is, an equal share in the sovereignty and government of the kingdom, and this he now claimed and was refused. Furious at being thus thwarted in his ambition, Darnley believed, and perhaps with some truth, that Mary was influenced in this behaviour towards him by the counsels of David Riccio, her Italian favourite. It was notorious that

this man was now Mary's chief counsellor. He was evidently a man of talent for political intrigue, a fit instrument for the designs of the Guises, and we have no room left for doubting that he was the active agent of the catholic princes of the continent. He was the confidential adviser in her secret plans for the re-establishment of popery; it was generally understood that he urged and confirmed her in her severe persecution of the earl of Murray and his adherents; and, whatever might be his motive, it was believed that he widened the division between her and her husband, and advised her to yield him no share in the government, advice which, under the circumstances, was probably the best she could have followed. Riccio had thus made enemies of all parties except the violent catholics; while the imprudent and extraordinary familiarity with which he was treated by the queen, gave rise to reports of a scandalous nature, which were eagerly propagated among the discontented portion of her subjects.

Buchanan has given us this man's character, as he was universally regarded by the protestants. At the time of which we are now speaking, he tells us, "David, perceiving the court deserted by the principal nobles, and thinking the opportunity favourable for realizing his own immoderate expectations of power, urged the adoption of rash and precipitate measures; constantly exhorting the queen to put to death the chiefs of the faction, and affirming that a few being cut off, the rest would not dare to move. But he was afraid the queen's guards, being Scotchmen, would not easily consent to this base massacre of their nobility; he therefore employed every persuasion to obtain their dismissal, that foreigners —as has been usual in the beginning of almost all tyrannies—might be substituted in their room. At first Germans were proposed for this purpose, because of the remarkable fidelity of that people to their lords; but David, on a more mature consideration of the subject, thought it would suit his purpose better to get Italians to perform that duty, because, being his own countrymen, he thought they would be more under his authority; and being men of no religion, they seemed better adapted for times of confusion, and would be more easily induced to commit any atrocity without examination. Besides, needy banditti, born and educated under tyrants, accustomed to infamous warfare, and strangers who had nothing dear to them in Britain, appeared fit tools for effecting any revolution. Accordingly, adventurous mercenaries began to be sent for by degrees, from Flanders and other continental countries, but individually, and at intervals, that their design might not be discovered; and it was more dangerous to offend any of these vagabonds, than to offend the queen herself. But as the influence of David rapidly increased with the queen, so the king daily became more disagreeable; for as, in concluding the match, Mary had been rashly precipitate, so she as suddenly repented, and gave evident proofs of an altered inclination. She had, immediately after the nuptials, without the consent of parliament, proclaimed him king, and from that time in all public deeds the names of king and queen were expressed; but she soon, though still preserving both names, altered the order, writing that of the queen first, and the king's after. At length, in order to deprive her husband of all power of granting favours, she complained, that while he was engaged in hunting and hawking, much public business was either not done in time, or not done at all; and therefore, for the sake of convenience, she proposed that she should sign for them both, by which means he might enjoy his pleasure, and the public business not suffer by his absence. To this proposal, unwilling at this time to offend her, he consented; and he was then soon, on slight grounds, removed to a distance; that, being absent from the council, and ignorant of all the public business, the honour of all favours might belong to the queen alone, who persuaded herself that, when neither his friendship could be profitable nor his anger formidable, he would soon fall into general contempt; and to increase the indignity, David was substituted in his place, who, with an iron stamp, signed the official papers for the king. Excluded, by this trick, from all official business, that he might not be a troublesome witness of their secret correspondence, he was dispatched to Peebles, in the very depth of winter, with only a very mean train, beneath the dignity of many private gentlemen, rather as if going to seek plunder than recreation. At the same time there was so great a fall of snow, that, in a country barren and infested with robbers, a prince educated in a court, and accustomed to plenty, was in danger of starving, had not

the bishop of Orkney accidentally come that way, who, knowing the place, had brought some wine and other provisions along with him. The queen, not satisfied with thus bringing out David from his obscurity, and introducing him to the public, began, in another way, to adorn him with domestic honours. She had already, for some months, admitted more company than usual to her table, that, among a multitude, David's seat might be less envied. By this show of popularity, it was thought that the strangeness of the spectacle would gradually wear off, amid the multitude of the guests and the frequency of its repetition, and men by degrees be accustomed to bear anything. At length it came to this, that he, with only one or two, daily dined with her; and that the smallness of the place might diminish the odium of the action, the meals were served up in a little chamber, and sometimes even in David's own lodging [in the palace]; but this method of lessening the envy, increased the infamy of the proceeding, and afforded scope for the most discreditable remarks. Besides, what tended more to inflame the public mind, already inclined to believe the worst, was, that in household furniture, dress, the number and breed of his horses, and the rank of his attendants, he far exceeded the king himself; and what made the whole seem more unmeet, his equipage was so far from improving his appearance, that his appearance only disgraced his equipage (it appears that he was ugly). The queen, therefore, when she could not amend the faults of nature, endeavoured, by loading him with wealth and honours, to raise him to the rank of a lord in parliament, that he might conceal, beneath a robe of fortuitous splendour, the meanness of his birth and the deformity of his body; but chiefly that, by procuring for him the right of voting in that assembly, he might manage their proceedings according to the wishes of the queen. In order to advance him by degrees, that he might not appear a needy and mercenary senator, an attempt was first made to procure him an estate in the neighbourhood which the Scots call Melville. The proprietor of this estate, his father-in-law, and his other friends who had the greatest influence with him, being collected, the queen requested the proprietor to yield up the barony, and at the same time urged his relations to persuade him to do so; but not being able to succeed, the queen considered this repulse an affront, and what was more fatal, David was offended. These transactions being public, the common people lamented the present situation of the country, and prognosticated that it would daily become worse, if men of ancient nobility and high reputation were to be turned out of the seats of their ancestors at the pleasure of a needy vagabond; while many of the older people recalled to memory, and often repeated in their conversation, the time when Cochrane, having with the greatest villany killed the king's brother, from a mason became earl of Marr, and kindled the flames of a civil war, which were only extinguished by the death of the king and almost the destruction of the whole kingdom. While such was the tenor of public remark, the muttering of private rumour, as usual in cases of dishonour, went much further. The king who, although told, refused to believe without demonstration, being informed that David had gone into the bedchamber, went himself to a small door of which he always carried the key, and, contrary to the usual custom, found it bolted within. On knocking, he received no answer, on which he retired, boiling with rage, and spent that night in sleepless vexation.

The foregoing account is no doubt coloured by party feelings, but many of its more important statements, such as the use of the iron stamp of the king's name, have been confirmed. Even the scandalous anecdote with which it concludes receives some confirmation from the statement of the French ambassador, M. de Foix, who, writing at the time, tells the queen-mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, that one reason for Riccio's murder was, that Darnley, some days before, going to the queen's chamber, which was immediately above his own, an hour after midnight, and knocking at the door several times, received no answer, until, on his threatening to burst it open, the queen admitted him; Mary was alone in her chamber, but on opening one of the closets, he found Riccio concealed there in his shirt, covered only with a dressing gown. The truth or untruth of such allegations will probably never be cleared up;* but it is certain that there was a general belief that Mary had formed a dishonourable inti-

* At all events, Tytler had no right to use the strong expression, "Darnley had the folly to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion; he became jealous of the Italian secretary;" without giving some evidence to disprove it.

macy with Riccio, and the historian must give due consideration to the influence which such a belief, whether well founded or not, exercises in popular movements like that which was now going on in Scotland. There can be no doubt that it contributed greatly towards alienating the affections of the people from the queen.

Tytler has traced, from letters among the inedited state-papers, the progress of the plot against Riccio. One day, about the 10th of February, Darnley, in a state of the greatest excitement, sent George Douglas, his cousin, to the lord Ruthven, who enjoyed his especial confidence, to give him his assistance against "the villain David." Ruthven was at this time sick in bed, and scarcely able to walk across the room, yet he engaged at once to assist in dispatching the Italian secretary, and Darnley bound himself by oath to keep the whole secret. Yet Randolph, who was still at Berwick, was privately informed of it, and we find the following remarkable allusion to it in a letter he wrote to the earl of Leicester on the 13th of February:—"I know now for certain," he said, "that this queen repenteth her marriage; that she hateth him (Darnley), and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself, that he hath a partaker in play and game with him; I know that there are practises in hand, contrived between the father and son, to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary, I speak not of them but now to your lordship."

As soon as Ruthven had pledged himself to assist Darnley in the murder, their next step was to call in the earl of Morton, a man equally resolute with Ruthven, and far more skilful in planning intrigue, who at once joined in the plot. It was now determined to draw into it the protestant leaders and the exiled lords; to make one of its principal objects the recall of the latter, and their re-establishment in power; and to try and secure the support of Elizabeth and her ministers.

The designs of the conspirators were favoured by the general and intense hatred of Riccio. Filled with terror at the design, now scarcely concealed, of restoring popery, and holding violent opinions founded on texts from the Old Testament on the duty of destroying idolatry, the reformers were ready to snatch at any means likely to defeat the plans of their enemies. They now looked upon Riccio as the grand agent of the papal league, and with the opinions just alluded to, they saw no sin in cutting him off. Accordingly the two leading preachers, Knox and Craig, were admitted to a knowledge of the plot, and were easily induced to give their consent to it; and their example was followed by Bellenden the justice-clerk, Makgill the clerk-register, the lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, and other leading men of their party. These men consulted together, and it was resolved that the only means to save their religion was to break off the parliament by murdering Riccio, placing the queen under restraint, giving the nominal sovereignty to Darnley, and replacing the earl of Murray at the head of the government. The period set apart for a general fast was approaching, and the preachers arranged it so that it should be held in the capital during the week fixed for the opening of parliament, which would thus enable the conspirators to meet together and concert their plans without attracting observation.

Matters being so far arranged, Darnley's father, the earl of Lennox, went secretly to England, to inform the banished lords of the design. It was not difficult to obtain their consent, for they knew that the opening of parliament would be the signal for their utter ruin, and they were naturally ready to seize upon any expedient to prevent it. It was, therefore, agreed by the earl of Murray and his companions in exile, including Kirkaldy of Grange, and Knox's father-in-law, Ochiltree, that information should be given them of the day fixed for the murder, and that they should manage their return so as to arrive in Edinburgh immediately after it had been committed. Two bands or covenants were then entered into, and signed by Darnley and the rest of the conspirators, both of which have fortunately been preserved. The first ran in Darnley's name, and stated that the queen having been abused by some wicked and ungodly persons, especially by an Italian stranger named David, he had resolved, with the assistance of certain of his nobility and others, to seize these enemies, and, in case of resistance or other

difficulty, to cut them off and slay them, "wherever it happened;" and he solemnly promised, on the word of a prince, to maintain and defend his assistants and associates in this enterprise, "though it were carried into execution in presence of the queen's majesty, and within the precincts of the palace." This was signed by the king, Morton, and Ruthven, and perhaps by others, and the document is endorsed, "Conditions to be performed by the king of Scots to the earls." The second covenant, endorsed, "Covenants for the earls to perform to their king," was executed on the part of the king, the earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and their accomplices. It was to bind the king on the one hand, and the conspirators on the other, to the performance of certain conditions which they had agreed upon for their mutual benefit. The lords promised to support Darnley in all his just quarrels, to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, to give him the crown matrimonial, to maintain the protestant religion and put down its enemies, and to uphold every reform founded on the word of God. The king, on his part, engaged to pardon the earl of Murray and the other banished lords, to stay all proceedings against them, and to restore them to their lands and dignities.

These documents were dated on the 1st of March. It now remained only to communicate the plot to Elizabeth and her ministers, and endeavour to obtain her support. The first intimation which she received of it, appears to have been contained in a letter from Bedford and Randolph, dated at Berwick on the 6th of March, and which therefore would not reach the English queen until after the deed had been committed, and in a longer letter which they wrote the same day to Cecil. In the latter, the writers, enjoining the strictest secrecy, gave the English ministers the following account of what they knew of the plot: "The matter," they said, "is this. Somewhat we are sure you have heard of divers discords and jars between this queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not over well known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person: you have heard of the man whom we mean of. To come by the other thing which he desireth, which is the crown matrimonial, what is devised and concluded upon by him and the noblemen, you shall see by the copies of the conditions between them and him, of which Mr. Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals and taken the copies written with his own hand. The time of execution and performance of these matters is, before the parliament, as near as it is. To this determination of theirs, there are privy in Scotland these, Argyle, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Lethington. In England these: Murray, Rothes, Grange, myself, and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the queen's majesty our sovereign shall be sought and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment. These are the things which we thought and think to be of no small importance; and knowing them certainly intended and concluded upon, thought it our duties to utter the same to you Mr. Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom." Meanwhile the earl of Murray had obtained permission of Elizabeth for himself and his companions in exile to return to Scotland, and he was already on his way thither. On the 8th of March he was at Newcastle, and thence, before he crossed the border, sent a messenger with a letter to Cecil, to inform him of the conspiracy which was to restore him to power and save the Scottish protestants. Although so many public men were concerned in it, the conspiracy seems to have been carried on with great secrecy. It is said, indeed, that Mary had received some hints of impending danger, which she disregarded; and it was the same with Riccio, who had been warned by an astrologer he was in the habit of consulting to beware of

the bastard, alluding most probably to George Douglas, one of the chief conspirators, who was the natural son of the earl of Angus, but he imagined that it referred to the earl of Murray, and treated the warning with derision.

Such was the state of things when the parliament assembled in Edinburgh. The fast began on the 3rd of March, and a large body of the more zealous protestants met in the capital, to keep it under the immediate direction of Knox and his fellow-preachers. This bold reformer chose for the subjects of his sermons texts selected from the Old Testament, most of them calculated to enforce the duty of slaying the enemies of God's word. On the 4th, the parliament was opened by the queen in person. On Thursday the 7th of March, after the lords of the articles had been chosen, the act for the attainder and forfeiture of the earl of Murray and the banished lords was prepared, and it was to be passed on the Tuesday following.

On the evening of Saturday, which was the 9th day of March, the king supped in his own apartment with Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and George Douglas, the queen supping as usual apart from him in a small room or cabinet adjoining her bed-chamber, which was immediately above the king's chamber. Morton and Lindsay had caused the court of the palace to be occupied by a hundred and fifty men, who made themselves masters of the gate, and shut it against all but their friends. There was a secret staircase leading from the king's chamber into the queen's, by a door to which he had a key; and towards eight o'clock, having ascertained that the queen was at supper, with the countess of Argyle, the commendator of Holyrood, Beaton (her master of the household), Erskine (the captain of the guard), and David Riccio, seated at the table, he led the conspirators silently into the queen's chamber. Darnley first lifted the arras, and approaching the party at supper, kissed the queen, and seated himself by her side. He was followed immediately by the lord Ruthven, who was clad in complete armour, and whose features were haggard and ghost-like, from the circumstance that he had but just risen from a bed of sickness. Behind him appeared Morton, George Douglas, and others of the conspirators. The queen rose from table at this intrusion, but the first words were spoken by Ruthven, who called on Riccio to come out, telling him that was no place for such as he. The queen said he was there by her will, on which her husband exclaimed that it was against her honour. Ruthven, meanwhile, was approaching to Riccio, and offered to seize him by the arm to drag him out, but he threw himself behind the queen, and, clinging to her gown, screamed with terror, in language half Italian and half French, *"Giustizia! giustizia! sauve ma vie, madame, sauve ma vie!"*—"Justice! justice! save my life, madame, save my life!" The queen interposed her body between him and his assailants, whom she ordered to quit the room, telling them that if Riccio were accused of any crime, he should be placed on his trial, and receive justice. Ruthven now drew his dagger, and the queen said that he struck at his victim over her shoulder. According to other accounts, it was George Douglas who did this; and Car of Faudonside is accused of having presented a loaded dag or pistol at the queen's breast. At length the king threw his arms round Mary, and held her while the other conspirators dragged Riccio out of the room; and it was then that she is said to have burst into a passion against the king, and told him that he had given her the kiss of Judas. The whole chamber was now in an uproar; the table and lights were overthrown in the scuffle; and the victim was dragged through the queen's bed-chamber, into the presence chamber, at the entrance to which others of the conspirators were ready to receive him. It was said to have been the design of the conspirators to preserve him alive till morning, in order that he might be publicly hanged; but this was forgotten in the fury and excitement of the moment, and he was dispatched with no less than fifty-six wounds, his assailants, in their eagerness to strike him, wounding each other. According to some accounts, the first blow was given by the king; but it is certain that Darnley's own dagger was found sticking in Riccio's body.

Before the deed was completed, Darnley and Ruthven returned to the closet, where the queen stood passionate and weeping. She again begged for the life of her favourite, and bitterly upbraided her husband who had suffered her thus to be insulted. He told her coarsely that for two months Riccio had had more company of her body than he, her husband. Her reply must be weighed with the general coarseness of that

age, not with the refinement of the present; she said, "it was not the woman's part to seek her husband, and, therefore, in that the fault was his own." Darnley made an excuse which is too coarse to repeat; to which she replied, "Well, you have taken your last of me and your farewell." "That were pity," said Ruthven, "he is your majesty's husband, and you must yield to each other." She is said to have retorted fiercely on Ruthven, "why may not I leave him as well as your wife did her husband? Others have done the like." Ruthven replied, "that his wife had been lawfully divorced from her former husband, and for no such cause as the king found himself grieved," and he urged the baseness of the individual whom she had taken into her favour. "Well," said Mary, "it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." "God forbid!" said Ruthven, "for the more your grace showeth yourself offended, the world will judge the worse." The queen is described as weeping continually during this conversation, while Darnley looked on and said little. At length Ruthven became so faint that he called for a cup of wine, and exclaiming, "This I must do, with your majesty's pardon," drank it off. He then persuaded her in the best sort he could that she would pacify herself. All this while Mary was not aware of Riccio's fate; but at last one of her ladies rushed into the room crying out that David was slain. The queen at once ceased weeping, and exclaimed, "If it be so, then farewell tears; we will now think of revenge!"

Such are the particulars of this terrible deed of vengeance, as far as we can gather them from the different accounts written at the time, and obtained from those who acted a part in it. When it was completed, the conspirators withdrew, and the queen was kept a prisoner in her apartment, closely guarded. The king immediately assumed the royal power, and he addressed his letters dissolving the parliament, and commanding the estates to leave the capital within three hours. Strict watch was ordered to be kept in the city, and all Roman Catholics were forbidden to quit their houses. To Morton was entrusted the guard of the palace, and his followers kept strict watch that none should go out; but, in the midst of the tumult, Huntley and Bothwell contrived to escape by a window; and sir James Balfour, and James Melvil, with one or two others of the queen's friends, were equally fortunate. As Melvil passed under the queen's chamber, she succeeded in communicating with him through the window, and implored him to inform the citizens of her danger, and urge them to come to her rescue. He executed his commission, and the common bell being rung, a body of citizens hastened to the palace to demand the liberation of their sovereign. But while she was held back by her guards, Darnley showed himself at the window, assured the people that he and the queen were safe, and begged them to return to their homes. They obeyed him, and the tumult was again appeased.

So far the designs of the conspirators had succeeded to their utmost expectations; Riccio was slain, and the queen was their captive; but they seem not to have been sufficiently aware of the weak and treacherous character of Darnley. A sort of half reconciliation between the husband and wife appears to have been effected before they retired to repose, and next morning she succeeded in regaining her influence over him. She was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and the horrors and the agitation of the past night had brought on an attack of delirious fever which gave reason to fear a miscarriage. She imagined that Ruthven was coming to murder her, and she shrieked out for assistance, which she imagined was withheld. Towards the evening of the next day (Sunday), she recovered her presence of mind. In the course of the day, Murray, Rothes, Ochiltree, and others of the banished lords arrived in the capital, and their company is said to have increased so much on the way, that their entry resembled a triumph. They proceeded at once to the palace, where they were welcomed by Darnley; and no sooner was Mary informed of their arrival than she sent for the earl of Murray, and throwing herself into his arms, declared that if he had been with her he would not have suffered her to be handled so cruelly. He is reported to have been so much affected that he wept also; but after quitting her, he held a meeting with the rest of the conspirators, at which it is said to have been resolved that the queen should be shut up in the castle of Stirling, that she should be compelled to surrender the crown and government of the realm to her husband, and that the catholic religion should be proscribed in Scotland.

In the meanwhile Mary had exerted all her powers of fascination over her husband, and succeeded in exciting his fears,

and in persuading him to disavow his share in the murder. She assured him that their only chance of safety lay in escaping together from their present position, and it was agreed that in order to obtain the opportunity for doing this, she should offer to comply with the demands of the conspirators on condition of their relieving her for a while from restraint, that her act might be that of a free princess. Ruthven and Morton, not easily deceived, insisted that she only meant to betray them; but Darnley offered to stake his life for her honour and good faith; and their suspicions were at length so entirely lulled, that they agreed to go and draw up a pardon which she was to sign, while she retired to take her repose. They accordingly delivered the paper and gave it to Darnley, and withdrew the guards from the palace. At midnight Mary rose from her couch, and mounting a fleet horse, in spite of her condition, she rode with the utmost precipitancy to Dunbar, accompanied only by Darnley and the captain of her guard, Arthur Erskine, who had contrived the escape. This occurred on the Tuesday night, and the manner in which it was effected is more particularly described in an interesting letter from Bedford and Randolph to Cecil. The earl of Murray and his friends, they tell us, came to the palace about seven o'clock on Monday evening. "He spake immediately with the king, and straight after with the queen. She said that he was welcome, and, laying the fault upon others that he was out of the country, required of him to be a good subject, and she would be to him as he ought (*as he merited*). The next day he spake with her again, as also my lord of Morton and lord Ruthven, who exhorted her humbly to cast off her care, to study for that which might be her safety, weal, and honour, promising for their parts obedience and service as became true and faithful subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worth, willed them to devise what might be for their security, and she would subscribe it. She sendeth for the lord of Lethington, and in gentle words deviseth with him that he would persuade that she might have her liberty, and the guard that was about her removed, seeing that she had granted their requests. He found it very good, and not many of the lords, as we hear, that misliked it. All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any that either she would depart or not perform the promise to the lords, about twelve of the clock at night, she conveyed herself a private way out of the house; she, her husband, and one gentlewoman came to the place where Arthur Erskine, the captain of her guard kept the horses, and so rode her way behind Arthur Erskine until she came to Seaton. There she took a horse to herself and rode to Dunbar." She was there joined by Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, and others of her friends, and collected an army to march against the conspirators. Darnley publicly denied all participation in the murder, and he denounced Ruthven, Morton, and the other partakers in it.

Next day the conspirators sent the lord Semple to Dunbar, to request that the queen would sign their bill of pardon, as she had promised; but they were put off for two or three days, while she collected her army, and gained over some of the protestant nobles, including the earls of Glencairn and Rothes. The earl of Argyle had not yet come to Edinburgh; and the chief conspirators, finding their position desperate when they heard the queen was marching on the capital, fled precipitately. Morton and Ruthven, with Andrew Car of Faudonside, and the laird of Brunstoun, succeeded in reaching Berwick. Lethington, who knew that his safety was compromised, retired to the mountains of Argyle, and John Knox sought refuge in Kyle. The earl of Murray with his friends joined the earl of Argyle at Linlithgow, and as they were not then known to be involved in the conspiracy, and the queen's vengeful feelings ran in another direction, they obtained their pardon. The queen caused many of the citizens of Edinburgh to be thrown into prison, and two or three to be executed, on what exact charge is not known. Darnley having again solemnly denied before the privy council that the murder was committed by his will and consent, a public proclamation to that effect was made at the market cross in Edinburgh on the 21st of March, and the conspirators were put to the horn as traitors. The lands of the laird of Lethington were seized into the queen's hands, and given in keeping to the earl of Bothwell.

Mary, now again for a moment triumphant, declared that she would take revenge on all who had had any share in promoting the death of David Riccio, and the French ambassador, De Foix, expressed himself scan-

dalised at the honours she paid to his memory. The English accounts speak of the riches he had amassed. "Of the great substance he had," say Bedford and Randolph, "there is much spoken. Some say in gold to the amount of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparel was very good; as it is said, fourteen pair of velvet hose. His chamber well furnished; armour, dags, pistolets, arquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this, nothing spoiled, nor lacking, saving two or three dags. He had the custody of all the queen's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a jewel that he had hanging about his neck, of some price, that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was slain, a night-gown of damask, furred, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet."

It appears that during these transactions, Mary had received a letter from queen Elizabeth, reproaching her with her severity towards the protestant lords, to which she wrote the following reply, dated from Dunbar, on the 15th of March:—"Right excellent, right mighty princess, and good sister. After our hearty commendations, although we know the power of the evil and erroneous reports and false narrations made unto you of us by our rebels and such as have extremely offended us in this realm, we could not think nor almost bear with the strange devised letter which we lately have received of you by this bearer, your servant, marvelling greatly how ye can be so inclined rather to believe and credit the false speakings of such unworthy to be called subjects, than us, who are of your own blood, and who also never thought nor made you occasion to use such rigour and menacing of us as ye do, through the persuasion of these, which afterwards ye will know assuredly never to have deserved your favour nor assistance to their wicked and mischievous enterprises, who in like manner have offered me often times to deceive yourself, if I would have accepted such condition of them. But I would never do it, and moreover ye willing us to remit their offences, that no prince of the world should do, but rather offer help to their punishment. Whereas ye wrote to us that we in our former letters blamed them that keep not promises, but think one thing and do another, we would ye should remember the same; for ye will find us to be handled so by them, whomto we have always done as we have spoken, and they to us the contrary, as daily we have experience; and last of all, some of our subjects and council, by their proceedings have declared manifestly what men they are; and if ye or any other prince should of reason procure for such traitors as first have taken our houses, slain our most special servant in our own presence, and thereafter held our proper person captive treasonably, whereby we were constrained to escape straightly about midnight out of our palace of Holyrood-house to the place where we are for the present, in the greatest danger, fear of our life, and evil estate that ever princess on earth stood in; as your servant can show and report you the whole at length; which handling and cruel using no prince Christian will allow, neither yourself, as we believe. Desiring you earnestly to let us understand if ye be of mind to help and support them against us, as ye bost (*threaten*) to do; for we are assured and not so disprovided, but (*without*) other princes that will hear of our estate, considering the same, will favour us so much as to help and support us (if need be) to defend us and our realm against all and whatsomever our said rebels and them that wrongously will maintain or assist them, against us, were it but only for their own example, that the like offence be not committed against them by their subjects likewise in their realms. Praying you therefore to remember your own honour and how near of blood we are to you; thinking upon the word of God which commands that all princes should favour and defend the just actions of other princes as well as their own; which we doubt not but ye will do unto us, knowing ours to be so just, as all the world may testify. We thought to have written to you this letter with our own hand, that thereby ye might have better understood all our meaning, and taken more familiarly therewith; but of truth we are so tired and evil at ease, what through riding of twenty miles in five hours of the night, as with the frequent sicknesses and evil disposition by the occasion of our child, that we could not at this time, as we were willing to have done. Which we hope ye will excuse till hereafter, that we mean, God willing, at the first occasion which shall be offered, more amply to make discourse unto you on the whole discourse of the proceedings. And thus, right excellent, right mighty princess, and our good sister, we commit you to the protection of Almighty God."

But the most interesting of Mary's letters at this time is one written on the 2nd of April, a few days after her return to Edinburgh, to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, in which she gives him such a version of the recent occurrences as she wished to be communicated to the French court, and in which the reader will not fail to observe how she slurs over the circumstance of Riccio's being seated at the table with her. "Most reverend father," Mary says, "we greet you well. We received your dispatch sent by captain Mure; and since sundry news having occurred, knowing not what bruit (*rumour*) is passed thereupon, we thought necessary to make you some discourse thereof. It is not unknown to you, how our parliament was appointed to the twelfth of this instant month of March, to which these that were our rebels and fugitives in England were summoned, to have heard themselves forfeited. The day thereof approaching, we required the king our husband to assist with us in passing thereto; who, as we are assured, being persuaded by our rebels that were fugitive, with the advice and fortification of the earl of Morton, lords Ruthven and Lindsay, their assisters and complices, who was with us in company, by their suggestion refused to pass with us thereto, as we suppose because of his facility and subtile means of the lords aforesaid, he condescended to advance the pretended religion published here, to put the rebels in their rooms and possessions which they had of before, and but (*without*) our knowledge grant to them a remit of all their trespasses. The said rebels and their favourers promised they should further him to the crown matrimonial, give him the succession thereof, and ware their lives in all his affairs; and if any would usurp contrary to his authority, they should defend the same to their uttermost power, not excepting our own person. Which subtle factions being unknown to us, hoping (*expecting*) no inconvenience to have been devised or succeeded, we, accompanied with our nobility for the time, passed to the Tollbooth of Edinburgh, for holding of our parliament upon the seventh day of this instant, elected the lords articulars. The spiritual estate (*i. e.* the catholic prelates), being placed there in the ancient manner, intending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion, and to have proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits. Which for such occasions as are notoriously known, we thought necessarily should be punished, like as of truth the crimes committed by them being notified and made patent in face of our estates in parliament assembled, were thought and reputed of such weightiness, that they deserved forfeiture therethrough; and the same being voted and concluded. Upon the 9th day of March instant, we being, at even about seven hours, in our cabinet at supper, sociated with our sister the countess of Argyle, our brother the commendator of Holyroodhouse, laird of Creich, Arthur Erskine, and several others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our evil disposition, being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh, having also then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth, the king our husband came to us in our cabinet, placed himself beside us at our supper. The earl of Morton and lord Lindsay, with their assisters, bodin (*equipped*) in warlike manner, to the number of eight score persons or thereby (*thereabouts*), kept and occupied the whole entry of Holyroodhouse, so that as they believed it was not possible to any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time the lord Ruthven, bodin in like manner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary David Riccio among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant we required the king our husband, if he knew anything of that enterprize, who denied the same. Also we commanded the lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence; declaring we should exhibit the said David before the lords of parliament, to be punished, if any sort he had offended. Notwithstanding, the said lord Ruthven perforce invaded him in our presence (he then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back), and with his complices cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands in him, struck him over our shoulders with whinyards (*daggers*), one part of them standing before our face with bended sags (*pistols*), most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords. In doing whereof, we were not only struck with great dread, but also by sundry considerations was most justly induced to take extreme fear of our

life. After this deed immediately the said lord Ruthven coming again in our presence, declared how they and their complices aforesaid were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which were not to them tolerable; how we were abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the lords which were fugitive, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate; putting also upon council the lords Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself. That the lords banished in England were the morn (*on the morrow*) to resort towards us, and would take plain part with them in our contrary (*in opposition to us*); and that the king was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves, than for our council and nobility, maintainers of our authority, being with us in our palace for the time, to wit, the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, lords Fleming and Livingston, sir James Balfour, and certain others our familiar servitors; against whom the enterprise was conspired as well as for David, and namely to have hanged the said sir James in cords. Yet, by the providence of God, the earls of Huntley and Bothwell escaped forth of their chambers in our palace at a back window by some cords; wherein these conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves greatly disappointed in their enterprise. The earl of Athol and sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the lords Fleming and Livingston, obtained deliverance of their invasion. The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood the tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare, to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely bosted (*threatened*) by these lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should have cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls. So this community being commanded by our husband, retired them to quietness. All that night we were detained in captivity within our chamber, not permitting us to have intercommuned scarcely with our servant women nor domestic servants. Upon the morn hereafter, proclamation was made in our husband's name, by our advice, commanding all prelates and other lords convened to parliament, to retire themselves of our burgh of Edinburgh. That whole day we were kept in that firmance (*prison*), our familiar servitors and guard being debarred from our service, and we watched by the committers of these crimes; to whom a part of the community of Edinburgh, to the number of four-score persons, assisted. The earl of Murray that same day at even, accompanied with the earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, tutor of Pitcurr, and others who were with him in England, came to them, and seeing our state and entertainment, was moved with natural affection towards us. Upon the morn (*the morrow*) he assembled the enterprisers of this late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while (*until*) we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm; or else, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual captivity. To avoid them of our palace with their guard and assisters, the king promised to keep us that night in sure guard, and that but (*without*) compulsion he should cause us in parliament approve all their conspiracies. By this means he caused them to retire them of our palace. This being granted, and the guard commanded to serve us in the accustomate manner (the fear and dread always remained with us), we declared our state to the king our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, in case he permitted these lords to prevail in our contrary (*against us*); and how unacceptable it would be to other princes our confederates in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire him in our company to Dunbar; which we did under night, accompanied with the captain of our guard, Arthur Erskine, and two others only. Of before we being of mind to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired in quiet manner the earls of Bothwell and Huntley to have prepared some way whereby they might have performed the same; who not doubting therein, at the least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of

our palace in the night upon towes (*ropes*) and chains, which they had in readiness to that effect. Soon after our coming to Dunbar, sundry of our nobility, zealous of our weal, such as the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Marshal, Athol, Caithness, bishop of St. Andrews with his kin and friends, lords Hume, Yester, Semple, and infinite others, assembled to us; by whose advice, proclamations being made for convening our lieges to attend us and our service, the lords conspirators perceiving the same, the earl of Glencairn, as innocent of this last crime, resorted towards us by our tolerance, and hath taken his remission, and sick-like (*in the same manner*) the earl of Rothes. The earls of Murray and Argyle sent divers messages to procure our favour, to whom in likewise, for certain respects, by advice of our nobility and council being with us, we have granted remission, under condition they nowise apply themselves to these last conspirators, and retire themselves into Argyle during our will; thinking it very difficult to have so many bent at once in our contrary (*against us*), and knowing the promises past already betwixt the king and them, and our force not sufficient, through inability of our person, to resist the same, and put the matter in so great hazard. We remained in Dunbar five days, and after returned to Edinburgh, well accompanied with our subjects. The last conspirators, with these assistors, having removed themselves forth of the same of before, and being presently (*now*) fugitive from our laws, we have caused by our charges their whole fortunes, strengths, and houses to be rendered to us, have caused make inventory of their goods and gear, and intend further to pursue them with all rigour. Whereunto we are sure to have the assistance of our husband, who hath declared to us, and in presence of the lords of our privy council, his innocence of this last conspiracy; how he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same. Thus far only he oversaw himself, that at the enticement and persuasion of the late conspirators, he, without our advice or knowledge, consented to the bringing home forth of England of the earls of Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, and other persons with whom we were offended. This ye will consider by his declaration made hereupon, which at his desire hath been published at the market-crosses of this our realm, whereof with these presents we thought necessary to send you the original. We have informed this bearer, Mr. James Thornton, upon sundry other our particular affairs; to whom give credit. We require you, in case of your absence from court, that ye pass thereto with diligence, to declare all our proceedings to the king and queen-mother, and our uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, to whom we have also written anent the premises." In a postscript, Mary added in French, with her own hand, the earnest admonition, "I pray you fail not, the moment you have seen this letter, to go to the court, in order that you may hinder the false reports from being believed; and make a discourse of it to the ambassador of Spain and the other foreigners. Your very good mistress and friend, Marie R."

CHAPTER VII.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH; DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN MARY AND HER HUSBAND; BIRTH OF A PRINCE; BOTHWELL.

A few days had thus sufficed to create an extraordinary change in the position of affairs in Scotland. Riccio, who had been looked upon as the arch-enemy of the reformed church and of the protestant nobles, no longer existed to guide Mary's counsels against them; the exiles against whom she had expressed the bitterest animosity had returned and were pardoned; and a new set of rebels were in exile or concealment, and threatened with her vengeance. Darnley was still with her, apparently reconciled, and she was gratified by the readiness and zeal with which he denied all knowledge of



Engraved by W.T. Fry

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE FOUNDER OF OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

OB 1603.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

the conspiracy to murder her favourite, and assisted in her designs against the murderers. When Mary was not blinded by her prejudices or her passions, she was too good a politician not to see her real interests, and she now, confronted by so many dangers, was easily convinced of the necessity of effecting a union among those who were not in open hostility to her. She expected soon to be a mother, and overcome with chagrin at the troubles and disappointments which beset her, she must have wished to see herself surrounded by friends. It was, as we learn from the former letter, with such feelings that she effected a reconciliation between the earls of Murray and Bothwell, and she prevailed with those of Argyle and Athol to lay aside their feuds at least for a while. But the reconciliation with her nobles was followed by a greater estrangement than ever with her husband. She had hitherto but the assertions of Ruthven and his colleagues in proof of Darnley's participation in the murder of Riccio, and she appears to have believed in his declaration to the contrary. The conspirators, now exposed to her vengeance, and basely deserted and betrayed by the king, laid before Mary the bonds which had been entered into between them, and she became at once aware that the conspiracy had originated with her husband, and that it had been carried into effect under his immediate directions. His utter baseness was thus fully exposed, and, deeply stung with his ingratitude, she not only refused to admit him to her presence, but forbade her friends to hold any communication with him; and, according to a statement of Lethington's, in her grief, she spoke of leaving her kingdom and retiring to France. In calmer moments she talked of obtaining a divorce, and it was even said that she had sent a messenger to Rome on a mission with this object.

The insecurity of her position, and the prospect of a successor, appear to have turned her desires at this time towards a closer amity with Elizabeth. That princess was perhaps informed of the plot against Riccio's life before it was carried into effect; but in all appearance not, as Tytler supposes, time enough to have prevented it. By a comparison of dates, it is hardly probable indeed that the information could have reached her before the perpetration of the deed; and, although she and her ministers were no doubt alarmed at the influence this man had gained, and were glad that he had been put out of the way, she professed great indignation at the outrage, and much sympathy for the Scottish queen. On the second of April, at the moment of Mary's complete triumph over her enemies, she had written, as we have seen, a proud and angry letter to Elizabeth. It appears to have been immediately after this letter was dispatched, that she was shown the bond between Darnley and the conspirators, and at the same time Robert Melvil arrived on his return from his embassy to England, bringing a complimentary letter from Elizabeth, which appears to have been couched in more kindly terms than had been of late usual. In her disgust at the baseness of her husband, Mary seemed willing to throw herself into the arms of Elizabeth. She wrote back on the 4th of April, by a messenger who was charged to give her a detailed account of the recent events, and of her fortunate escape. She prayed the queen of England to give orders to her officers on the borders to hinder the conspirators from passing into England, and requested her specially to cause the earl of Morton, who, she was assured, had taken refuge there, to be arrested and sent back to Scotland. She assured her of her extreme desire to seek her favour, adding that she had had too much experience of the ingratitude of her own subjects and friends, to let her imitate them in the same vice; and she requested Elizabeth to seal their friendship by becoming godmother to the infant to which she hoped to give birth in the month of July. She promised further that, if God gave her a safe delivery, she would afterwards make a progress to the border to congratulate with Elizabeth in person; and in conclusion she wished Elizabeth to send her an ambassador, who would be more studious of their friendship than Randolph. In accordance, apparently, with this request, Randolph remained at Berwick, and Killigrew was sent to Edinburgh to announce Elizabeth's willingness to stand godmother to Mary's child. In the following month another occasion happened for an expression of Mary's friendship for Elizabeth. The English queen had been attacked with the small pox, and her recovery had been duly announced to the sister queen. In her letter of congratulation, Mary expressed her joy that the disease had been overcome without any diminution in the "perfection" of Eliza-

beth's "beautiful face." She took the opportunity of informing her of "the pacification of the troubles which have for a short time annoyed me, more from pity towards those whom God has so far abandoned than from fear of any danger from them, for the assurance I had of my subjects, who have shown themselves such as I could have wished them, and I hope they will be better for the evident anger of God which has fallen on the wicked."

At the end of May, Mary retired to Stirling, as it was understood, to remain there until after her delivery, and also, as it has been supposed, to place herself in security against some new plots. She was followed thither by her husband, on which she returned to Edinburgh, and took up her residence for safety in the castle. As the time of her confinement approached, her feeling towards Darnley seems to have softened, while she became haunted with the idea that Morton and his associates were coming home to break in upon her during her labour. She then imagined that she would not survive her confinement, and she became reconciled to her husband and made her will. Nevertheless, on the 19th of June she was delivered of a prince, who lived to inherit the two crowns, and she recovered with more ease than was expected. Sir James Melvil was immediately dispatched to England with the intelligence, which was announced by Cecil to his royal mistress as she was dancing in her palace at Greenwich. Elizabeth is said to have assumed on a sudden a serious countenance; then seating herself, and leaning her cheek pensively on her hand, she lamented to her ladies her own barrenness, and the happier fortune of the Scottish queen. Next morning she received Mary's ambassador, expressed to him her great joy, and, in answer to the urgent solicitation he had been directed to make to her on the subject, promised that there should be a speedy settlement of the question of the succession.

On the return of sir James Melvil, Mary wrote to his brother, her resident ambassador, a letter of instructions expressive of her satisfaction at the friendly tone which Elizabeth had assumed, and which certainly shows an anxiety to respond to it in the same manner. "We have received," she says to Robert Melvil, "great comfort and contentment of the declaration your brother has made unto us, touching the queen our good sister's continual affection and constant love towards us, which she causes appear at all convenient times, as now by the great joy she hath taken at our happy delivery, and also by the gentle grant she has made to be gossip (*godmother*), desiring to send an honourable company both of men and women for accomplishing of the same, whereof ye shall give her in our name most hearty thanks, and say unto her that we would she should do nothing therein but at her best commodity and greatest ease, always pray her that he who shall come be such a one as we have known through long experience to have been tender and familiar with our said good sister, to the end we may the more freely open divers things unto him that we intended to have spoken by our own mouth unto herself, because the time hereafter will not serve so well unto the purpose." After some instructions relating to English fugitives in Scotland, Mary proceeds to the question of the succession, and Melvil is directed to "show her also how we desire to have no advancement in that country but by her own only means and help, not doubting that our behaviour shall be in all points such towards her as she shall have cause more and more to procure earnestly herself all things that may serve unto our weal and preferment in this country, that country, or any other part; upon the which esperance (*hope*) we mind to use all diligent care to follow such ways as may please her, and to flee and eschew such as will offend or displease her, with our most strait command unto you also to do the like at your power so long as ye remain there and wheresoever ye be; nevertheless, our will is as before, that ye entertain in most gentle and friendly manner with many thanks all those that profess in that country to bear us good will and are affectioned unto our title (i.e. the catholics and the party who opposed Elizabeth's policy with regard to Scotland), providing always that neither they nor ye offend or pretend to offend hereafter the queen our good sister in any sort; and if there comes any hasty or seditious person unto you, admonish them gently to cease; if they will not, show them ye will declare the matter unto the queen our good sister, and do it indeed or it fail; by which means it shall be well known that all such as go about to sow discord betwixt the queen our good sister and us, doth it rather upon particular respects and profit unto themselves, than unto the weal of her, or her affairs, or

for any love they bear unto their own country." At the same time the queen wrote a second letter to Melvil, in French, which was to be communicated to Cecil, who had privately sent her three recommendations for the preservation of the friendship between the two courts; the one was, that she should give surety for the preservation of the protestant religion as it was then established; the second, that there should be good discipline established on the frontiers, which had been recently in a very disturbed state; and the third, that, with regard to the succession, she should trust in the good intentions of Elizabeth, and not pursue her claims in public. With respect to the first, Melvil was directed to tell Cecil, "that, since our return from France, we have never constrained or persecuted any one on account of religion, and that we have no design of acting otherwise in future; that he need not doubt of the sincerity of this declaration, since he sees the protestants in possession of the most considerable places of trust in our kingdom, and that we employ them in all our most important affairs in preference to all others." With respect to the borders, Mary urged, and probably with justice, that the officers on both sides were to blame for the disorders which had occurred; and that the Scottish borderers had taken advantage of the recent troubles, "at a time," says Mary, "when we were not in a condition to apply a remedy with the same success as we hope to do now that the Lord has granted us a little repose. We pray Mr. Cecil to incline the queen his mistress to show on this occasion the same firmness on her side that I am resolved to show on mine, after which I am persuaded that there will be no further subject of complaint." With regard to the third recommendation, she referred Cecil to a letter she had then written to Elizabeth.

In the mean time the birth of a Scottish prince had been the means, through the indiscretion of a Scottish poet named Adamson, who had published in Paris a small book in Latin verse in praise of the child, at the head of which he gave him the title of "prince of Scotland, England, and Ireland," of giving deep offence to Elizabeth. She wrote a somewhat haughty letter to the earl of Bedford, directing him to "let the queen there our sister understand of this audacious rash attempt of a subject of hers, not doubting but she can of her wisdom consider how unmeet it is, whilst we two remain in this good amity, to have such attempts published and suffered. And if ye find her not ready to judge evil of it, and to offer some reformation thereof with speed, you shall in our name require her that we may find in this matter an evident proof of her offers made of late time to us to continue our amity, without violation and without suffering any manner of thing to be done directly or indirectly to our prejudice, as we have on our part rendered good account of our sincerity towards her. And though you shall not need at the first to remember unto her any particular means how to deal herein, yet in the end, if you find her not ready to devise thereof, you shall desire her to give order to have the party being the author thereof to be apprehended and punished, and likewise that it be prohibited to have any of the same like books to remain undefaced, according as both the laws of amity and special covenants of treaty do require." This was written on the 19th of November, and on the return of Robert Melvil to Scotland at the beginning of December, Elizabeth wrote a letter to Mary on the same subject, and much in the same tone, telling her of her "great regret to see a book so scandalous for you, so insulting towards me, so foolish in itself, be so publicly divulged, enough to make all the world condemn you as ungrateful towards her who daily serves you as an advocate against all who speak ill of you, and tries by all good means to oblige you by my merits to be mine assured. In the second place, I hope that, as you desire the reparation of certain words which seem to touch you, which with very good heart I will not fail to make, so that by some open act you also will denounce to the whole world how you detest such a wrong and manifest insult. And the sooner you do it, the more will it be for your honour and the better for our service; for you know, madame, that there is nothing in the world which touches me so much in honour than that there should be another queen of England besides me; for, as Alexander said, Carthage could not endure two kings, neither I a companion in empire."

We do not know how Mary took this fiery appeal, but it is certain that in the course of the correspondence Mary shows far more gentleness than her "good sister." Elizabeth alludes to an attack on the queen of Scots which had been published in England, and she laments in the sequel of the

letter, that she had not yet been able to discover the authors of it. It was perhaps the same libel of which Mary thanks Cecil for his efforts to discover the authors in a letter written to that statesman on the 18th of November; and on the same day, she wrote a letter to the English privy-council on the subject of the succession, which shows her anxiety to preserve the friendship with England. "Whereas," she says, "we have understood by report of our familiar servitor, Robert Melvil, the good offers made to our behoof by the queen our good sister, your sovereign, we think ourself obliged to do to her whatsoever a good sister and tender cousin ought, where she finds so great thankfulness, and that we could not declare the affection we bear towards our said dearest sister better nor (*than*) by that which we did when we looked not to have broukit (*enjoyed*) this life twelve hours in our late sickness, at which time our meaning was that the special care of the protection of our son should rest upon our said good sister; we believe ye have always been good ministers to move your sovereign to show her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and (we) firmly look ye will so continue. We take ourself, as we doubt not but ye know, to be the queen your sovereign's next cousin, and next herself and the lawful issue of her body, to have greatest interest of all others to that which has been (as is reported) lately motionated in the parliament-house; and albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister farther than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question, yet because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do effectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whensoever it shall please the queen your sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. And to us, we will no wise desist therein unto such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you in the mean time to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the queen your sovereign and that realm, so if any prince in earth would offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power, and that ye cannot advise our said dearest sister to extend her favour towards any that shall recognise it in a better sort."

The state of Scotland appeared now more tranquil than it had been for some time, and Mary seemed anxious that it should continue so. She set herself to work earnestly to compose the differences among her turbulent nobles. She was now again taking Murray into her confidence, and at his desire she pardoned Lethington, and procured his reconciliation with Bothwell. The lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, Hatton, and Calder, also, no doubt through Murray's intermediation, obtained the same favour; and everything wore the face of returning peace.

But this tranquillity was soon disturbed by the conduct of her husband. Darnley knew that the conspirators against Riccio bore a deep hatred to him for his base desertion, and he is said to have been offended and alarmed at the lenient feeling which was now shown towards them. Since her correspondence with the queen of England had assumed so friendly a tone, Mary appears to have laid aside, or at least to have shown less openly, her favour towards the catholics, although one or two of her letters to the pope, who was sending a nuncio to Scotland, are preserved. Her husband, who seems at this time to have had only one aim, that of embarrassing her government, now intrigued with the catholics, and he even went so far as to write a letter to the pope, accusing Mary of lukewarmness in the cause of religion. His letter was intercepted, and his intrigues exposed, upon which he complained that he had been deprived of his just share of the government, and that he was neglected by the nobles, whom he accused of harbouring designs against his life. At length he embraced the strange project of proceeding to the continent, with the intention of complaining to foreign princes of the manner in which he was treated.

Towards the end of September, the queen went to Edinburgh, leaving Darnley at Stirling, where he chose to await her return. On her departure, the earl of Lennox, who was at his residence at Glasgow, proceeded to Stirling to visit his son, and on his return to Glasgow he wrote a letter to the queen, informing her of Darnley's intention to quit the kingdom, and of the fruitless attempt he had made to persuade him to change his purpose. The queen received this letter on the 29th of September, and she immediately communicated it to her privy-council. The same evening Darnley arrived in Edinburgh, and he sent a mes-

sage to the queen stating, that he would not go into her lodgings until she had sent away the nobles who were with her. This unreasonable request was not complied with, but the queen condescended so far as to go out and fetch him into her chamber, where he remained all night. She was unable, however, to obtain from him an avowal of his intentions. Early in the morning, the queen sent for the lords of the privy-council, and for M. du Croc, the French ambassador, and in their presence Darnley was informed of the statement made in the letter of the earl of Lennox, and was urged to declare if he really had any intention of leaving the kingdom, and what was the cause of his displeasure. But all was in vain, and they could get nothing from him but a sullen acknowledgment that he had no cause for dissatisfaction, after which he took leave of the queen without the usual salutation, telling her that it would be a long time before she saw him again.

The lords began to think they had been deceived by a false report of the earl of Lennox, until the queen received a letter from her husband, in which he threatened covertly that he would leave the country, and they were informed that he was secretly preparing a vessel for that purpose. Immediately after this occurrence the queen proceeded to Jedburgh, and after her departure Du Croc, who remained at Edinburgh, received a message requesting an interview with him at a place about two leagues from the capital. Du Croc soon found that he repented of what he had done, and that he would be glad if the queen would send for him to the court again. "I think, however," says the ambassador, "from what I can gather, that he wants to temporize till after the christening, in order not to be present at it. For I see but two things that are the cause of his despair; in my opinion, the first is the reconciliation of the lords with the queen, for he is jealous of their paying more court to her majesty than to him, and as he is high and proud, he would not have strangers to know it; the other is, that he feels sure that he or she who shall come as representative of the queen of England to the said christening will not show him respect, and he is afraid of being exposed to contempt."

We have seen that in one of her letters to England, Mary promised that she would act with energy against the turbulent clans on the border, and it was for this purpose that she had now proceeded to Jedburgh to hold a court for trying the offenders. The earl of Bothwell, as the queen's lieutenant, had been sent forward to reduce a violent feud which had broke out between the Elliots and the Armstrongs. In a sanguinary skirmish with these turbulent marauders, Bothwell, attempting to secure one of the most notorious offenders, John Elliot of the Park, was so severely wounded, that at first he was supposed to be killed; but being carried to the castle of the Hermitage, his life was found to be out of danger. This occurred on the 7th of October, the day before the queen arrived at Jedburgh and opened the court for the trial of border offenders. On the 15th of the same month, Mary, accompanied with Murray and other lords, rode over to the Hermitage, to visit the wounded nobleman, and returned the same day to Jedburgh, and the day following she was seized with a fever of such a dangerous character, that for ten days her life was despaired of. Some ascribed her illness to the long ride to the Hermitage at nightfall; Lethington believed that it arose from chagrin at the unkind and ungrateful behaviour of her husband; and others have ascribed it to a different passion. On the 9th of November, as soon as she was sufficiently recovered, she proceeded to Kelso, and thence by Dunbar to Craigmillar.

Mary's criminal passion for this daring and profligate nobleman is generally traced to this period, and her tender regard for him is said to have been then a subject of general remark. She did not move from Jedworth, it appears, until Bothwell was sufficiently recovered to be able to accompany her. Darnley had shown little sympathy for the queen during her illness, and it was not till danger was over that, on the 28th of October, he came to court, and then his reception was so cold, that he returned to Glasgow on the following day. Mary arrived at Craigmillar on the 20th of November.

Mary was now suffering from profound grief, caused by the treatment she had experienced from her husband, and the apparent hopelessness of obtaining any remedy for it. In a letter from Du Croc to the archbishop of Glasgow, written on the 2nd of December, that ambassador gives the following account of her condition:— "The queen," he says, "is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city (Edinburgh.) She is in the hands

of the physicians; and I do assure you she is not at all well, and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead.' You know very well that the injury she has received [from Darnley] is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it. The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen about five or six days ago; and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from hence, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends to go away to-morrow; but in any event, I am much assured, as I have always been, that he will not be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to disclose what I say in any place that may turn to my prejudice), I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God effectually put to his hand. I shall only name two; the first reason is, the king will never humble himself as he ought; the other is, the queen cannot perceive any one nobleman speaking with the king, but presently she suspects some contrivance among them."

According to some accounts, Mary's anxiety of mind arose partly from a desire to get rid of her ungrateful husband. It was the belief in this desire that led the lords to propose to her a divorce; and she at first grasped at the proposal, stipulating only that it should be strictly legal, and that nothing should be done to prejudice the rights of her child. It proceeded so far, that the place of Darnley's residence after the divorce was discussed; but on further consideration, anxious still for the interests of her son, she drew back from it, expressing a hope that her husband might still amend, and declaring that she was willing herself to pass over to France, and remain there until he acknowledged his fault. "Madame," said Lethington, in reply to this suggestion, "care not; there are those among us here that will undertake to make your majesty quit of him, without prejudice of your son; and, albeit, my lord of Murray, here present, be little less scrupulous for a protestant than your grace is for a papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and behold our doings and say nothing thereto." Mary appears to have been shocked at the idea evidently intended to be conveyed by these words, that of murdering her husband; and she observed that it would be better to wait God's pleasure, than that, in the belief they were doing her a service, they should do that "which might possibly turn to her hurt or displeasure." Lethington replied, "Madame, leave us to guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good and approved by parliament."

Lethington's meaning would be very obscure, but it was explained by what followed. A bond or agreement for the murder was drawn up at Craigmillar and committed to writing, it is said, by James Balfour, one of Bothwell's daring and unscrupulous followers, and it is said to have been signed by this man, by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, and by Lethington. It was in this bond declared to be their intention to slay the king as a young fool and a tyrant, who was an enemy to the nobility, and who had conducted himself in an intolerable manner towards the queen, stipulating that after the deed was done the conspirators should all stand by each other, and defend it as a measure of state, which had been determined by the chief councillors of the realm, and was necessary for the preservation of their own lives. This document was delivered to the keeping of the earl of Bothwell.

This appears to have occurred at the beginning of December. It was about the same time that the earl of Bedford proceeded to the Scottish court, taking with him a golden font, or basin and ewer, which Elizabeth, who had appointed the countess of Argyle to be her representative at the baptism, sent as a present to the young prince. The baptism took place at Stirling on the 17th of December, and was performed with great magnificence by the Roman catholic archbishop of St. Andrews. The young prince received the name of Charles James. As we have intimated, Elizabeth, as godmother, was represented by the countess of Argyle, supported by the earl of Bedford; while the king of France, as godfather, was represented by the count de Brienne and the ambassador, M. du Croc. The ambassador of the duke of Savoy, M. de Morette, did not arrive till

after the ceremony; in his train came Joseph Riccio, the brother of David, whom Mary immediately took into her service. Darnley, who was at court, kept away from this ceremony, in which he of all others had reason to take an interest, and his conduct was altogether so strange, that the French ambassador found it necessary to discontinue all communication with him. Mary was evidently yielding more and more to the evidence of the earl of Murray, and at his desire she now pardoned Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and all the other conspirators against Riccio, except two, George Douglas and Ker of Faudonside, who were said to have pointed their weapons at her body. This pardon, which was granted on the 24th of December, completed Darnley's discontent, and he immediately retired to Glasgow, where a few days afterwards he was seized with a disease which was at first ascribed to poison, but which proved eventually to be the small-pox.

At the beginning of January the earl of Bedford returned to England, carrying with him a friendly letter to Elizabeth, in which Mary declared her intention in future to be guided in all matters between them by the desires of the English queen. "And whereas," she said, "ye require that by a reciprocal contract to pass betwixt you and us, it may be manifested to the world that we mean not to pretend any thing that may be derogatory either in honour or otherwise to yourself during your life, or yet after the same to the lawful issue of your body; and on the other part that ye will never do nor suffer anything to be done to the prejudice of our title and interest which we have as your next cousin, but at your uttermost will repress and subdue all manner of attempts that shall directly or indirectly tend to the overthrow or hindrance thereof. Our proceeding in this matter is of all others to yourself, dearest sister, best known; for always have we commended us and the equity of our cause to you, and have certainly looked for your friendship therein; whereon we have continually stayed (*propped*) ourself, and now we think us fully assured of the same, having thereof so large proof by knowledge of your good mind and entire affection declared by your said ambassador, as also by our servitor Robert Melvil. Not doubting but in time convenient ye will proceed to the perfecting and consummation of that ye have begun to utter, as well to your own people as other nations, the opinion ye have of the equity of our cause, and your affection towards us, and namely, in the examining of the will supposed made by the king your father, which some would lay as a bar in our way; according to your own promise to us, as well contained in your letter sent by our servitor Robert Melvil, as made to him in direct terms, whereof he has made us report, that ye would proceed therein before your nobility (being at this present assembly) departed towards their own houses."

From these matters Mary was now continually diverted by the intrigues and ill-conduct of her husband, who was accused of conspiring to obtain possession of the young prince, and, by dethroning the queen, place the crown on his head and govern in his name as regent; while a contrary report was set abroad at the same time, to the effect that there was a design to seize Darnley and throw him into prison. "Lately," says Mary on the 20th of January, in a letter to her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, "a servant of yours named William Walcar, came to our presence, being for the time at Stirling, and in his communication, amongst other things, declared to us, how it was not only openly bruited (*rumoured*), but also he had heard by report of persons whom he esteemed lovers of us, that the king, by the assistance of some of our nobility, should take the prince our son and crown him; and, being crowned, his father should take upon him the government; with sundry other attemptates and purposes tending to this fyne (*end*). At the hearing whereof, ye may think well we marvelled not a little; and seeing the matter of such importance, could not but insist to have further knowledge of the speakers and authors, to the effect that we might better understand the ground and fountain whereof it proceeded, with the which he being pressed, named William Hiegait in Glasgow, also your servant, for his chief author, who, he said, had communicated the matter to him, as appeared, of mind to gratify us, saying to Walcar, 'If I had the means and credit with the queen's majesty that ye have, I would not omit to make her privy of such purposes and bruits (*rumours*) that pass in the country.' Hiegait said further, as Walcar reported to us, that the king could not content nor bear with some of the noblemen that were attending in our court, but either

he or they behoved to leave the same. Whereupon we took occasion with diligence to send for Hiegait, who being inquired in our council of his communication had with Walcar in this behalf, he denied, as well apart as being confronted together, that ever he talked with the said Walcar upon any such purposes. Only thus far he confessed, that he heard of a bruit how the king should be put in ward; and for his author in that point named a servant of the earl of Eglinton's, named Cauldwell; who being also sent for and examined, expressly denied that ever he spake or entered in such terms with William Hiegait. This purpose of the bruit of the king's warding was shown by Hiegait to the laird of Minto, who again declared it to the earl of Lennox, and by him the king was made participant thereof; by whose desire and commandment Hiegait again (as he alleges) spake to Cauldwell. But in fine, amongst them all, we find no manner of concordance, every one disagreeing on the whole purposes spoken; which moved us to say to the two that we take for your servants, that we were assured they had in their proceeding and speaking, besides our offence, highly offended you their master, whom we were assured to be so far ours and affectionately inclined to our service and advancement, that ye would be very evil content of their rash behaviour, and repress and disallow such groundless purposes, tending to our inquietation and disadvantage, and troubling of the tranquillity of the country, which our study is to maintain and retain in such integrity as possibly may be."

"And for the king our husband," Mary continues, "God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us in semblablement (*similarly*) well known to God and the world, specially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall aye be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honourably, howsoever he, his father, and their fautors speak; which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of execution of their pretences from them; for, as we believe, they shall find none or very few approvers of their councils and devises imagined to our displeasure or misliking."

CHAPTER VIII.

ASSASSINATION OF DARNLEY.

It is impossible to trace the course of the criminal passion which there can be little doubt Mary now cherished for Bothwell, but several circumstances which occurred during the month of January seem to point to dark plots that were secretly in progress. One of the most remarkable of these mysterious occurrences related to one of the queen's own servants, an Italian named Joseph Lutyni. On the 6th of January, 1567, Lutyni was sent to France with a passport signed by Mary and her secretary Joseph Riccio, in which it was stated that Lutyni was employed on a mission relating to the queen's affairs. After he was gone, and while he was still at Berwick, Mary suddenly addressed the following extraordinary letter, dated on the 17th of January, to sir William Drury, marshal of Berwick:—

"Trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well. Forasmuch as an Italian named Joseph, our domestic servitor, has lately left his charge, and is departed forth of our realm, that way, as we are credibly advertised. He has fraudulently taken with him the goods and money of divers his friends and companions, who declare him an untrue man, whereof we have thought meet to give you warning, praying you effectuously that with the ordinary post ye send advertisement, and make him be stayed wherever he be apprehended, and put in sure company till we be

certified and may take order for prosecution of him, according to the laws, as he has deserved, wherein we can nothing doubt your good-will and diligence, since it is the proper office of all good ministers to further the punishment of such offenders. And as heretofore we have caused apprehend such Englishmen within our realm as had stolen their mistress's money or goods, at the commendation of such as ever charge them from time to time, so will we do the semblable in time to come, as experience shall declare, the cause occurring."

Mary seems to have expected that Drury would have delivered up the Italian without further question, but instead of doing so, he caused Lutyni, who had been detained at Berwick by sickness, to be closely examined, and to his astonishment there were found upon him the queen's passport, intimating distinctly that he was sent on her service, and a mysterious letter in Italian from Joseph Riccio, which he was desired to burn, and from which it would appear that, with the exception of a debt to a tailor, the charge of robbery was a mere cover for some matter of greater importance. "It giveth me to think," says Drury, in a letter to Cecil written on the 23rd of January, "by that I can gather, as well of the matter as of the gentleman, that it is not it (the money, &c.), that the queen seeketh so much as to recover his person. For as I have learned, the man had credit there; and now the queen mistrusteth lest he should offer his service here in England, and thereby might, with better occasion, utter something either prejudicial to her, or that she would be loath should be disclosed but to those she pleaseth." In another letter, written on the 7th of February, Drury adds that Lutyni "doubteth much danger; and so affirmeth unto me, that if he return, he utterly despaireth of any better speed than a prepared death." Under these circumstances Drury thought it advisable to write to his court for directions. Mary's letter to Drury had been followed by a pressing application from Lethington to the same purpose, and Lutyni was at length given up, on Mary's promise that, having satisfied the debt, he should be returned in safety, or restored to his liberty. On the 28th of February Drury told Cecil, "that the Italian here stayed, which the queen of Scots by her letters required, I did send him unto her by a lieutenant of this garrison. She saw him not, but caused the earl Bothwell to deal with him, who offered him fair speech to have him tarry, which he would not yield unto; he satisfied such debt as the tailor could demand of him, others demanding of him nothing. The queen willed to give him thirty crowns, and hath returned him again unto me, who minds to-morrow to take his journey towards London, very well contented, as he seemeth, to have left Scotland."

I think that Tytler has put a fair construction on this mysterious affair, when he states his conviction, that Lutyni had become acquainted through Riccio with some secret, the betrayal of which was a matter of life or death; that Mary suspected that he had stolen or read some of her private papers; that she had determined to examine him herself upon this point, and that everything depended upon his deceiving the queen on his return, by adhering to the tale which had been already told her by Riccio. Tytler further suggests that Riccio was in the secret of the conspiracy to murder Darnley, that he had revealed it incautiously to Lutyni, and that the queen, having received some intimation of this, was anxious to obtain possession of his person, and ascertain if this were the case or not, in order that she might prevent his disclosing it. We know that Joseph Riccio was afterwards accused by the earl of Lennox of being one of the murderers of his son.

From the confessions at a later period of some of the principals in the dark conspiracy now going on, and private letters, some of which have been (without ground, I believe,) considered as forgeries, we obtain a sufficiently detailed account of the events we have now to relate. The earl of Morton, having received permission to return to Scotland, arrived at Whittingham, the seat of his kinsman Archibald Douglas, early in January. He was there visited by Bothwell, who, in Archibald Douglas's presence, acquainted him with the design to murder the king, "requiring of me," says Morton, in his confession in 1581, "what would be my part therein, seeing it was the queen's mind that the king should be taken away, because, as he said, she blamed the king more of David's slaughter than me." Morton replied, that he was but newly come out of trouble, and not yet quite rid of that, and that he was unwilling to enter immediately into such trouble again. "After this answer," Morton tells us, "Mr. Archibald Douglas entered in conference

with me on that purpose, persuading me to agree to the earl of Bothwell's desire." In another interview with Bothwell, that nobleman pressed the matter still more urgently on Morton, using as an argument that "it was the queen's mind, and she would have it to be done." Morton then desired the earl of Bothwell to bring him the queen's handwriting as a warrant. It appears that Lethington had accompanied Bothwell on this occasion, and that Bothwell, Lethington, and Archibald Douglas proceeded to Edinburgh to obtain the written warrant demanded by Morton. All this showed a full consciousness on their part that Mary approved of the plot, but she was not so utterly devoid of all prudence as to give her written authority for the murder of her husband. Archibald Douglas, according to his own account, was thereupon sent back to inform Morton that the queen "would hear no speech of that matter appointed to him." Shortly afterwards, Morton paid a visit to the earl of Angus at St. Andrews, and there Archibald Douglas came to him again, "both with writ and credit of the earl Bothwell," to inform him that "the purpose of the king's murder was to be done, and near a point," and again urging him to join in the conspiracy. "My answer to him," says Morton, "was, that I had not got the queen's warrant in writing, which was promised, and therefore seeing the earl Bothwell never reported any warrant of the queen to me, I never medled further with it."

Darnley still remained at Glasgow, nearly recovered from his sickness, but alarmed by some obscure intimations which had been conveyed to him of designs against his life. On the 22nd of January, Mary went suddenly to Glasgow to visit her husband. It was on the way thither, during a night which the Scottish queen passed at Callendar, that Paris, a servant of Mary's, whom she had given as a confidential agent to the earl, and who afterwards made a full confession, became first acquainted with her criminal intercourse with Bothwell. The latter seems to have quitted her at this place, and when she approached Glasgow, she was met by Crawford, one of the king's gentlemen, whom Darnley had sent with an excuse for his not meeting her in person, on the ground that he was still an invalid, and that otherwise he did not presume to come to her till he knew that she had laid aside her displeasure against him. Mary merely observed that fear was a disease not easy to cure, and then continued on her way to Glasgow, where she proceeded almost immediately to Darnley's chamber. In the conversation which immediately took place, Darnley inquired into the recent appointments of her household, expressed a wish that Joseph Riccio should be sent away, and spoke of the intended marriage of Bastian, another of her foreign servants. Mary then proceeded to recriminations, upon which Darnley declared that he was repentant of all his faults towards her, and that he was so joyful to see her, that he was ready to die for gladness. The conversation was interrupted at this point by the queen's being called to supper, but she returned after her meal, and then Darnley renewed his professions of repentance, and repeatedly pleaded his youth as an excuse for his errors. The queen then reproached him with his intention of leaving the country, and interrogated him as to the plots which had been spoken of by Hiegait and Walcar. "I inquired of him," says Mary in her account of this interview, "of the inquisition of Hiegait. He denied the same, while (*until*) I showed him the very words were spoken; at which time he said that Minto had advertised him that it was said that some of the council had brought a letter to me to be subscribed to put him in prison, and to slay him if he made resistance. And he asked the same at Minto himself, who answered that he believed the same to be true. The morn (*to-morrow*) I will speak to him upon this point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessed it, but it was the morn after my coming here he did it." Darnley pressed Mary to come and lodge with her, but she refused, on the ground that he was not yet sufficiently recovered of his disease. He then told her that he had been informed she had brought a litter for him, but that he would rather go with her; and Mary expressed to Bothwell her belief that he was afraid she was going to send him away prisoner. Mary told him that it was her intention to carry him with her to Craigmillar, where he should be attended by her own physician; and Darnley expressed his willingness to accompany her, urging, as a condition, that she should consent to their living together again at bed and board. She gave him her hand, and promised that it should be so, but added that he must first be thoroughly cleansed of his sickness. Before leaving

him for the night, she requested him to tell no one of the promises she had made him, lest the suddenness of their reconciliation might offend some of the lords, to which he replied that he knew no reason why they should mislike it. When she was gone, Darnley called in Crawford, and related to him all that had passed between him and the queen, that he might repeat it to the earl of Lennox. The king asked Crawford what he thought of the queen's intention to take him to Craigmillar, to which Crawford replied that he thought she treated him too much like a prisoner; "for," said he, "why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?" Darnley remarked that he also had taken the same view of the matter, and that he was still not divested of his fears; nevertheless, having her promise to trust to, "I have," he said, "put myself into her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."

Mary retired to her lodging, and there occupied herself in writing a long letter to Bothwell, giving him a detailed account of her interview with her husband, and filled with passionate professions of attachment.* "He prays me," says Mary, in concluding her account of the interview with Darnley, "to give trust to nothing against him; as to me he would rather give his life or (*before*) he did any displeasure to me. And after this he showed me of so many little flatteries, so coldly and so wisely, that ye will abash (*be astonished*) thereat. I had almost forgot that he said he could not doubt of me in this purpose of Hiegait's, for he would never believe that I, who was his own flesh, would do him any evil, as well it was shown that I refused to subscribe the same; but as to any others that would pursue him, at least he should sell his life dear enough; but he suspected nobody, nor yet would not, but would love all that I loved. He would not let me depart from him, but desired that I should wake (*sit up*) with him. I make it seem that I believe that all is true, and take heed thereto, and excused myself for this night that I could not wake (*that I was unable to keep awake*); he says that he sleeps not well. Ye saw him never better nor speak more humbler. And if I had not a proof of his heart of wax, and that mine were not of a diamond (*adamant*) whereinto no shot can make breach but that which comes forth of your hand, I would have almost had pity of him. But fear not, the place shall hold unto the death. Remember, in recompense thereof, that ye suffer not yours to be won by that false race that will travel no less with you for the same. I believe they [she perhaps means Bothwell's wife and her own husband] have been at school together. He has ever the tear in his eye; he salutes everybody, yea, unto the least, and makes piteous caressing unto them, to make them have pity on him. This day his father bled at the mouth and nose; guess what presage that is; I have not yet seen him, he keeps his chamber. The king desires that I should give him meat with my own hands. But give no more trust where you are than I shall do here. This is my first journey (*day's work*); I shall end the same to-morrow. I write all things, howbeit they be of little weight, to the end that ye may take the best of all to judge upon. I am in doing of a work here that I hate greatly. Have ye not desire to laugh to see me lie so well, at the least to dissemble so well, and to tell him truth betwixt hands. He showed me almost all that is in the name (*on behalf*) of the bishop and Sutherland, and yet I have never touched a word of that ye showed me, but only by force (*much*) flattering, and to pray him to assure himself of me; and by plaining (*complaining*) on the bishop, I have drawn it all out of him. Ye have heard the rest. We are coupled with two false races, the devil sunder us, and God knit us together for ever, for the most faithful couple that ever be united. This is my faith, I will die in it. Excuse me if I write ill, ye may guess the half of it, but I cannot mend it, because I am not well at ease: and yet very glad to write unto you when the rest are sleeping, sith I cannot sleep as they do, and as I would desire, that is in your arms, my dear love, whom I pray God to preserve from all evil, and send you repose. I am ganging to seek mine till the morn, when I shall end

* This is the first of the letters found in the celebrated casket, which will be mentioned further on in Mary's eventful history, the authenticity of which has been the subject of so much discussion. I confess that a careful perusal of the letter from which the extracts are given in the text, and a comparison with the account of Mary's interview with Darnley given by Crawford in his written deposition, and with Mary's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow on the 20th of January, relating to Hiegait and Walcar, carry to my mind a full conviction that it is genuine. It seems to me that things are alluded to which could only have been known to herself, but which subsequent discoveries of private documents then unknown to anybody who could forge such a letter, have proved to be true.

my bibill, but I am fashed (*vexed*) that it stops me to write news of myself unto you, because it is so long. Advertise me what ye have deliberate to do in the matter ye know upon this point, to the end that we may understand each other's will, that nothing therethrough be spoilt. I am irked (*tired*), and ganging to sleep, and yet I cease not to scribble all this paper, inasmuch as rests thereof. Waried (*cursed*) might this pockish man be, that causes me have so much pain; for without him I should have a far pleasanter subject to discourse upon. He is not overmuch deformed [*i.e.* with the small-pox], yet he has received very much. He has almost slain me with his breath; it is worse than your uncle's, and I came no nearer unto him but in a chair at the bed's foot, and he being at the other end thereof."

The remainder of the letter is written more ramblingly, and contains passages and allusions which, supposing it to be her writing, show us the fearful precipice over which she was throwing herself under the influence of her passion for Bothwell. "I am now passing," she says, "to my fashous (*grievous*) purpose. Ye gar (*make*) me dissemble so far that I have horror thereat; and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitress. Remember how, if it were not to obey you, I would rather be dead ere I did it; my heart bleeds at it. In sum, he will not come with me, except upon condition that I will promise to him, that I shall be at bed and board with him as of before, and that I shall leave him no more. . . . . For to make him trust me, it behoved me to feign in some things with him; therefore when he requested me to promise unto him, that when he was whole we should have both one bed, I said to him, feigningly, and making me to believe his promises, that if he changed not purposes betwixt this and that time, I would be content therewith, but in the mean time I bade him take heed that he let nobody wit (*know*) thereof. . . . In short," she goes on to say, "he will go upon my word to all places. Alas, I never deceived anybody; but I remit me altogether to your will. Send me advertisement what I shall do, and whatsoever thing shall come thereof, I shall obey you. Advise too with yourself if ye can find out any more secret invention by medicine; for he should take medicine and the bath at Craigmillar. He may not come forth of the house this long time. In sum, by all that I can learn, he is in great suspicion; and yet, notwithstanding, he gives credit to my word; but yet not so far that he will show any thing to me. But, nevertheless, I shall draw it out of him, if ye will that I avow all unto him. But I will never rejoice to deceive anybody that trusts in me; yet, nothwithstanding, ye may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cause, by reason ye are the occasion of it yourself, because for my own particular revenge I would not do it to him. . . . Burn this letter, for it is over dangerous, and nothing well said in it; for I am thinking upon nothing but fascherie (*grief*). If you be in Edinburgh at the receipt of it, send me word soon. Be not offended, for I give not over great credit. Now seeing to obey you, my dear love, I spare neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness whatsomever, take it, I pray you, in good part, and not after the interpretation of your false good brother Huntley, to whom, I pray you, give no credit, against the most faithful lover that ever ye had or ever shall have. See not her [Bothwell's wife,] whose feigned tears should not be so much praised nor esteemed as the true and faithful travail (*labors*) which I sustain for to merit her place; for obtaining of the which, against my natural (*nature*,) I betray them that may impeach (*hinder*) me. God forgive me, and God give you, my only love, the hap and prosperity, which your humble and faithful love desires unto you, who hopes to be shortly another thing to you, for the reward of my irksome labours."

While the queen remained at Glasgow, Bothwell went to Edinburgh, and there prepared a lodging for the king, for it was now determined that he should be taken to the capital, and not to Craigmillar. Having arranged this to his satisfaction, he left Edinburgh on the night of the 24th to visit his estates in Liddesdale. On the 27th, the king being sufficiently recovered, Mary carried him with her from Glasgow to Callender, where they remained that night. Next day they continued their journey to Linlithgow, where they remained till the 30th, waiting for the return of Bothwell, with whom the queen was in frequent communication. On the day last mentioned, Mary, still taking Darnley with her, left Linlithgow for Edinburgh; Bothwell met them on the way, and they all proceeded to a remote suburb called the Kirk of Field, which was occupied by scattered houses and gardens, among which the principal

was the house of the duke of Châtelherault. The royal attendants supposed, naturally enough, that they were taking the king to the duke's lodgings, but when they halted there, the queen informed them that a small inconvenient house, adjoining the town wall, not far from the duke's, and near a ruinous monastery, called the Black Friars, was to be the king's lodging. This house belonged to a dependent of Bothwell's, named Robert Balfour, brother of the sir James Balfour, who drew up the bond for the murder of Darnley at Craigmillar; and this circumstance, with the lonely position of the house, and the events which followed, show that the king's lodging was chosen with a view to the horrible catastrophe which followed.

Mary appeared now to be reconciled to her husband; she visited him every day, passing much of her time with him, and paying great attention to his wants and comforts; and she ordered a bed to be made for herself in a room in the house immediately under Darnley's chamber. This room was selected for carrying the plot against Darnley's life into execution. The queen's confidential servant at this time, was the same Paris whom we have before seen employed in her secret service, and who, at the time of the conference at York, was arrested, and made a written confession, from which we learn some interesting particulars relating to the events we are now describing. This man said, that when he was ordered to make the queen's bed in the room in question, Bothwell, who had already spoken with him of the plot against the king, told him not to place the bed immediately under the king's bed, as that was the spot under which they intended to place the powder to blow up the house. Paris disobeyed this injunction, and when the queen came to her chamber, and saw where Paris had placed her bed, immediately under that of the king, she said to him angrily, "Fool that you are, I will not have my bed in that place!" and made him remove it. Paris kept the key of the queen's chamber, and, believing by her observation with regard to the bed, that Mary was acquainted with the designs of the conspirators, he proceeded to inform her that Bothwell had ordered him to bring him the key, and intimated that he knew for what purpose. The queen replied somewhat impatiently, "Don't talk to me of that now; they must do as they will." Mary slept there the same night, and instead of going to bed after she left her husband, she wrote a letter to the earl of Bothwell, and sent Paris with it, who returned with the verbal answer, that the earl would not sleep till he had finished his enterprise. Mary slept again in her room in the king's lodging on Friday, and, according to Paris's statement, wrote again to Bothwell. When she left on Saturday morning, her confidential maid, Margaret Carwood, directed Paris to bring away the coverlet of the queen's bed, which appears to have been an article of value, from the house at Kirk of Field, and carry it to Holyrood House; and Mary seems to have been so anxious about this, that on Sunday evening, when she supped with the bishop of Argyle, as Paris served her at table, she asked him anxiously if he had taken her coverlet from Kirk of Field.

According to the account of Paris, it was on the Thursday when the queen's bed was made in the house at Kirk of Field, that Bothwell first spoke to him of the design to murder the king, by blowing up the house with gunpowder, and he then told him that the plot had originated with Lethington, and that he, with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, were all embarked in it. Morton, as we have seen, confessed afterwards that he had been asked to join in the conspiracy, but that he had refused to do so until he had seen the queen's written commands. Bothwell told Paris that the earl of Murray had refused to conspire with them, but that he expected no opposition from him; and it is highly probable that the earl of Murray had some intimation of what was likely to occur, as he had obtained leave on the Sunday morning to absent himself from the court, in order to visit his wife at St. Andrews. There is no proof that any of the noblemen mentioned by Bothwell to Paris were directly concerned in the murder, and it is not improbable that he was merely referring to them as having signed the bond at Craigmillar. On the present occasion Bothwell appears as the only nobleman conducting the plot, his associates being merely inferior agents, his own dependents or servants, such as Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and some of the Ormistons.

To return to the proceedings at court, it appears that Margaret Carwood, one of Mary's favourite women, had proved with child by Bastian, a foreigner belonging to the queen's household, and Mary had pro-

moted a marriage between them, and promised to honour it with a masque. The marriage was fixed for Sunday, the 9th of February. The queen passed part of that day with her husband, treated him in the most affectionate manner, and, it is said, promised to remain that night with him, although she had caused the rich covering of her bed to be taken away. The queen dined in her own chamber at Holyrood, at the wedding-feast of Bastian, and went the same evening to a supper given at the house of John Balfour by the bishop of Argyle. Bothwell was one of the guests, and it was here, as stated above, that the queen spoke to her servant Paris about the taking away of the coverlet from her bed. After supper she returned to Kirk of Field with Argyle and Huntley, and remained in familiar conversation with the king till about eleven o'clock, when she suddenly remembered the masque which was to be given in commemoration of the wedding, and, after embracing the king, proceeded with Bothwell, Argyle, and Huntley, to Holyrood House.

We gather the account of what followed from a comparison of the confessions of such of the actors in it as were subsequently convicted of the murder and executed. After leaving the supper of the bishop of Argyle, and apparently accompanying the queen to Kirk of Field, Bothwell returned with Hay of Tallo, Hepburn, and James Ormiston, to the lodging of the laird of Ormiston, where they found the laird and his uncle Hob Ormiston. These, with some of Bothwell's servants, carried a quantity of gunpowder, which had been secretly brought from Dunbar, to Kirk of Field, and conveyed it into the garden or field through the old gate of the Black Friars, whence they obtained admittance into the queen's chamber, by the connivance and with the assistance of Paris and the person who kept the key of the outer door. They had put the bulk of the powder in a large barrel, but finding this too bulky to pass through the door, they were obliged to carry it back into the field, and bring it in in bags. During this proceeding Bothwell came out from the king's chamber to inquire the cause of their delay, telling them that if they had not finished before the queen's departure, their opportunity for working unobserved would be lost. At length all the gunpowder was safely conveyed into the queen's chamber, and laid on the floor under the king's bed, and just in the spot where Paris had first made that of the queen. According to one statement, Bothwell, informed that all was ready, gave a signal to the queen, and she departed as before related. The laird of Ormiston, Hob Ormiston, and Paris, also went away, leaving Hepburn and Hay in the queen's chamber in charge of the gunpowder.

Soon after Mary's departure, Darnley prepared for bed; he had become of late religious, and it is said that before retiring to rest he repeated the fifty-fifth psalm. His favourite page, William Taylor, slept in the same room with him. About midnight Bothwell left the marriage banquet, and proceeded to his own chamber in the palace. He was at this time dressed in "a pair of hose stocked with black velvet, and pasemented (*laced*) with silver, and a doublet of black satin of the same manner," which he exchanged for a pair of ordinary black hose and a white canvas doublet, and "took his side riding-cloak about him, of sad English cloth, called the new colour." Thus equipped, and accompanied by Paris and three others of his servants, they proceeded together by the most unfrequented lanes to Kirk of Field, where Bothwell and Paris entered into the garden or field by climbing over the wall. Their arrival was the signal to Hay and Hepburn to put the final hand to the work, which they did by lighting a lunt, or slow-match, which was attached to a train of gunpowder. According to a statement sent home by the Italian ambassador, M. de Morette, the king was awakened by the noise of the keys in the doors, as the assassins were leaving the house, and, always apprehensive of designs against him, he rushed down in his shirt and pelisse, and endeavoured to make his escape. But he was intercepted and strangled, after a desperate resistance, and his page, who followed him, underwent the same fate, and as the train was now on fire, and the house was expected to blow up every instant, the conspirators left the bodies in the field, and prepared to make their escape. The train, however, burnt more slowly than was expected, and Bothwell and his three companions, fearful that it had not taken effect, were on the point of returning to reconnoitre through one of the windows, when a light was seen in the building, and in an instant a report like thunder announced the destruction of the house which had been so recently tenanted by Darnley and Mary. The following quaint description of the retreat of the murderers from this scene of

horror is given in the deposition of George Dalgleish, one of the three servants of the earl of Bothwell, who were waiting for him outside of the wall of the Friars:—"This deponent," he says, "and the other two tarried there half an hour or thereby, and in the meantime heard no din of anything, while at last my lord, accompanied with John Hay, younger, of Tallo, and John Hepburn of Bolton, came to the deponent and his company, they heard the crack, and passed all away together out of the Friars'-gate, and separated in the Cowgate. My lord, John Hepburn, and Pat Wilson, William Powrie, and the deponent, went at a "wind" by-east the Friar-wind, and crossed the Highgait at the Nether Bow, to have lopen (*leaped*) the wall at the Leith wind, but they thought the wall over high, and came again to the Port, and my lord caused cry upon John Galloway, and said they were servants of my lord Bothwell, and then he rose and opened the wicket, who it was that rose, *ignorat* (he knows not); and after they passed down St. Mary-wind, and down the back of the Cannygait, and to the said earl's lodging, and entered by the same turnpike that they came forth at. And as they passed by the queen's gardens, one of the sentinels speirit (*asked*) who they were, and they answered they were friends of my lord Bothwell. And so soon as my lord came in his lodging he cried for a drink, and incontinent (*immediately*) thereafter took off his clothes and went to bed."

Meanwhile the explosion at Kirk of Field had roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh from their slumbers, and numbers hastened to the spot to ascertain the cause. The murder took place about two o'clock in the morning, and Bothwell had not been in bed more than half-an-hour, when one of his followers, named George Hacket, rushed into his chamber in a state of the utmost perturbation. The earl rose and inquired, with well feigned surprise, "What is the matter, man?" To which he replied that he had heard a sound like that of the shot of a cannon from Kirk of Field, and that it was reported that the king's house was blown up, and the king slain. Bothwell immediately left his bed, put on very hastily the clothes which he had worn at Bastian's marriage (no doubt to make it appear that he had gone to bed on quitting the festivities of the previous night), and assuming a look of amazement, uttered the cry of "treason! treason!" and hurried out of his chamber. He had scarcely left it when he met with the earl of Huntley, and they proceeded together to the queen's appartments to inform her of the murder of her husband. She appeared horror-struck, and shut herself up in her chamber to conceal her grief. Bothwell then took a guard, and proceeding to the scene of the murder, caused the bodies to be taken and carried to a neighbouring house. A great crowd had already collected on the spot, and it had not escaped observation that neither of the bodies were injured by fire or powder, and that there were no traces of blood-wounds on them.

CHAPTER IX.

CONDUCT OF MARY AFTER THE MURDER; TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF BOTHWELL.

As the report of this tragedy spread abroad, all eyes were turned upon the queen, and her conduct was anxiously watched. For a few days she made at least a semblance of grief, and shut herself up from public view. On the Tuesday after the murder, the 11th of February, she wrote to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, who, it appears, had sent her warning of some obscure danger to which he believed her exposed. The following is Mary's account of the murder of her husband. "We have received this morning," she writes to the archbishop, "your letters of the 27th of January, containing in one part such advertisement as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their mind, and had put it in execution, if God in his mercy had

not preserved us, and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which, ere it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible, and so strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remained, no, not a stone above another, but all either carried away, or dung (*dashed*) into dross, to the very ground-stone. It must be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but according to the diligence our council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be known shortly; and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always whoever have taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourself it was dressed as well for us as for the king; for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night, by reason of some masque in the Abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head."

The day after this letter was written, a proclamation was issued, offering two thousand pounds reward to any one who would come forward to give information relating to the murder; but at the same time a rumour was set afloat that its authors were Murray and Morton, apparently for the purpose of turning people's attention from the right track. This was all the diligence shown in the matter by the queen and her council. Not so with the populace, who began to talk openly of the guilt of Bothwell and his accomplices, and even pointed directly to Mary herself. On the night after the proclamation, a paper was fixed on the door of the Tolbooth, denouncing the earl of Bothwell, James Balfour, and David Chambers, as the assassins; and people called their names out at midnight in the streets. No notice, however, was taken of this; and a few days afterwards, having buried her husband in the chapel of Holyrood house privately, the queen left Edinburgh, and went with her court to Seton, announcing her intention of calling a parliament. She was accompanied thither by the earls of Bothwell, Argyle, and Huntley, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lethington. After the court had left the capital, the placards denouncing the earl of Bothwell as the murderer of the king became more numerous. Urged on by these demonstrations of popular feeling, the earl of Lennox wrote to the queen on the 20th of February, urging her to lose no time in taking vigorous steps to bring to justice the murderers of her husband; to which she merely replied that she had summoned a parliament, and that when they met, the matter would be fully inquired into. Lennox was not satisfied with this evasion, but wrote again, imploring that at least Mary would place under arrest the persons publicly accused in the placards. On the 1st of March Mary wrote to him in the following terms:—"We have received your letters, and by the same perceive that ye have partly mistaken our late letter sent you with your servant upon the 23rd of February, in that point that we should remit the trial of the odious act committed to the time of a parliament. We meant not that, but rather would wish to God that it might be suddenly and without delay tried; for ay the sooner the better, and the greater comfort for us; yet because your advice was that we should convene our whole nobility for that purpose, we answered you that we had already proclaimed a parliament, at the which they would convene, and before the which we judged it should not be able to get them together, since they would think double convening heavy to them; and so in mention making of a parliament we meant not that this trial was a parliament matter, nor that it was requisite till then to defer it, but that the nobility would then be best convened. And where ye desire that we should cause the names contained in some tickets affixed on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh to be apprehended and put in sure keeping, there is so many of the said tickets, and therewithal so different and contrarious to others in counting of the names, that we wot not upon what ticket to proceed. But if there be any names mentioned in them, that ye think worthy to suffer a trial, upon your advertisement we shall so proceed to the cognition taking, as may stand with the laws of this realm; and being found culp-

able, shall see the punishment as rigorously executed as the weight of the crime deserves." It can hardly escape notice, that in this letter Mary writes as though it were a matter which concerned the earl of Lennox much more than herself. Lennox seems to have thought so, and he replied to this letter by sending a list of the persons accused, and insisted, in the most pressing manner, that they should be arrested. The names most confidently put forward, he said, were the earl of Bothwell, sir James Balfour, Mr. David Chambers, and black Mr. John Spens; and a second paper denounced four of her foreign servants, signor Francis, Bastian, John de Bordeaux, and Joseph Riccio. The queen wrote again evasively. She told him that the parliament was to be held at the end of March, and invited him to come himself to see justice done, promising him that all the persons he named should be there ready to stand their trial.

This latter statement was not true. Bothwell and his accomplices were not only at large, but were seen evidently to enjoy the royal favour, while many of the minor agents, or at least who were publicly accused of being privy to the murder, were sent out of the kingdom. Sir William Drury, in a letter written on the 19th of February, informed Cecil that a number of the foreigners of the queen's household, including Bastian, who was publicly accused of being an accomplice in the murder, had arrived at Berwick, on their way to France; and that Francis, the queen's Italian steward, who had also been accused, was expected in a few days; and he stated that others had left Scotland by sea. The rumours in the capital, meanwhile, became every day more disagreeable and embarrassing to Mary's court. A bill fastened on the tron, or weighing-post, in the market, stated that the smith who made the false keys to the king's apartments used by the assassins, was ready to come forward and state for whom he had made them, if he were assured against receiving any personal injury. Irritated by these proceedings, Bothwell rode one day in the latter part of February from Seton to the capital with a body of fifty guards, and passing through the streets, he threatened, with furious gestures and violent oaths, that if he knew who were the authors of these placards, he would wash his hands in their blood. His followers kept a strict watch as they rode along, as if they expected to be attacked, and he himself spoke to none, of whom he was not well assured, without placing his hand on the hilt of his dagger. The same evening two placards were hung up in the streets; on one were the letters M. R., with a drawing of a hand holding a sword; on the other L. B. (lord Bothwell), with a mallet painted above, the instrument said, popularly, to have been used in murdering the king. People indeed now talked more and more of his familiarity with the queen; the guards about her person were commanded by captain Cullen, one of Bothwell's profligate followers, and active steps were taken to discover the authors of placards denouncing the earl, while no efforts whatever were made to discover the murderers of the king. The general discontent was increased by reports of the gay amusements in which the court at Seton indulged under such circumstances. In these amusements Mary and Bothwell were always companions, and their favourite recreation was shooting at the butts against the earl of Huntley and lord Seton. On one occasion Huntley and Seton having lost, were compelled to pay for a dinner at Tranent.

To the outcries of Mary's own subjects, were now added the remonstrances of foreign princes. Queen Elizabeth wrote a very strong letter to her on the 24th of February, urging her to make a rigorous investigation into the circumstances of the murder, as the only means of establishing her own honour. "Madame," wrote Elizabeth, "my ears have been so stunned, my understanding so grieved, and my heart so shocked, to hear the horrible sound of the abominable murder of your late husband and my slain cousin, that I have hardly yet as it were the courage to write; and how much soever my nature compels me to condole his death, still, to tell you boldly what I think, I cannot conceal that I am more grieved for you than for him. Oh madame, I should not do the duty of a faithful cousin or an affectionate friend, if I studied more to please your ears than to preserve your honour; nor will I conceal from you what most people say—that you will look through your fingers at the revenge of this deed, and that you have no care to touch those who have done you so great a pleasure, as if the thing had not been committed without the murderers having known their assurance. For me, think, I pray you, that I would not that such a thought resided in my heart for all the gold in the world. I would never have so

bad a host to lodge in my heart as to have so ill an opinion of any prince whatever, much less of her to whom I wish as much good as my heart can imagine or as yourself could desire. Nevertheless I exhort you, I counsel you, and I implore you to take this thing so to heart, that you hesitate not to touch even the nearest relation you have if it concern him, and that you let no persuasion hinder you from showing an example to the world that you are both a noble princess and a loyal woman."

The archbishop of Glasgow, in France, wrote to his royal mistress with honest indignation. "Of this deed," said he, "if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongly calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command, I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself, that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all." "Here," the archbishop goes on to say, "it is needful that you show forth now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy which God has granted you; by whose grace I hope you shall overcome this most heavy envy and displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve that reputation in all godliness which you have acquired long since; which can appear no ways more clearly than that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason that have committed, without fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murder." The queen-mother of France, and the cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, addressed her in still stronger language, and threatened that, if she neglected to punish the offenders, they would cast her off and become her enemies.

But Mary was now so infatuated in the course she had taken, that all these expostulations were without effect. She did, indeed, assume an appearance of great grief and sorrow when Killigrew arrived with the letter of the queen of England, and she promised that justice should be done on her husband's murderers. All voices now proclaimed so loudly the guilt of Bothwell, that it was impossible to avoid bringing him to a trial, but the queen took care that there should be no chance of its going against him, and every day he received some new accession of power or some additional mark of royal favour. In the month of March, the custody of Edinburgh castle was taken from the earl of Mar. She also gave him the castle of Blackness, the Inch, and the superiority of Leith. Efforts were made to gain over the nobility so as to make a strong party in his favour. The support of Morton was purchased by the restoration of Tantallon castle and other lands which had been seized by the crown when he went into exile. Murray alone seemed to threaten any serious opposition.

The earl of Lennox was now summoned to make good his charges against Bothwell on the 12th of April, the day fixed for the trial. He refused to venture singly into the capital, against the powerful favourite who held both castle and town at his disposal, and he earnestly requested to be allowed time to assemble his friends. He represented with truth, that as long as the chief offender was at liberty with a powerful band of followers, countenanced and favoured by the queen herself, there could be no fair trial. Finding that this appeal made no impression, Lennox addressed himself to Elizabeth, who immediately dispatched a letter to the Scottish queen, urging her, as she valued her own reputation, to accede to Lennox's request. Elizabeth's messenger, the provost-marshal of Berwick, reached Edinburgh very early on the morning of the day of the 12th of April, and presented himself at the palace at six o'clock. There, to use the words of Drury's quaint description, he "used his diligence immediately to deliver his letter, which he had in charge, to the queen, attending some good space in court, procuring all that he might by the means of such as were near her person, who told him it was early, and that her majesty was asleep, and therefore advised him to tarry sometime thereabouts, till she rose; which he did, going out of the court into the town, and shortly after returned, she being not yet risen, and therefore walked about till nine or almost ten o'clock, when all the lords and gentlemen were assembled taking their horse; and then thinking his opportunity aptest, going into the court as a little before he did (the contents of the letters he brought being conjectured and bruited (*rumoured*), to be for stay of the

assize), was denied passage into the court in very uncourteous manner, not without some violence offered; which seeing he could not be permitted to have recourse as all other persons, whatsoever they were, he requested that some gentleman of credit would undertake faithfully to deliver his letter, from the queen's majesty of England to the queen their sovereign, which none would seem to undertake. Upon this came unto him the parson of Oldhamstock surnamed Hepburn, who told him that the earl of Bothwell had sent him with the message, that the earl, understanding he had letters from the queen, would advise him to retire him to his ease, or about some other his business, for the queen was so molested and disquieted with the business of that day, that he saw no likelihood of any meet time to serve his turn, till after the assize. Then came the lord of Stirling, who asked him if his letter were either from the council or the queen's majesty; he told him from the queen's majesty only. 'Then,' said he, 'ye shall be soon discharged;' and so returning into the court, desired the said person to keep him company at the gate, which he did; and therewith espying a Scottish man whom he had for his guide, took occasion to reprehend and threaten him of hanging, for bringing English villains as sought to and procured the stay of the assize, with words of more reproach. In this instant Lethington was coming out, and Bothwell with him, at the which all the lords and gentlemen mounted on horseback, till that Lethington came to him demanding of him the letter, which he delivered. Then Bothwell and he returned to the queen, and stayed there within half an hour, the whole troop of lords and gentlemen still on horseback, attending for his coming. Lethington seemed willing to have passed by the provost without any speech; but he pressed towards him, and asked him if the queen's majesty had perused the letter, and what service it would please her majesty to command him back again. He answered that as yet the queen was sleeping, and therefore he had not delivered the letters, and thought that there would not be any meet time for it till after the assize, wherefore he willed him to attend (*wait*); so giving place to the throng of people that passed, which was great, and by the estimation of men of good judgment about four thousand gentlemen, besides others. The earl of Bothwell passed with a merry and lusty cheer, attended on with all the soldiers, being two hundred, all arquebusiers, to the Tolbooth, and there kept the door, that none might enter but such as were more for the behoof of the one side than the other." It was further remarked, as we are told by the same informant, that "Bothwell rode upon the courser that was the king's when he rode to the assize. The nobility long tarried his coming a horseback, to accompany him. There was that followed him about four thousand, whereof the greatest part were gentlemen, besides they that were in the streets, which were more in number. The streets were full from the Canongate to the castle. Lethington and others told the under-marshal that the queen was asleep, when he himself saw her looking out at a window, shown him by one of Du Croc's servants, a Frenchman, and Lethington's wife with her; and Bothwell, after he was a horseback, looked up, and she gave him a friendly nod for a farewell; for till it was known the under-marshal's errand and the contents of the letter, he had liberty in court; but not after, when he was once out, suffered to go in again."

Such was the spirit in which the preparations for the trial of Bothwell were conducted. The trial itself was a mere farce, which had been arranged at a meeting of the council under Bothwell's own presidence. The jury was composed of his own partisans, and the law officers of the crown were compelled to be his advocates; and the queen is said to have given a public testimony of the interest she took in his cause, by sending him a token and message during the proceedings. The earls of Argyle and Huntley sat as chief judges. Lennox, the accuser, was on his way to the capital, supported by a large body of his friends, when he received an order not to enter Edinburgh with more than six persons in his company. Under such circumstances, Lennox, of course, declined to present himself, and when he was called upon in court to make good his charges against Bothwell, two of his friends, Crawford and Cunningham, stood up for him, and the latter stated that he was sent by his master to repeat the charge of murder against the accused nobleman, and to demand a delay until he might present himself as became such a solemn occasion. This was refused, and Cunningham, entering a protest against Bothwell's acquittal, left the court. The

jury was then chosen; the earl pleaded not guilty; no witnesses were called; but a unanimous verdict of acquittal was given. Bothwell then proudly proclaimed his intention to fight any gentleman who dared to charge him with the murder of the late king; and so the court broke up.

Thus ended this unblushing evasion of justice, for no one looked upon the trial of Bothwell as anything but a farce. His threat of defiance at the conclusion was regarded with contempt and indignation, and this feeling spread so widely, that sir William Drury, the English marshal of Berwick, made application to his royal mistress for permission to accept the challenge, but it appears not to have been granted. A paper was, however, set up in Edinburgh stating that if a day were fixed, a gentleman would come forward to make good the charge of murder against Bothwell in single combat, but no name was given, and it was treated with contempt as a mere bravado. Nevertheless, placards still continued from time to time to appear, and rumours were spread abroad, which greatly provoked both Bothwell and the queen. It is said that when Mary rode along the streets, the market-women were heard to exclaim, "God preserve your grace, if you are innocent of the king's death!" and Mary became so alarmed at the disaffection of her subjects, that when parliament was opened immediately after the trial, she went to the place of meeting with a guard of hagbutteers, instead of trusting herself, as she had been previously accustomed to do, to the protection of the city trained bands. This parliament confirmed the acquittal of Bothwell, approved of the proceedings of the jury, and ordered a rigid inquiry to be made for the discovery of all persons concerned in the bills or placards in which the earl had been accused. Huntley and his friends were restored in this parliament to their estates; and an attempt was made to conciliate some popularity by measures in favour of the protestants; although Mary strongly resented a recommendation of their assembly to pursue the king's murderers.

CHAPTER X.

MARRIAGE OF MARY WITH BOTHWELL.

Mary had shown her favour to Bothwell openly by appointing him to carry the crown and sceptre before her when she rode in state to the parliament. In addition to this mark of favour, she gave him the lordship and castle of Dunbar, and enlarged his commission as high admiral. His power was held up not only by the favour of his queen, but by the support of some of her most powerful nobles, including Morton, Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington. The earl of Murray had held aloof, and, shortly before the trial, he obtained permission to go into France.

The queen seemed at this moment to be labouring under an infatuated passion which was driving her headlong to ruin. The belief that Mary had been privy to the murder of her husband prevailed generally, and other rumours, if anything more disgraceful, now began to find their way abroad. It was said that Bothwell was to be divorced from his countess, a sister of the earl of Huntley, to whom he had not long been married, and it was suspected this was to be a step towards his marriage with the queen. Unfortunately these rumours and suspicions were not without foundation. On the 5th of April, eight months only after the murder of Darnley, and seven days before Bothwell's trial and acquittal of that murder, the court being as it would appear at Seton, a private contract of marriage was entered into between him and Mary, of which a copy in French, perhaps a translation, is preserved in the national library at Paris. According to that copy, from which it has been printed in M. Teulet's collection, this extraordinary document ran as follows:—"The very excel-

lent, very high, and very puissant princess, Mary by the grace of God queen of Scotland, considering the place and state to which God Almighty has appointed her highness, and how, by the death of the king her husband, her majesty is now deprived of one, and lives solitarily in the state of widowhood, in which her majesty would willingly continue if the good of her realm and of her subjects permitted it; but, on the other hand, considering the inconveniences which might follow, especially in the present necessity of the kingdom, especially if her said majesty should not associate herself with a husband, her highness has determined to marry; and knowing what inconvenience might happen to the kingdom if she should thus ally herself with a foreign prince, she has determined to take one of her subjects. Now, among them, her said majesty has not found any one more endowed with all good qualities than the very noble and her cousin James earl of Bothwell, of whose services her majesty has always found hitherto good proof and infallible experience, and sees that he perseveres constantly in his heart in this affection towards her majesty; wherefore her majesty has, among all others, made this choice of him, and in the presence of God eternal, faithfully and on the word of a princess, by these presents she takes the said earl of Bothwell for her spouse and legitimate husband; and her highness promises that immediately after the process of divorce instituted between the said James earl of Bothwell and lady Jane Gordon, at present his pretended spouse, shall be finished by order of justice, her said majesty, through God's grace, will immediately marry and promises to take the said James earl of Bothwell for husband, and will accomplish the bond of marriage before the face of the church, and will never have another during his life. And inasmuch as her majesty, of good-will, her own motion, without the said earl of Bothwell having anywise deserved it, is entirely resolved on this, and to use such favour and affection towards him, in like manner the said James earl of Bothwell, in all humility and reverence, acknowledges this according to his duty, he being thus free and at liberty to make promise of marriage, notwithstanding the process of divorce instituted for several and divers causes, and to which his said pretended spouse is a consenting party, takes now her majesty for his legitimate spouse, in the presence of God, and promises, as he may answer before him, and on the faith which a gentleman of honour ought to have, that he will pursue and press forward the said process of divorce already commenced and instituted between him and the said lady Jane Gordon, his pretended spouse, to a final end, and to obtain a definitive sentence; and, immediately after, at the good pleasure and will of her majesty, and at the time when her highness shall judge fit, he will accomplish and solemnize in face of the church the bond of marriage with her said majesty, and will love, honour, and serve her highness according to the place and honour into which it has pleased her said majesty to receive him, and will never have other wife but her during her life. In testimony of which her said majesty and the said James earl of Bothwell have subscribed the present act and contract and faithful promise with their own hand. Done at Heton (Seton?) the 5th day of April, 1567; present, George earl of Huntley and Thomas Hepburn, curate of 'Hauldhantor' (Oldhamstock.)"

The original copy of this document, in which there is nothing to lead us to doubt its authority, was probably sent over to France by Du Croc, or some other of the French agents in Scotland. The earl's acquittal was soon followed by other steps indicating the intention of carrying its object into speedy execution. The parliament rose on the 19th of April, and the same evening Bothwell invited the principal nobility to supper in a tavern kept by a man named Ansley. While they sat drinking, the earl caused the house to be surrounded by a force of two hundred hagbutteers, and having thus the power of overawing his guests, he stood up and proposed to them his marriage with the queen, declaring that he had her written consent to it, which he is said to have shown them, but whether this were the document given above, or not, we have now no means of ascertaining. Many of the party were Bothwell's sworn friends, and they probably were well aware what was to take place; others hesitated, but they were gradually gained over by persuasion, or awed into compliance. One only, the earl of Eglinton, succeeded in the confusion of the moment in making his escape. A written bond was then signed by the whole company, who thereby declared their conviction that the earl of Bothwell was

entirely innocent of the death of the late king, stated their opinion that the queen's continuance in the state of widowhood was contrary to the interests of the country, and recommended as a suitable husband this noble and mighty lord. The whole document bears somewhat the appearance of being a supplement to the above bond between Bothwell and the queen. Among the signatures to it were those of the earls of Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Cassillis, Sutherland, Glencairn, Rothes, and Caithness, and of the lords Herries, Hume, Boyd, Seton, and Sinclair.

The violent and reckless character of this act was calculated to provoke opposition, and, though the queen had made her favourite now so powerful that nobody dared to set themselves against him openly, we find that from this time a number of the lords, the chief of whom were the earls of Argyle, Athol, and Morton, and the stanch protestant leader Sir William Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, began secretly to league themselves together against him. The course of this conspiracy has been traced out by Tytler from the original documents which he examined in the state paper office, and we must take him for our guide in our account of it.

Tytler has also collected from the original correspondence in the state paper office, some very curious intimations of what was now going on, which we must repeat from his History. On the 20th of April, the day after Ansley's supper, Kirkaldy of Grange wrote to the earl of Bedford, stating that the indignation against the conduct of Bothwell and Mary had risen to such a height, that it only wanted the countenance of Elizabeth to show itself in a more effectual remonstrance. He urged that the young prince was in danger of experiencing the fate of his father, said that a marriage between Mary and Bothwell was looked forward to, and stated that Mary's infatuation for her favourite had become so great, that she had been heard to say, "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, before she leave him." "Whatever is unhonest," says the laird of Grange, in concluding his letter, "reigns presently in our court; God deliver them from their evil!" A still more remarkable letter, written on the 24th of April, shows that the secrets of the court were betrayed to Bothwell's enemies. This letter, supposed to be addressed to Cecil, runs as follows:—"This is to advertise you, that the earl Bothwell's wife is going to part with her husband; and a great part of our lords have subscribed the marriage between the queen and him. The queen rode to Stirling this last Monday, and returns this Thursday. I doubt not but you have heard how the earl of Bothwell has gathered many of his friends, and, as some say, to ride in Liddesdale; but I believe it is not, for he is minded to meet the queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar. Judge you if it be with her will or no; but you will hear at more length on Friday or Saturday, if you will find it good that I continue in writing as occasion serves. I would ye reif (*tear*) this after the reading; this bearer knows nothing of this matter. There is no other thing presently to write of; but after all, you will please receive my hearty commendations by him that is yours, that took you by the hand. At midnight."

When this letter was written, the events it speaks of as impending, had actually occurred. It appears that Mary, alarmed at the threatening form assumed by public opinion, wished to seem to be acting under compulsion, which she would afterwards be able to pardon. On the 21st of April, as stated in the letter last quoted, the queen rode to Stirling to visit her son. It seems to have been suspected that Mary wished to carry the prince away and deliver him up to Bothwell; and his governor, the earl of Mar, refused to admit the queen to his apartments with any more attendance than two of her ladies. Mary was highly offended at the restraint thus put upon her, and left the place on Thursday, the 24th, much displeased. At Almond Bridge, six miles from Edinburgh, the royal escort was suddenly surrounded by the earl of Bothwell and a numerous party of his friends, said to have been not less than eight hundred spears, and the earl led her with apparent violence to his castle of Dunbar. The earls of Huntley, Lethington, sir James Melvil, and a few others, were carried prisoners to Stirling, but the rest of the cortège were allowed to escape. Melville remonstrated against this violence, upon which he was informed by one of Bothwell's confidential agents, captain Blacater, that it was all done with the queen's own consent.

The shock which was given to public opinion by this shameless proceeding soon produced alarming effects. The abler of the Scottish statesmen were now convinced of the danger to which their country was exposed from Bothwell's unprincipled ambition, and they began to lay the foundation of that confederacy which ended in the deposition of their queen. Among these the boldest and most resolute was Kirkaldy of Grange, who wrote to the earl of Bedford as early as the 26th of April, only two days after the queen had been forcibly carried off by Bothwell, to tell him of the resolution of the Scottish lords to revenge the death of Darnley, and rescue their country from Bothwell, and ask whether they might count upon the assistance of Elizabeth. He stated that it was the general belief that the rape had been concerted between the queen and her favourite as a precursor to their marriage, and that if Elizabeth refused to countenance them in their plans of revenge, they would be compelled to throw themselves into the arms of the king of France. It is said that a meeting of the protestant nobles was held about the same time at Stirling, and that a message was sent thence to the queen, to inquire if she were held at Dunbar by constraint, as in that case they were prepared to raise an army to liberate her. According to Buchanan, she received the messenger with smiles, and told him it was true that she had been brought thither unwillingly, but she said that she had been treated so kindly since that she could not greatly complain of the previous injury.

Mary and Bothwell, indeed, now followed their course heedless of everything but their own infatuated passion. The consistorial rights had been restored to the archbishop of St. Andrews, it was said for this purpose, and the divorce between Bothwell and his countess was hurried through that court in two days. As soon as this was effected, on the 3rd of May the queen and Bothwell left Dunbar, and rode to the capital, escorted by a strong body of the earl's own retainers. The latter, when they entered the capital, threw away their spears, to save themselves, as it was said, from the charge of treason, to which they might have been exposed by carrying the queen to Edinburgh castle in military array. The earl himself dismounted, and taking hold of her bridle, led her into the castle with apparent humility. Immediately afterwards Mary caused it to be announced publicly that she was free and under no constraint.

Meanwhile some of the lords who had hitherto sided with the queen, began to desert to the confederacy which was forming against Bothwell, and they persisted in regarding the queen as a captive in his hands. Among them was sir Robert Melvil, who now began to show himself an active member of this confederacy. On the 7th of May, Melvil wrote to Cecil, informing him of their fears and designs, and warning him that if they met with discouragement from England, they would be obliged to accept assistance from France. "I understand," he said, "that the nobility are of mind to seek assistance of the queen your mistress, in consideration that the king, who is with God, as well as the queen our sovereign, and the prince her son, are so near of blood to her highness. I believe easy help shall obtain the queen's liberty, and, in like manner, have the murderers of the king punished. Thus far I will make your honour privy of, that France has offered to enter in band with the nobility of the realm, and to enlist the company of men-at-arms, and to give divers pensions to noblemen and gentlemen of their realm, which some did like well; but the honest sort have concluded, and brought the rest to the same effect, that they will do nothing which may offend your sovereign, without the fault be in her majesty; and it appears both papist and protestant join together with an earnest affection for the weal of their country." Kirkaldy, in a letter to the earl of Bedford, written a day later, which, like the one just quoted, has been brought from the obscurity of the state paper office by Tytler, speaks still more openly and strongly. At the last parliament, he says, "the most part of the nobility, for fear of their lives, did grant to sundry things both against their honours and consciences [he alludes to the supper at which they gave their consent to the queen's marriage with Bothwell], who since have convened themselves at Stirling, where they have made a band to defend each other in all things that shall concern the glory of God and common weal of their country. The heads that presently they agreed upon are, first, to seek the liberty of the queen, who is ravished and detained by the earl of Bothwell, who was the ravisher, and hath the strengths, munitions, and men-of-war at his commandment. The next head is, the

preservation and keeping of the prince. The third is, to pursue them that murdered the king. For the pursuit of these three heads, they have promised to bestow life, lands, and goods. And to that effect their lordships have desired me to write unto your lordship, to the end they might have your sovereign's aid and support for suppressing of the cruel murderer Bothwell, who, at the queen's last being in Stirling, suborned certain to have poisoned the prince; for that barbarous tyrant is not contented to have murdered the father, but he would also cut off the son, for fear that he hath to be punished hereafter." We have no reason for supposing that any design was at this time harboured against the life of the infant prince, but there was a general apprehension among the protestant party that his life was in danger, and that at all events an attempt would be made to take him away from the watchful custody of the earl of Mar.

Kirkaldy urged the earl of Bedford to ascertain for them, as quickly as possible, the intentions of the queen of England, and he declared that, if she did not aid them, they should be driven to have recourse to the assistance of the king of France, who had offered it them through his ambassador, M. du Croc. "Also," says Kirkaldy, "he hath admonished her to desist from the earl of Bothwell, and not to marry him; for if she do, he hath assured her that she shall neither have friendship nor favour out of France, if she shall have to do; but the saying is, she will give no ear." "In this mean time," he adds, "the queen is come to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed by the earl of Bothwell, where she intendeth to remain until she have levied some forces of footmen and horsemen, that is, she minds to levy five hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen. The money that she hath presently (*at present*) to do this, which is five thousand crowns, came from the font your lordship brought unto the baptism; the rest is to be reft and borrowed of Edinburgh, or the men of Lothian."

Kirkaldy informed the earl in this letter, that the lords who met at Stirling were the earls of Argyle, Morton, Athol, and Mar. They had been subsequently joined by the earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness, the lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glammis, Innermeith, Lindsay, Hume, and Herries, "with all the whole west, Merse and Teviotdale, the most part of Fife, Angus, and Mearns." The earls of Argyle, Athol, and Morton, had repaired to the respective districts in which their influence lay, to prepare for the coming struggle; and it was agreed that the earl of Mar should continue to watch vigilantly over the safety of the prince, and that on the first intimation of any attempt on the part of the queen to take him away by force, all the lords would immediately hasten to his assistance. They seem already to have turned their eyes upon the earl of Murray, who had retired to France, as their leader; and Kirkaldy urges Bedford—"If it will please your lordship to haste these other letters to my lord of Murray, and write unto him to come back again into Normandy, that he may be in readiness against my lords write unto him."

Elizabeth's ministers watched with anxiety the extraordinary proceedings in Scotland, and there can be no doubt that they sympathized fully with the lords who had confederated against Bothwell; but Elizabeth was full of scruples and difficulties. She expressed in strong language her disapproval of the course which Mary was pursuing, and her detestation of Bothwell, and she was alarmed even at the mention of a renewal of the old alliance between Scotland and France; but she could not be brought to allow of subjects taking upon themselves to judge their princes, and still less so to countenance what she looked upon as mere rebellion for the purpose of carrying that judgment into execution. The English princess seems to have been particularly offended at some expressions in the letter written by Kirkaldy of Grange to the earl of Bedford; for Randolph, describing a conversation he had had with Elizabeth on this subject, says, "Her majesty also told me that she had seen a writing sent from Grange to my lord of Bedford, despitefully written against that queen, in such vile terms as she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the prince, or whatsoever her life and behaviour is, should discover that unto the world; and therefore so utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing, that she condemns him for one of the worst in that realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking. In this manner of talk, it pleased her majesty to retain me almost an hour."

Unmindful of all these threatening symptoms, Mary continued her preparations for the marriage. But she now encountered a new difficulty, for Craig, the minister who occupied the place of Knox (who still remained concealed), refused to publish the bans, and when pressed to do it, alleged that he had received no directions in writing, and that the public reports relating to the conduct of the queen and the earl of Bothwell were sufficient to justify his refusal. The queen then sent him, by the justice clerk, a letter with her own signature, denying that she had been subjected to any violence by Bothwell, and requiring him to publish the bans. But he still refused, and, having been carried before the privy council, he there boldly charged Bothwell to his face of the crimes of murder, rape, and adultery. After having thus satisfied his own conscience, Craig made no further resistance, but proceeded without more ado to publish the bans; but in doing so he declared from the pulpit his abhorrence of the match. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he said, "that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly, that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

On the 12th of May, the queen appeared before the high court at Edinburgh, and there publicly declared that, although she had at first been highly offended at the restraint placed on her person by Bothwell, she had since seen cause to forgive him, and that it was her intention to raise him to still higher honours. On the same day she created him duke of Orkney and Shetland, placing the coronet on his head with her own hand. On the 14th, the contract of marriage between Mary and Bothwell was drawn up and signed. In this document she threw all the responsibility of her marriage upon the nobility, who, she said, had petitioned her to contract a new marriage. "Which petition her grace weighing, and taking in good part, but chiefly regarding the preservation and continuance of her posterity, has condescended thereto; and mature deliberation being had toward the personage of him with whom her highness should join in marriage, the most part of her nobility, by way of advice, has humbly prayed her majesty, and thought better that she should so far humble herself, as to accept one of her own born subjects in that state and place, that were accustomed with the manners, laws, and consuetude of this country, rather nor any foreign prince. And her majesty, preferring their advice and prayers, with the welfare of her realm, to the advancement and promotion which her highness in particular might have by foreign marriage, has in that point likewise inclined to the suit of her said nobility. And they naming the said noble prince, now duke of Orkney, for the special personage, her majesty, well advised, has allowed their motion and nomination, and graciously accorded thereunto, having recent memory of the notable and worthy acts and good service done and performed by him to her majesty, as well since her returning and arrival in this realm, as of before in her highness's minority, and during the time of government of umquhile her dearest mother of good memory, in the forthsetting of her majesty's authority against all impugners and gainstanders thereof; whose magnanimity, courage, and constant truth, her majesty, in preservation of her own person from many evident and great dangers, and in conducting of high and profitable purposes tending to her highness's advancement, and establishing of this country to her perfect and universal obedience, has so far moved her and procured her favour and affection, that above the common and accustomate good grace and benevolence which princes use to bestow on noblemen their subjects well deserving, her majesty will be content to receive and take to her husband the said noble prince, for satisfaction of the hearts of her nobility and people." The witnesses to this contract were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Huntley, the lord chancellor Gordon, the earls of Crawford and Rothes; the lords Lindsay, Lesley, Fleming, and Herries; the bishops of Galloway and Ross; Maitland of Lethington, sir John Bellenden (the justice clerk), and Mr. Robert Crichton, the queen's advocate.

Next day, the 15th of May, the marriage was solemnized in the presence-chamber at Holyrood, at four o'clock in the morning, the ceremony being performed according to the protestant ritual, by the bishop of Orkney. Few of the Scottish nobles attended, and even the foreign ambassadors absented themselves, while the persons principally concerned in it did not venture to brave public opinion so far as to celebrate it with the usual pageants and rejoicings.

CHAPTER XI.

FOREIGN RELATIONS; INSURRECTION OF THE NOBLES; FLIGHT OF BOTHWELL, AND SURRENDER OF MARY AT CARBERRY HILL.

Mary's position was now in the highest degree critical; yet, the more the course she had chosen was beset with difficulties and dangers, the more she seemed resolved to pursue it. She could not conceal from herself, that the hearts of her subjects were alienated, and she had every reason to expect that her conduct would be disapproved in France and in England. Indeed, the French ambassador, Du Croc, had not only protested against the marriage, but he had refused to be present at the ceremony. The same day, however, Du Croc waited upon the queen, and then, even on the day of her nuptials, he found her sad and sorrowful, and she told him that she wished for death. Two days after this, Du Croc informed Catherine de Medicis, when Mary was shut up in a cabinet with her husband, she was heard to cry out for a knife to kill herself. At this time the court was entirely deserted, the earl of Crawford being the only nobleman of any account who remained at it. The rest refused to obey her summons to attend upon her, and she was reduced to ask the French ambassador to visit them, and endeavour to persuade them to obedience. We learn these facts from a dispatch of Du Croc, written on the 18th of May, only three days after the marriage.

One of her first steps was to dispatch ambassadors, to excuse her conduct to the king of France and to the queen of England.* The person chosen for the first of these missions was the bishop of Dunblane, whose instructions were artfully drawn up. He was to make an excuse for Mary's neglect in not acquainting the French court of her intended marriage until after it had taken place. He was to represent the great services which Bothwell had rendered to the crown of Scotland, beginning with his devoted adherence to her mother during the regency. "After our returning into Scotland," says Mary in these instructions, "he gave his whole study to the forthsetting of our authority, and to employ his person to suppress the insolence of the rebellious subjects inhabiting the countries lying west the marches of England; and within short time brought them to a perfect quietness, with intention to pass forward in the like service in all other parts of the realm. But as envy ever follows virtue [Bothwell was notorious for his open and reckless profligacy], and this country is of itself somewhat subject to factions, others began to mislike his proceedings, and so far, by reports and misconstruing his doings, went about to put him out of our good grace, that at length, upon colours invented by his evil-willers, for satisfying of them that might not abide his advancement, and avoiding of further contention, which might have brought the whole realm into trouble, we were compelled to put him ward. Out of the which escaping, to give place to their malice, he passed out of the realm towards France, and there remained." Mary goes on to relate, in her own way, his return, and the assistance he gave her in escaping from the murderers of Riccio. "Indeed," says she, "we mon confess that service done at that time to have been so acceptable to us, that we could never to this hour forget it, which he has ever since prosecuted with the like diligence in all might content us, so that we could not wish more fidelity nor good behaviour than we have always found in him, till of late, since the decease of the king our husband, that his pretensions began to be higher, so found we his proceedings somewhat strange; albeit now, since we are so far proceeded with him, we mon interpret all things to the best; yet have we been highly offended, first with presumption that thought we could not sufficiently reward him unless we should give ourself to him for the recompense of his service, next for his practices and secret means, and at length the plain attempting of force to have us in his puissance, for fear to be disappointed of his

* Tytler says, that this was not done till a fortnight after the marriage, but he is evidently wrong. The instructions, as preserved, are not dated, but Du Croc's dispatch of the 18th of May speaks of the bishop of Dunblane as being already dispatched, so that his instructions were no doubt delivered to him immediately after the marriage, though his departure seems to have been delayed.

purpose. His deportments in this behalf may serve for an example, how cunningly men can cover their designs, when they have any great enterprise in head, till they have brought their purpose to pass. We thought his continuance in the awaiting upon us, and readiness to fulfil all our commandments, had proceeded only upon the acknowledging of his duty, being our born subject, without further hid respect; which moved us to make him the better visage, thinking nothing less than that the same, being but an ordinary countenance to such noblemen as we found affectionate to our service, should encourage him or give him boldness to look for any extraordinary favour at our hands. But he, as well has appeared since, making his profit of everything might serve his turn, not discovering to ourself his intent, or that he had any such purpose in head, was content to entertain our favour by his good outward behaviour and all means possible; and in the meantime went about by practising with the noblemen secretly to make them his friends, and to procure their consent to the furtherance of his intents; and so far proceeded by means with them, before that ever the same came to our knowledge, that our whole estates being here assembled in parliament, he obtained a writing subscribed with all their hands, wherein they not only granted their consents to our marriage with him, but also obliged themselves to set him forward thereto with their lives and goods, and to be enemies to all who would disturb or impede the same; which letter he purchased (*procured,*) giving them to understand that we were content therewith. And the same being once obtained, he began after to discover his intention to us, and to essay if he might by humble suit purchase our good will; but finding our answer nothing corresponding to his desire, and casting before his eyes all doubts that customably men use to resolve with themselves in semblable enterprises, the outwardness of our own mind, the persuasions which our friends or his unfriends might cast out for his hindrance, the change of their minds whose consent he had already obtained, with many other incidents which might occur to frustrate him of his expectation, he resolved with himself to follow forth his good fortune, and all respects laid apart, either to tyne (*lose*) all in one hour, or to bring to pass that thing he had taken in hand; and so resolved quickly to prosecute his deliberation, he suffered not the matter long to sleep, but within four days thereafter, finding opportunity by reason we were past secretly towards Stirling, to visit the prince our dearest son, in our return he awaited us by the way, accompanied with a great force, and led us with all diligence to Dunbar. In what part we took that manner of dealing, but specially how strange we found it of him, of whom we doubted less than of any subject we had, is easy to be imagined. Being there, we reproached him the honour he had to be so esteemed of us, the favour we had always shown him, his ingratitude, with all other remonstrances which might serve to rid us out of his hands. Albeit we found his doings rude, yet were his answer and words but gentle, that he would honour and serve us, and nowise offend us; asked pardon of the boldness he had taken to convey us to one of our own houses, whereunto he was driven by force, as well as constrained by love, the vehemency whereof had made him to set apart the reverence which naturally as our subject he bore to us, as also for safety of his own life. And there began to make us a discourse of his whole life, how unfortunate he had been to find men his unfriends whom he had never offended; how their malice never ceased to assault him at all occasions, albeit unjustly; what calumnies had they spread upon him touching the odious violence perpetrated in the person of the king our late husband; how unable he was to save himself from the conspiracies of his enemies, whom he might not know, by reason every man professed himself outwardly to be his friend; and yet he had such malice, that he could not find himself in surety, without he were assured of our favour to endure without alteration; and other assurance thereof could he not lippen (*trust*) in, without it would please us to do him that honour to take him to husband; protesting always that he would seek no other sovereignty but as of before, to serve and obey us all the days of our life, joining thereunto all the honest language that could be used in such a case. And when he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers, in the end he showed us how far he was proceeded with our whole nobility, and principals of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwritings. If we had cause then to be astonished, we remit us to the judgment of the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends. Seeing ourselves in his puissance, sequestrate from the company of all

our servants and others whom of we might ask counsel; yea, seeing them upon whose counsel and fidelity we had before depended, whose force ought and might maintain our authority, without whom in a manner we are nothing (for what is a prince without a people?)—beforehand already yielded to his appetite, and so we left alone, as it were, a prey to him; many things we resolved with ourself, but never could find any outgate. And yet gave he us little space to meditate with ourself, ever pressing us with continual and importunate suit. In the end, when we saw no esperance (*hope*) to be rid of him, never man in Scotland once making any mind to procure our deliverance, for that it might appear by their handwriting and silence at that time that he had won them all, we were compelled to mitigate our displeasure, and began to think upon that he propounded; and then were content to lay before our eyes the service he had done in times past, the offer of his continuance hereafter; how unwilling our people are to receive a stranger, unacquainted with their laws and customs, that they would not suffer us to remain unmarried, that this realm being divided in factions as it is, cannot be contained in order, unless our authority be assisted and forthset by the fortification of a man who may take pains upon his person in the execution of justice, and suppressing of their insolence that would rebel, the travail whereof we may no longer sustain in our own person, being already wearied and almost broken with the frequent uproars and rebellions raised against us since we came into Scotland; how we have been compelled to make four or five lieutenants at once in divers parts of the realm, of whom the most part, abusing our authority, have, under colour of our commission, raised our subjects within their charge against ourself; and seeing force would compel us in the end, for preservation of our own estate, to incline to some marriage, and that the humour of our people would not well digest a foreign husband, and that of our own subjects there was none, either for the reputation of his house, or for the worthiness of himself, as well in wisdom and valiantness, as in all other good qualities, to be preferred or yet compared to him whom we have taken; we were content to accommodate to ourself, with the consent of our whole estates, who, as is beforesaid, had already declared their contentations. After he had, by this means and many others, brought us agaitward to his intent, he partly extorted and partly obtained our promise to take him to our husband; and yet not content therewith, fearing ever some alterations, he would not be satisfied with all the just reasons we could allege, to have the consummation of the marriage delayed, as had been most reasonable, until we might communicate the same to the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends; but as by a bravado in the beginning he had won the first point, so ceased he never till by persuasions and importunate suit, accompanied not the less with force, he has finally driven us to end the work begun at such time, and in such form as he thought might best serve his turn, wherein we cannot dissemble that he has used us otherways than we would have wished, or yet have deserved at his hand, having more respect to content them by whose consent granted to him beforehand, he thinks he has obtained his purpose, although therein he hath both frustrate us and them, than regarding our contentation, or yet weighing what was convenient for us, that has been nourished in our own religion, and never intends to leave the same for him or any man upon earth. Indeed with this point [i.e., the marriage by the protestant rite,] we find fault in our mind, albeit we are content (*glad*) that neither the king, the queen our mother, nor any other, lay it to his charge; for now since it is past, and cannot be brought back again, we will make the best of it, and it must be thought, as it is in effect, that he is our husband, whom we will both love and honour, so that all who profess themselves to be our friends, must profess the like friendship towards him who is inseparably joined with us. And albeit he has in some points or ceremonies raklest (*improperly demeaned*) himself, which we are content to impute to his affection towards us, we will desire the king, the queen our mother, our uncle, and others our friends, to bear him no less good will than if all had proceeded to this hour with the advice of all our friends, and in the best order that he could have devised, assuring them that they will find him ready to do them all the honour and service they can require."

Such is the laboured but very unsatisfactory defence of her conduct which Mary thought proper to make to the court of France. Her envoy was further instructed, in case the king of France should object to

the legality of the marriage, on account of Bothwell's previous marriage, that his divorce from his countess had been fully effected according to the law in Scotland; and he was to explain to the cardinal of Lorraine, that accident alone had retarded the papal nuncio, and that she was as firmly attached to the interests of the Romish church as ever.

Robert Melvil was sent to England on an errand similar to that of the bishop of Dunblane in France, but in several respects there was a considerable difference in his instructions. In excusing to Elizabeth the hastiness of the marriage, Mary made no allusion whatever to any violence or constraint which had been put upon her. "Ye shall ground you," she says to her ambassador, "upon the condition and state of us and our realm, declaring how we were destitute of a husband, our realm not thoroughly purged of the factions and conspiracies that of long time have continued therein, which occurring so frequently, had already, in a manner, so wearied and broken us, that by ourself we were not able of any long continuance to sustain the pains and travail in our own person, which were requisite for repressing of the insolence and sedition of our rebellious subjects, being, as is known, a people as factious among themselves, and as fashious (*grievous*) for the governor, as any other nation in Europe; and that for their satisfaction, which could not suffer us long to continue in the state of widowhood, moved by their prayers and request, it behoved us to yield unto one marriage or other. Seeing no appearance of any great commodity to follow by protracting of time, but as on the one part they were very well content, yea and earnestly urged us that we should without delay proceed to our marriage, even so on the other side, by their meaning, we perceived how unwilling they were that we should choose any foreign husband, but rather so far humble us to be content with some born subject of our own for that place that were acquainted with their manners and the laws and customs of our realm; for indeed we ourselves have had some proof and experience of their stirring, when as by occasion of our foreign marriage they have suspected to be hardly handled of strangers. When, therefore, in the eyes and opinion of our people, one of our own subjects was judged most meet both for us and them, our whole nobility being lately assembled at our parliament, were best content that the duke of Orkney, then earl of Bothwell, should be promoted to that place, if so were our pleasure, and to that effect subscribed a letter with all their hands before, ere ever we agreed to take him to our husband, or that he opened his mind to us in that belief; whereby we were moved to make our choice of him, as one whose wisdom, valiantness, and other good qualities, might be well compared, or rather preferred, to any other nobleman in our realm, and his house honourable and ancient. But indeed his faithful and upright service, ever since he came to man's estate, spent and bestowed for us and in our quarrel, for forthsetting of our authority, whoever gainstood it, was no small motive in our conceit in making of our choice, the rather because none or very few of all the noblemen are able in that point to debate with him, seeing that some time or other the most part of them had left us, he excepted. These things being considered maturely, and having respect to the relief which he should make us in management of the public affairs of our realm and administration of justice, with the which, through frequent uproars and seditions, as we have said, we were fully wearied, we resolved to marry him how soon we might conveniently; and for our sudden proceeding in that behalf, not making our said dearest sister privy of our intention, nor asking her advice and counsel therein, which we confess we ought to have done, the chief occasions were, as ye may boldly affirm, the difficulty of the time, divers advertisements and bruits that came to us, as well from France as otherways, and such other things as in the meantime intervened, and yet very weighty and sufficient causes tending to our great weal and surety, which are well known to ourself, constrained us to make such haste as we have done, and not to delay the matter till our said dearest sister had been advertised of our intention and purpose, and her advice and counsel had been known and reported to us, where-anent ye shall pray and desire her heartily to excuse us; for as we never meant to join in marriage with any that we believed she was not contented with, so for this which is present, we trust she will not only continue her accustomed favour and mutual intelligence with us, but also, for our respect, will extend her friendship to our husband, with whom we are inseparably joined, and to bear him and us no less good will, than if all had proceeded to this hour

with the knowledge and advice of our said dearest sister, whom ye shall assure to find him ready to do her all the honours and service that she may require of him."

Elizabeth had expressed herself strongly with regard to the manner in which the murder of Darnley had passed over, and Mary was apprehensive that she would allege against her marriage the suspicions under which Bothwell still laboured of being the assassin. "In case the queen our good sister," she says in the instructions to Melvil, "shall make her to think strange of our marriage with the duke of Orkney, by reason he was suspected and calumniate of the odious violence committed in the person of the king our late husband, and that she had written to ourself somewhat in that behalf of before; it is true that she wrote to us, and we sent her answer again, the copy whereof we have delivered you herewith, which will instruct you sufficiently what ye shall answer to this objection, in case ye be burthened with it; in effect it is this, that seeing he was acquitted by our laws, and by the sentence of parliament, and had further offered him ready to do all thing for trial of his innocence that any nobleman in honour ought, we thought the former to be calumny and accusation, and that we might well enough take him to husband." Melvil was to make the same explanation with regard to the divorce as that given in the instructions to the bishop of Dunblane.

There is a similarity in certain expressions in these two sets of instructions, which shows that they were drawn up at the same time, and each of them seems to have made equally little impression on the persons for whom they were intended. Mary instructed her resident ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, to support with all his zeal the representations of the bishop of Dunblane; but the French court was too well instructed in the true state of things by Du Croc, to be easily deceived. "Your majesties," this ambassador writes to Catherine de Medicis and the king of France, in his dispatch of the 18th of May, "cannot do better than give him an evil reception, and condemn the marriage;" and they seem to have acted on this advice. With regard to Elizabeth, the choice of the envoy was unlucky, for Melvil was now entirely in the interests of the confederate nobles, and he was more their ambassador than Mary's. Nevertheless, Elizabeth showed a strong inclination to support the Scottish queen against her subjects—at least, she showed great reluctance to give any encouragement to subjects against their prince, and she was indignant when informed that they proposed to crown the young prince during the life of his mother. To the plea of the confederate Scottish nobles, that their queen was under restraint, and not a free agent, she opposed Mary's own declarations; and in answer to their apprehensions for the safety of the prince, Elizabeth offered to receive him into England, and to take him under her protection.

For a short period after their marriage, Mary and Bothwell showed a strange inattention to the storm which was gathering round them. It is said that when the queen, already irritated at their refusal to come to court, was told that her nobles held secret meetings among themselves, she treated the information with contempt, and spoke of the popular leaders as men totally destitute of power. The court was now filled with gaiety; fêtes and pageants were got up almost daily to amuse the people; yet, although Bothwell treated her outwardly with great respect, such was said not to be always the case in private, and, at all events, it was evident that she was not happy.

But the plot against her and her husband was now about to develop itself with a rapidity which outran all expectations. Melvil appears not to have proceeded on his mission to England till the 5th of June. At this time Mary seems to have resolved to put the loyalty of her nobles to a trial, by summoning them to attend the royal banner, and proceed against the turbulent borderers of Liddesdale. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, Bothwell proceeded to Melrose, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous; but when he found that nobody had obeyed the summons, he returned to Borthwick, a castle belonging to the laird of Crookston, about ten miles from Edinburgh, to which the queen had retired, alarmed at the symptoms of disaffection which began to show themselves in the capital. Instead of attending at Melrose, the earls of Morton, Mar, and Lindsay, with the laird of Grange, and others of the confederates, joined with the lord Hume and some of the border chiefs, and raising a strong body of their followers on the very day that Bothwell returned from Melrose to Borthwick, they made a rapid march by night, to lay siege to the castle next morn-

ing. Just as the queen and Bothwell were going to bed, intelligence was privately conveyed to them of the designs of the confederates, and Bothwell himself escaped secretly by a postern in a back wall, and fled to Haddington, while messengers were dispatched to warn the earl of Huntley and others of the queen's friends of her danger, and to urge them to bring all the force they could to her rescue. Huntley and the others, though professing devotion to the queen, were in correspondence with the other nobles, and it appears that they were with them at this time, and, if willing, they were unable to raise any force to relieve the castle of Borthwick. But they hurried to Edinburgh, and raised the citizens that they might go to rescue their queen. When, however, the citizens assembled in council, it was resolved that it was not lawful for them to leave the city undefended, and Borthwick castle was left to defend itself. The spirit of disaffection had spread so widely, that when the captain of Inchkeith, who has left a very interesting narrative of these events (printed in M. Teulet's collection of French documents), on receiving information of the queen's danger, caused the drum to be beaten to call to arms, he tells us that nobody obeyed the summons.

When Morton, Hume, and the other lords, had approached within half a league of Borthwick, they received certain information of Bothwell's escape, and, as they professed to have taken arms only against him, they immediately directed their march to Edinburgh. The provost at once raised and armed the citizens for the defence of the town, and they were joined by the earl of Huntley, the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Ross, and the abbot of Kilwinning, with their followers. It was four o'clock in the morning when the confederates reached the capital, and it is probable that the citizens had no intention of opposing them, for while they were all watching at one gate of the capital, the earl of Mar came to another, which he forced open, and marched into the heart of the city. When this was known, the provost quietly retired to his own house, and the lords of the queen's party withdrew into the castle, and made no further demonstration against the insurgents, who, an hour after they had entered Edinburgh, issued a proclamation, declaring that they had taken arms to deliver the queen from captivity, to protect and maintain the prince, and to punish the abominable murder of the king. The citizens of Edinburgh, satisfied with this declaration, no longer hesitated in receiving them as friends.

Morton and Hume had been left with a part of their forces to watch the castle of Borthwick, for the queen remained in it during the following day; but at night, disguising herself in man's clothing, with boots and spurs, she mounted a horse with a man's saddle, and rode off by stealth with a few of her most faithful attendants. She was met by Bothwell, who had remained concealed in Haddington during the day, and, Mary still riding as a man, they never drew bridle till they had placed the strong walls of Dunbar between them and their enemies. Here they had leisure for consultation, and taking courage, they issued summonses to all their friends to assemble in arms at Haddington, to which place they returned on the 14th, two days after their arrival in Dunbar, escorted by two hundred hagbutteers and about sixty horse. Before the queen reached Haddington her cavalry had increased to about six hundred, and when the same night she reached Seaton, her forces amounted to two thousand foot and six hundred horse. With these, next morning, the 15th of June, Mary and Bothwell marched against their enemies.

Meanwhile the confederates were not inactive in Edinburgh. On the morning after their arrival, Du Croc, the French ambassador, who happened to be there, communicated both with the lords in the city and with those in the castle, and after that with the queen, in the hope of effecting an accommodation, but Mary refused to listen to any terms unless she received assurance that no proceedings should be taken against her husband. When this was known, the popular feeling went still more strongly with the lords, who caused a white banner to be made, on which was painted the body of the murdered king, lying under a tree, and the young prince kneeling beside it, and underneath the inscription, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" This, and the promise of high wages to volunteers, produced an immediate effect; the provost and citizens of Edinburgh joined heartily in the cause; and at the same time the lords were joined by the earl of Athol and the laird of Lethington, who had deserted the queen, and they were assured that sir James Balfour, who had the command of Edinburgh castle, was ready to make common cause with them.

Thus encouraged, as soon as they heard of the movements of their opponents, the lords assembled their forces, and marching out of Edinburgh on the morning of the 15th of June, which was a Sunday, they proceeded by way of Musselburgh to meet them.

In the morning of the 15th of June, before leaving Seaton, Mary caused a proclamation to be read at the head of her army. She branded the confederated lords as traitors who had taken up arms to overturn her government, without reason or provocation, but merely for their own personal aggrandizement. Their pleas that her husband had murdered the late king, that she was a captive, and that the life of the prince was in danger, were, she said, but empty pretences; the duke had been acquitted of all concern in the murder, she declared that she was herself free, and as to the prince, he, she alleged, was in their own possession. She concluded with declaring her intention to give battle to her rebels. The queen's army then marched to Preston, and there hearing that the lords had marched with their army from Edinburgh towards Dalkeith, the royalists marched onwards, and established themselves on Carberry Hill, in some old intrenchments said to have been thrown up by the English before the battle of Pinkie. The lords had, in the mean time, turned off to Musselburgh, where the two armies were in sight of each other. Mary's consisted, according to Du Croc's account, of four thousand men, and that of her opponents of three thousand five hundred, or rather more. The queen had four pieces of artillery, but her opponents had none. They were about half a league distant from each other, with a valley and a small stream between them.

It has been already stated that Du Croc, the French ambassador, was at Edinburgh, and he appears to have left the town with a retinue of ten horsemen, soon after the army of the confederates marched. He joined their army when they halted in sight of the queen's troops, and he immediately presented himself before the chiefs and offered his mediation to procure a reconciliation and avert bloodshed. They received him well, and showed him every consideration, but they assured him there were only two ways of settling their quarrel; either that the queen should separate herself from the wretch who held her in his power, in which case they were ready to fall on their knees before her and promise her all the obedience of humble and true subjects; or that Bothwell should descend into the valley between the two armies, where he would find one on their part ready to charge him with the murder of the king, and sustain the charge with his sword. It was added that, if the duke preferred it, the combat might be two to two, four to four, or even twelve to twelve. Du Croc said that he did not believe either of these proposals would be acceptable to the queen, and that he would not venture to be the bearer of them, but he requested permission to pass to the queen's army and ascertain in a personal interview what terms she would be willing to listen to. This permission was at first refused, but after some consultation, Lethington, as spokesman for the rest, told Du Croc that he might go to the queen, and gave him a guard of fifty horsemen to conduct him to her outposts.

Du Croc was received by the queen with the same favour as by the lords. He told her that he had been with the confederates, and that they had earnestly professed their affection and obedience to her person, and he begged her to consider that they were her subjects. Mary replied that they had given her but a bad sample of their conduct, in contradicting what they had themselves signed, for she declared again that it was they who had brought about the marriage, and that they had justified Bothwell from the fact with which they now charged him; nevertheless, she said, if they would at once acknowledge their fault and require her pardon, she was ready to receive them into her favour. At this moment the duke (Bothwell), who had been busy with the arrangements of the army, came up, and Du Croc saluted him coldly. The duke, who knew that the ambassador had come from the lords, demanded proudly and with a loud voice, that the conversation might be heard by his soldiers, if their design was against him. The ambassador, rather artfully, replied aloud that the nobles from whom he had come professed themselves to be the very humble subjects and servants of the queen, and then he added in a low voice, for Bothwell's ear alone, that they were the mortal enemies of her husband. Bothwell again spoke loud, and said that he had never intended to displease any of them, but, on the contrary, to please them all, and that their enmity to him must arise only from jealousy at his great-

ness; fortune, he said, was free to every one, and there was not one of them all who would not willingly have been in his place. He concluded by begging that Du Croc would be the bearer of his challenge to the lords, offering to go out between the two armies and decide the question by personal combat with any man of quality who would stand forward to accuse him of the murder of the king. The ambassador, as he had declined to be the bearer of the challenge of the lords, now refused to carry that of Bothwell, and the queen herself interfered, and declared that she espoused the quarrel herself, and would hear of no fighting except between the two armies. Bothwell said that it must come to that, and, as he saw the lords approaching nearer to the stream, he imagined they intended to commence the attack, and recommended Du Croc to ride to a position at a distance, whence he might witness the fight. The ambassador tells us that Bothwell spoke with an assurance, and drew up and ordered the army with so much skill and courage, that he believed the confederates would have been beaten, had it come to an engagement.

The French ambassador determined to make another effort for peace before he left, and when he quitted the queen's army, he proceeded again to that of the lords. He told them that he had found the queen in an indulgent disposition, and that she was ready to forgive them all on their submission. Their only answer was that they would listen to no proposals for agreement until he whom they sought was delivered up to them; but they thanked the ambassador for his good services, and begged him to withdraw, which he did, while they prepared for battle.* Du Croc returned to Edinburgh.

The day was now advancing, and the lords made a slight movement as though to draw their opponents from their vantage ground; but at this moment a strong indisposition to fight began to manifest itself in the royal army, in spite of the exertions of the queen and her husband, and many of the soldiers began to desert, and some went over to the lords. Alarmed at these symptoms, Bothwell again proposed to decide the quarrel by single combat, and Mary having, with some reluctance, given her consent, he dispatched a herald to deliver his challenge. It was immediately accepted by the baron of Tullibardine (James Murray), the very person who was understood to have placed on the tolbooth door the placard denouncing Bothwell as the king's murderer. Bothwell, it is said, was now ready for the combat, but Mary interfered, and refused to let her husband fight a man so much beneath him in rank, and who moreover, she said, was a traitor to herself. Bothwell then proposed that the earl of Morton should be his antagonist, and that nobleman immediately offered to fight him on foot with two-handed swords. Lord Lindsay of the Byres now interfered, and pleading his relationship to the murdered king, claimed the right of avenging his death on the murderer. The lords yielded to his appeal, and Morton not only made way for him, but gave him his own sword, celebrated as the weapon of his ancestor Archibald Bell-the-cat, to fight with. Preparations were now made on both sides for the combat; lord Lindsay was armed, and advancing before the ranks, fell on his knees, prayed aloud for strength to execute justice, imploring heaven to support the right and punish the guilty. But Mary again interfered, and prohibited the combat.

The desertion among the queen's troops now became general, and Mary's urgent appeals to them to advance against her enemies, and the assurance that Huntley was coming to her aid with the garrison of Edinburgh castle, produced no effect. The confusion and alarm increased, when the laird of Grange was seen advancing at the head of his division of troops, and it was observed that he began to wheel round the hill to turn the flank of the royalists. In a few minutes the queen's forces had dwindled to, it is said, not more than sixty gentlemen and her guard of hagbutteers. It was now too late to think either of fighting or of retiring, and the anxiety of the queen was to obtain terms which would secure the safety of her husband. There was no time to be lost, for if the laird of

* Such is the substance of Du Croc's own account of his proceedings, given in a long dispatch to the king of France, Charles IX. For what follows we use partly a detailed report in French, drawn up by one of Mary's officers, who appears to have been near her person during the whole time, and who therefore may be taken as unexceptionable authority for the manner in which Mary parted with Bothwell, on the accuracy of which, as told from hearsay by Du Croc, Tytler seems to throw some doubt. It should be stated that this last narrative has only been recently published, in the collection of French documents relating to Scottish history, collected and edited by M. Teulet.

Grange succeeded in placing himself between them and Dunbar, both the queen and Bothwell would inevitably be captured. Mary acccordingly sent the laird of Ormiston to demand a parley, and Grange rode forwards and assured the queen that the lords were ready to pay all obedience to her if the man who stood beside her were dismissed. Mary offered to leave him and put herself in their hands, if they would allow the duke to escape, and promise to return to their allegiance. Grange went to his colleagues, and after a brief conversation, returned with the assurance that they were willing to accept her conditions. The queen still stood hesitating, when Grange, fearful that the troops from Edinburgh castle might arrive and at least facilitate her escape, urged Mary to come to an immediate decision, threatening, as the alternative, that he must order his troop to advance to the charge. Mary then, with great anguish, threw herself into Bothwell's arms, and repeatedly embraced him; and at last, as she separated, he asked her if she would on her part keep the promise of fidelity which she had made him, and she replied that she would. Mary then gave him her hand, and leaving her, he turned his horse's head, and, accompanied with about a dozen of his friends, rode off in the direction of Dunbar. Mary then sent the officer who has left us the account of these circumstances, the captain of Inchkeith, to order the lords to advance no further, on the assurance that she would come to them. Accordingly, having waited till she thought Bothwell was safe from pursuit, she came forwards and said, "Laird of Grange, I surrender to you on the conditions you have specified in the name of the lords." Grange immediately took the queen's hand and kissed it, and then, leading her horse by the bridle, they proceeded down the hill to the confederate nobles. These dropped on their knees as she approached, and Morton said, "Here, madame, is the true place where your grace should be, and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever nobility of this realm did your progenitors!" Some of the soldiers could with difficulty restrain themselves from uttering reproaches against the queen, but Grange drew his sword, and compelled them to silence.

CHAPTER XII.

MARY CARRIED TO LOCHLEVEN; PROCEEDINGS OF THE LORDS; REAPPEARANCE OF KNOX; POLICY OF FRANCE AND OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE queen was now a prisoner in the hands of the lords, and although they treated her with outward respect, she witnessed enough to excite her alarm. One of the first objects which presented itself to her eyes was the white banner with the picture of the murdered king and the prince crying out for vengeance, which had been carried at the head of the army. This, and the discovery that she was under restraint, added, probably, to the chagrin caused by her compulsory separation from her husband, seem to have thrown her into a violence of temper which she could not conceal. The best authorities for what passed on the march to Edinburgh, M. du Croc and the captain of Inchkeith, the latter of whom accompanied the queen and was probably near her person, inform us that she gave utterance to angry invectives and menaces against the nobles to whose hands she had entrusted herself, and whom it was her interest to conciliate. Her language to Lord Lindsay, one of the fiercest of the confederate barons, was particularly violent. She reproached him bitterly with his past offences towards her, and calling him to her and taking his hand, she said, "By the hand which is now in yours, I will have your head for this!" It was ten o'clock when they reached the capital, where new trials were reserved for her. The populace received her with yells and execrations as she rode through the streets, and even the women crowded round and screamed out, in coarse language, the charges of adultery and of the murder of her husband, while their fury was

excited by the banner which the soldiers continually waved before her eyes.

It was ten o'clock at night when Mary entered the capital. She was taken to sleep at the house of the lord provost, who, with some of the chief citizens, had accompanied the lords to the field. Although Mary had not eaten for four-and-twenty hours, she refused to taste food, and began to scold and threaten the earls of Athol and Morton. At last she was shown to her chamber, where she passed the night closely guarded. In the middle of the night, or, according to Du Croc, at one o'clock in the morning, she presented herself at the window, and cried out for succour. Lethington happening to pass at the moment, she addressed herself to him, and requested that she might speak with him. Lethington, it appears, went up into the queen's chamber, and next day he repeated to Du Croc the conversation which had taken place between them. It seems that Mary began by reproaching him with having assisted in separating her from her husband, with whom, she said, she would live and die with the greatest contentment in the world. Lethington replied that they were so far from supposing they would do her any displeasure in separating her from the man she called her husband, they looked upon it on the contrary as the greatest benefit and honour they could do her, "hoping thereby to procure her quiet and contentment." He told Mary, thereupon, that to his knowledge Bothwell had written to his first wife, the countess, since his marriage with the queen, assuring her that he considered her, the countess, as his real wife, and that he looked upon the queen only as his concubine. Mary refused to believe this statement, but Lethington protested that it was proved by the letters themselves; and Du Croc says that it was the universal belief that the only passion Bothwell gratified by his marriage with the queen was ambition, and that he still loved his first wife more than his second. Lethington stated that at last the queen said to him that, in the extremity to which they were reduced, all she demanded was that she and Bothwell might be placed in a ship together and sent out to sea, to be conducted wherever fortune might lead them. "And I wish they were," said Lethington to Du Croc, "provided they were not carried to France." "I told him on the contrary," says the ambassador to Catherine de Medicis, "that I wish they were there, and the king would judge them according to their merits, for the unhappy facts are too well proved (*car les malheureux faicts sont trop prouvés.*)"

On the morning of the next day, the 16th of June, Mary fell again into a violent access of passion, which was increased when she saw the same obnoxious banner that had been so often presented to her, and which the populace had raised up opposite her window. In an agony of despair she tore her dress from her body, and, almost naked, rushed to the window and cried out for relief. Some of the lords went to her to appease her, but the lamentable condition of their sovereign had already excited compassion among many of the inhabitants of the capital, and it was reported in the course of the day that an attempt would be made to rescue her from her captivity. To provide against any accident of this kind, at eight o'clock in the evening she was conducted to Holyrood House, with an escort of three hundred hagbutteers, commanded by the earls of Morton and Athol. She was accompanied by two of her maids of honour, Semple and Seaton. The same night the lords conducted her to Leith, whence she was conveyed across the firth of Forth, and finally committed a close prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, which, situated in the middle of the lake, and belonging to Douglas, one of the most zealous of the confederates, was looked upon as a place from which escape was impossible. It is said that on her way, she was dressed in mean garments and mounted on a miserable hackney, and thus exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and that even Kirkaldy of Grange expostulated against this treatment, until he was shown an intercepted letter, written by Mary from her prison in Edinburgh to Bothwell, in which she declared she would never desert him, and implying that she hoped ultimately to bring him back.

A few days had thus brought about an extraordinary revolution, which seems to have been totally unexpected by the foreign powers. The popular leaders in Scotland had for once begun and carried through their work without any direct reference to England, but now that it was done, they were placed rather in an embarrassing position with regard both to England and to France, the more so as the latter power, through Du Croc, had been intriguing with the Scottish lords, and it was very likely that the jealousy of Elizabeth would be awakened. Under these circumstances, one of their first steps

was to send an envoy to the English queen. He was to declare to Elizabeth that the only motive which had induced them to take up arms was the punishment of the king's murder, and that it was their intention, as soon as this was accomplished, to restore their queen to her liberty. As rumour had gone abroad that they intended to depose the queen, and crown the young prince, they positively disclaimed any such design. They did not conceal that offers had been made to them on the part of France, but they declared that they were ready to refuse these, and to submit entirely to the guidance of England, requiring in return for such submission an advance of three or four thousand crowns to pay their soldiers.

Immediately after this, the Scottish lords dispatched their letters to France, justifying their recent proceedings, and full of professions of amity and regard. They were much less in the dark with regard to the policy of the French king than with regard to that likely to be followed by Elizabeth, for the French ambassador, while professing the utmost anxiety for the queen, was holding counsel with her opponents, and assuring them of assistance from France, and he is said to have proposed that the young prince should be sent over to France to be educated, and to have advised them, now they had got their queen into their hands, to keep her safe. The Scottish lords had now gained experience in diplomacy; their natural leaning was towards England, but as they were uncertain what Elizabeth's sentiments might be, they kept the French in hand with fair words, and avoided committing themselves until they received some decided answer from England.

At this moment, when the triumph of the lords seemed complete, the desertion of sir James Balfour, to whom Bothwell had delivered the custody of Edinburgh castle as his deputy, relieved them of all anxiety with regard to that important fortress. Balfour was a man of infamous character, a confidential agent of Bothwell, and, as it appeared, a principal actor in the murder of Darnley. By his treachery, the lords became possessed of evidence which seems to have had an important influence on their conduct towards the queen. In the hurry attendant on the rapid events which had preceded the catastrophe at Carberry Hill, Bothwell had left among his other papers in Edinburgh castle, a casket of documents of the utmost importance, of which he was now anxious to obtain possession. With this object, on the 20th of June, he sent one of his confidential servants named Dalgleish, secretly from Dunbar to Edinburgh, with directions to Balfour to deliver the casket into his hands. Balfour obeyed, but he gave private intimation to the lords, and Dalgleish was intercepted on his return by the earl of Morton, who thus obtained possession of the casket of documents. The casket was of silver gilt, about a foot in length; it had belonged originally to Francis II., Mary's first husband, whose crown and initials it bore, and had been given to Bothwell by Mary after her second husband, Darnley's death. In this casket were found a number of letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and twelve sonnets also addressed to him, with two contracts of marriage, all, except one of the latter, in the queen's handwriting. The letters and sonnets were in French; the former gave full evidence of Mary's complicity in the death of her husband, and both they and the sonnets showed her connexion with Bothwell before her husband's death. It would appear that Bothwell, suspicious of the queen's mutability of temper, had secretly preserved these documents to be his own protection, in case the queen should herself turn from him, and that he was now anxious to obtain possession of them, in the belief that he might soon have to appeal to them for his vindication. With such proofs of the queen's guilt in their hands as these, the lords seem from this moment to have resolved on deposing her, and on compelling her consent by threatening to bring her to a public trial.

Such is the account of the discovery of this casket of papers, as given by those most capable of explaining it, inasmuch as they were the men concerned in the transactions. Doubts have been thrown upon the story, but I must confess, that after a fair consideration of what has been said on both sides, it appears to me that the main ground for such doubts is the wish not to believe it.*

As might be supposed, the first intelli-

* The question is, on the whole, very fairly discussed by Malcolm Laing. The documents themselves are unfortunately only preserved in the copies of them delivered to the English government, and with regard to the letters, these are only translations. But the originals were seen by many persons well acquainted with Mary's handwriting, who expressed no doubt of their authenticity. On the contrary,

gence of these extraordinary events surprised the courts of England and France. Elizabeth, especially, felt embarrassed at the position which Scottish affairs had assumed without her interference. Her notions of royal prerogative and inviolability were shocked at the sight of a sovereign, so nearly related to her, thrown into prison by her subjects, yet she perceived the danger to Scotland and to her own interests which would arise from the deliverance of Mary at the present moment, and, as she had often done before, she adopted a middle course, which procured for her the confidence of neither party. She professed outwardly a great anxiety for the liberation and restoration of the Scottish queen, while she was suspected of giving private encouragement to her opponents. Robert Melvil, who had been sent to Elizabeth by Mary, to defend her marriage, was still in England, and Elizabeth dispatched him home with a letter to Mary, in the belief that he would obtain ready access to her. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was at the same time directed to hold himself ready to proceed to Edinburgh as Elizabeth's ambassador.

The king of France had been fully instructed of the progress of affairs in Scotland by his ambassador Du Croc, to whom, apparently before they had taken any decisive turn, M. de Villeroy was sent with new and secret instructions, which clearly show that it was at this time the wish of France to ally itself with the insurgent lords. He was to tell Du Croc that the king's opinion was unfavourable to Mary, that he looked upon the cause of the Scottish lords as a just one, that he feared they were supported by England, and that it was his great anxiety to preserve and strengthen the Scottish influence in Scotland. The king desired that Du Croc "should consider well the state in which things were there, and especially in which they are likely to fall with regard to the queen of Scots, to whom he will give all favour and aid, but not in anything that will be to the loss and ruin of her kingdom, and to the injury of the king's service and affairs, the said English having the intention which they have, which must be duly taken into consideration, in order, according as the said sieur du Croc shall know it to be necessary to be done by the said sieur de Villeroy or himself, to tell the said lords that the king cannot believe that the mother, whom he esteems honourably virtuous, and kindly, should have any other intention than the good of her son and kingdom, and, consequently, that of her good subjects; things which have kept him hitherto from giving faith to the report that the said lords had risen against her in the name of her son, and that there was discussion among them, which threatened so great evil as he would be sorry to see in that country; assuring them at the same time that his majesty will espouse and embrace always earnestly whatever shall be for the weal and maintenance of the kingdom in its entire, without any other respect but to reason and equity; and he will use on his side all his efforts to restore good intelligence between the said queen and them, and to put her in the good and suitable way to hinder those who seek their ruin from effecting their purpose." Villeroy had arrived in Scotland when Mary was already a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven, and he returned to France on the 26th of June, the lords having refused to allow him or Du Croc to visit Mary in her prison.

Immediately after the capture of the queen, the lords had commenced proceedings against the inferior agents in the assassination of the king. The first persons seized were the notorious captain Cullen, with captain Blacater, who is said to have been captured at sea, and a foreigner named Sebastian de Villours. The latter was soon discharged; Cullen was said to have made a full and long confession to the secret council, but it was never brought forward, and for some reason or other we hear no more of him; Blacater was tried for the murder, condemned, and executed, but he died protesting his innocence. Bothwell remained in his castle of Dunbar until the 26th of June, when there appeared a proclamation of the lords of the secret council for his arrest. Next day he set sail with three ships, directing his course towards the

they seem to me to bear internal evidence of being authentic; there is much in them that a forger would never have thought of, and much, I think, which he would never have known; and it is not likely that he would have made them so long and rambling. Tytler seems to make a principal point of the circumstance that their discovery is not mentioned in the contemporary correspondence between Drury and Cecil; but surely the Scottish lords, when they had obtained by stealth such documents as these, were not likely to make the circumstance public, until they had determined what to do with them, and before they had ascertained what were Elizabeth's sentiments towards their cause.

northern isles. The laird of Grange was sent with some ships in pursuit of him, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, but Bothwell with the third made his escape, and sailed towards Norway. He was at length seized by the Danish cruisers, and being, it is said, charged and convicted of piracy, he was thrown into prison at Malmoe, and kept there the rest of his life. Some obscurity seems however to hang over his history after his flight from Scotland.

Meanwhile, signs of new troubles in Scotland had already begun to show themselves. The Hamiltons saw that their private interests were in danger, and began to intrigue against the lords in Edinburgh. They were led by the archbishop of St. Andrews, whose elder brother, the duke of Châtelherault, now in France, was next heir to the throne after the queen and her child, and they saw that the present tendency of affairs was to raise the latter to the crown, with a regency which would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the earl of Murray, or into those of one of the confederate lords. Although they had never been remarkable for their loyalty to the queen, they determined to effect her release and restoration rather than allow a regency to be established. After various consultations, they assembled on the 29th of June at Dumbarton, where they were joined by the earls of Argyle and Huntley, who had deserted the confederates. Their party was also strengthened by the support of the earl of Crawford, and the lords Herries, Seaton, and Fleming. Their chief directors were Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lesley, bishop of Ross. They were bold enough to issue a proclamation, calling upon all good subjects to be ready at nine hours' warning to assemble in arms for the delivery of their queen.

Alarmed at these preparations, the confederates were now anxious for the return of the earls of Murray and Lennox, who were both in France. But they found the strongest support in their enterprises from the decided protestant feeling which now prevailed in Scotland, and which they enlisted on their side.

The protestant preachers, who possessed great influence over the people, had indeed always been opposed to the queen. They suspected all her concessions, and believed firmly that it was her intention eventually to re-establish popery, and they knew that she had never recognised the parliament held at Edinburgh in 1560, by which the reformed religion was established. They were further convinced that Mary was an accomplice with Bothwell in the murder of her husband, and they had not shrunk from demanding justice against her as the principal criminal. When the confederates entered Edinburgh, after the escape of Bothwell from Borthwick castle, the earl of Glencairn had signalized his reforming zeal by entering violently the royal chapel of Holyrood, and destroying the altar, with the shrines and images; and though that was blamed by some, it gave great satisfaction to the ministers of the reformed religion, and prepared them to expect still greater things from the triumph of his party, which they were ready to support with all their influence. The lords were not blind to the advantage of this alliance, and now that they had obtained the mastery, an assembly of the church was called to meet at Edinburgh on the 25th of June.

This assembly was rendered remarkable by the reappearance of John Knox, who had been living in retirement, it is supposed, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, since the murder of Riccio. He believed that the time was now come for the utter destruction of popery in Scotland, and he came forward to assume again the same bold and prominent position which he had held when the Scottish protestant church was struggling for existence. It was he who virtually negotiated the alliance between the confederates and the preachers. He stipulated, as a principal condition, that the lords should recognise the parliament of 1560, and, as no scruples could possibly stand in their way, this proposal was at once agreed to without hesitation. They further agreed to restore the patrimony of the church, which had been seized and devoted to civil uses; to entrust the education of youth in colleges and public schools entirely to the reformed clergy; to put down "idolatry" by force of arms, if necessary; to commit the education of the prince to a godly and grave governor; and to seek out and punish rigorously the murderers of the king. These matters being adjusted, Knox again appeared publicly in the pulpit, and exerted his voice with the same success as ever over the popular feelings. One subject of concern still remained. The assembly was adjourned to the 20th of July, and it was determined to make an immediate effort to gain over the protestant nobles, such as Argyle, Huntley, and

Herries, who had joined the faction of the Hamiltons. Letters were written to them in the name of the church, requesting their attendance at the adjourned meeting of the assembly in Edinburgh, and Knox, with three others of the leading preachers, Craig, Douglas, and Row, went to them and urged upon them the necessity of a general union in the cause of the church. They were, however, unsuccessful; and to guard against any attempt of the opposing faction, the confederate lords, or, as they now termed themselves, the secret council, determined to exact from Mary a resignation of the crown, and to place it upon the head of the young prince.

It was at this moment that Robert Melvil, Mary's ambassador, returned from England. Melvil had, as we have seen before, joined the party of the nobles, and he had been acting at the court of Elizabeth more for their interests than for those of his mistress. The English queen, though strongly prejudiced against the principle that subjects might rise against their sovereign, was at the same time well aware of the folly of Mary's conduct, and convinced that the success of the lords would ensure the triumph of protestantism and the establishment of the English influence in opposition to that of France, and she seems to have secretly promised Melvil that she would assist them under certain conditions and limitations, and even to have consented to the coronation of the young prince, if Mary could be persuaded to resign the crown voluntarily. Melvil repaired directly to Edinburgh, where he had an interview with the lords, and informed them of Elizabeth's promises. Two days after his arrival, on the 1st of July, Melvil wrote a long letter to Cecil, which has been printed from the original in the state-paper office, by Tytler, and which throws such an interesting light on the state of affairs, that it deserves to be given in the original words.

"It may please your honour," Melvil writes, "to be advertised, I came to this town upon the 29th of June, and have imparted the queen's majesty's good disposition in the assisting and partaking with the lords to prosecute the murderers of the king, and to preserve the prince in the custody of the earl of Mar. Whereof the said lords most humbly thank her highness. The whole particularities that I had your honour's advice in, according to the queen your sovereign's meaning, is not at this present resolved on, by reason the most part of the noblemen are gone to their houses, to repose them and their friends, except the earls of Morton and Athol, with my lord Hume, my lord Lethington, sir James Balfour, captain of the castle, who is daily in council with them, and Mr. James Makgill, and the justice clerk. The cause of their going from this town is by some bragging of the Hamiltons, with the earl of Huntley, minding to convene their forces, and make their colour for the delivery of the queen; albeit it be credibly reported, that they fear the king's murder to be laid to some of their charges, I mean the bishop of St. Andrews; wherefore it was thought most convenient that the noblemen and gentlemen should in the mean time have their friends in readiness. Before my coming, the lords did write divers instructions unto me, besides a letter written to the queen's majesty (Elizabeth), subscribed by them. The effect whereof was, that as they did understand by me of the good inclination of your mistress and council being addicted to help them in their most need, so, for their parts, their good will to do her majesty service, before all other, with time shall be declared. As for their dealing with France, they have used them so discreetly, as neither France may have any just cause to be offended, and the queen your sovereign be well pleased. The lords presently (*at the present*) need but money, for they have already enlisted divers men of war, and are taking up more. The Hamiltons are judged to be maintained by the queen's (Mary's) substance, and countenanced by France to have money, seeing France is in doubt to persuade our noblemen. Wherefore, sir, it is most needful, that, with all expedition, money may be procured of the queen your sovereign, and sent hither with sir Nicholas Throckmorton, or by some of the borders; for that necessity that they will be prest to will be within eight or ten days, which I thought meet to advertise your honour of. And what order shall be taken for my going to the queen is not agreed upon, by reason the most part of the lords are not present; and my lord Lethington, being greatly empesched (*hindered*) with affairs, might not have leisure to concur at length, but is glad to understand of the care your honour has, that we should do all things by justice and moderation. And that the queen your sovereign may be content with your conference with me, he does well like of your advice in divers

heads; always, there is matter enough probable (*proveable*) to proceed upon that matter we first agreed upon, and farther if thought expedient. Ye shall with diligence be advertised; and I refer the rest to my lord of Lethington's letter, who does repose himself upon the care he hopes your honour will continue in, for to set forward their honourable enterprise; and the lords, for their part, will accord with your ambassador to keep the prince; and to her highness' desire will put him in the custody of her majesty, if at any time hereafter they shall be minded to suffer her to go in any other country."

On the very day he wrote this letter, the 1st of July, Melvil was allowed to go to Lochleven, and was admitted to an interview with the Scottish queen. It does not appear that Mary was subjected to any special ill-treatment, but she was kept in rigorous confinement, and two of the fiercest of the confederates, Lindsay and Ruthven, were her keepers. The castle belonged to sir William Douglas, a zealous member of the confederacy, whose mother, the lady Douglas (the lady of the castle), a daughter of lord Erskine, was the mother of the earl of Murray, by king James V., and, being a proud dame, she was accustomed to boast that she had been the king's legitimate wife, and that the throne of Scotland really belonged to her son. When Melvil was introduced to the queen, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Douglas, insisted on being present at the conference, pleading the orders of the secret council, which they persisted in enforcing, in spite of Mary's remonstrances; Melville could therefore do no more than present Elizabeth's letter. A week later, however, he obtained permission to see Mary alone, and in this second interview he tried to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, but only received a peremptory refusal. When Mary's reply on this subject was communicated to the lords, and from them to the public, it excited great indignation, and the pulpits shook with the loud denunciations of the preachers. It was now generally believed that the queen would be brought to a public trial, and there was a universal conviction that the lords possessed some evidence fixing on her the murder of Darnley.

Melvil was soon followed into Scotland by the English ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose instructions were delivered to him on the 30th of June. These instructions were calculated to give satisfaction to neither party. Elizabeth's ambassador was to express to the Scottish queen, her great grief and indignation that more vigorous steps had not been taken to discover and punish the murderers of her husband; and to tell her, that after her disgraceful marriage with the man pointed out as the assassin, it was the intention of the English queen to take no further interest in the affairs of a princess who seemed so utterly reckless of her own honour; but that these feelings had been considerably softened by the rebellious conduct of the Scottish nobles. Throckmorton was to insist on the impropriety of subjects assuming the sword, and taking upon themselves to punish the crimes of the prince, whatever these might have been; and he was authorized to tell Mary, that his royal mistress so entirely disapproved of their proceedings in this respect, that she was ready to employ force to obtain her liberty. She was prepared, nevertheless, to give her assistance in tracing out and punishing the murderers of the king, and in promoting any measures for the preservation of the young prince. He was further to state to Mary all the charges brought against her by her subjects, and to hear her replies to them.

The English ambassador found his mission far less easy than he probably imagined, for the leaders of the popular party were crafty and politic. Lethington met him at Coldingham, on the 12th of July, and conducted him to Fastcastle, a small but strong fortress overhanging the German Ocean, and belonging to lord Hume. Here they found Hume himself and sir James Melvil, and, after a conference on the state of affairs, Throckmorton wrote a dispatch to Cecil, in which he informed him of the suspicion with which the Scottish nobles regarded Elizabeth's policy. They had told him that they were convinced that, if they ran her fortune, as they expressed it, she would in the end leave them in the briars. They declared that, if the English queen really wished them to set Mary free, it was evident she sought their ruin, for if she were at liberty there was no chance of pursuing the murderers of the late king, but, on the contrary, they would themselves become objects of vengeance. Throckmorton was convinced that, although France was making much greater advances towards the nobles than Elizabeth, they were acting towards that power in the most cautious manner, carefully abstaining

from committing themselves so far as in any way to affect their negotiations with England. The same day Throckmorton was conducted by lord Hume with an escort of four hundred horse to Edinburgh. Next day (the 13th of July), was a solemn fast among the protestant leaders, and the ambassador could obtain no interview with the lords; but he was visited by Lethington in the evening, and learnt from him enough to be convinced that he would not be allowed to see the queen. It was represented, that as they had denied this favour to the ambassador of France, it could not well be granted to the English ambassador without provoking unnecessary jealousy. Throckmorton's account of the feelings of the public with regard to this unhappy princess, showed that Elizabeth's interference in her favour was not likely to have any satisfactory results. He informed Elizabeth that there was very little unity or zeal among the lords who had joined together to rescue the queen. The Hamiltons, who were so nearly related to the crown, had their own interested views, and there were not wanting people to say that their real object was to drive the lords of the secret council into extreme measures, that, by making away with the queen, they might clear the way for the ambition of their opponents. Argyle was understood to be secretly tampering with the lords. Even Herries, who had shown more devotion to Mary's cause, was beginning to show a still greater attachment to his own interests.

Throckmorton soon found that the Scots were not inclined to listen to Elizabeth's high doctrines of passive obedience. Their preachers, with whom George Buchanan was now an active coadjutor, were daily preaching from the pulpit the contrary duty of resistance to unrighteous princes and governors; and Throckmorton told Elizabeth, that it had become "a public speech among all the people, that their queen had no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm." As usual, they supported this doctrine by examples of the punishment of wicked princes taken from the Old Testament, and these tended to inflame people's minds more and more, until it was difficult to restrain the populace from the most violent demonstrations, and the outcry for vengeance against the Scottish queen became almost irresistible. Amid this excitement, Melvil was sent again to Lochleven, and in a private interview, by direction of the lords, he made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to prevail upon Mary to renounce Bothwell. He carried with him a letter from Throckmorton, who strongly urged her to listen to Melvil's appeal, but it was all to no purpose. She stated her belief that she was with child, and declared that she would never make her offspring illegitimate by ignoring its father. She then entrusted Melvil with a letter to the lords, in which she requested, on the score of health, that she might be removed to Stirling, where she would have the satisfaction at times of seeing her son. She said that she was willing to resign the government into the hands of the earl of Murray, or to a council of the nobility; but she desired that, as the mother of their prince, and the daughter of their king, she might receive gentler treatment than she experienced at present. When Melvil was leaving, Mary produced a letter, which she requested him to forward to Bothwell, but on his refusal she threw it in anger on the fire.

The obstinacy with which Mary persisted in her attachment to Bothwell increased the popular resentment, and the lords were now publicly called upon to bring her to a trial. They were among themselves much divided in opinion as to the extent to which it was wise to proceed. The more moderate proposed that she should be restored to the throne, if she would consent to a divorce from Bothwell, but to this it was now evident her consent would not be obtained. Athol, who was supported to a certain degree by Morton, proposed that Mary should resign in favour of the prince, and that she should herself retire to France. But the majority of the counsel were for bringing her to a public trial, and condemning her to perpetual imprisonment, as guilty of the murder of the king her husband. It must be observed that this circumstance is sufficient to convince us that the lords were at this time in possession of the casket of letters already mentioned, for the consciousness of the existence of such evidence could alone produce that certainty of conviction which they showed when they talked of bringing their queen to a public trial. Other incidental allusions have been pointed out, which leave the same impression upon the mind. It is clear that everybody believed, for some reason or other, that the result of a trial would be fatal to the queen's character. Throckmorton had discovered

on the 21st of July, that the nobles had resolved to crown the young prince, with the queen's consent, if it could be obtained, and if not, they were ready to proceed against her publicly, by bringing forward such evidence as they said they had obtained of her guilt, which was sufficient to touch her life and honour. In accordance with this, we learn from subsequent letters of the English ambassador, that Lindsay and Robert Melvil were sent to her on the 24th, to exhort her to a voluntary resignation of the crown, in which case "they would endeavour themselves to save both her life and honour, both which otherwise stood in great danger." And Throckmorton stated his own belief, that if the lords could not by fair means induce Mary to assent to this proposal, they meant to charge her judicially with the violation of the common and statute laws, with adultery with Bothwell, and with the murder of her husband, "of which, as they said, they had sufficient evidence under her hand." This evidence could be no other than the letters and sonnets found in the silver casket.

Such was the state of feeling when the general assembly of the church met again at Edinburgh, and the question of proceeding against Mary was debated there with great warmth. The earnest expostulations of the English ambassador were required to prevent them from adopting extreme resolutions, and at length their feelings became so far moderated, that it was resolved she should be required to resign the government to the earl of Murray, according to a suggestion which had been intimated by herself. It was in consequence of this resolution that Lindsay and Melvil were sent to visit her in her prison at Lochleven.

Peoples' eyes were now turned to the earl of Murray, who, still in France, had given no decided intimation of the part he intended to take. Although fully informed of the objects and desires of all parties, he as yet carefully avoided compromising himself with any, but he prepared to return to Scotland, in obedience to the earnest request of his friends in that country. His inclinations appeared to lean towards the queen, to whom he sent Nicholas Elphinston, one of his servants, to assure her of his affection and of his desire to serve her; and, though he steadily refused the most tempting offers of the king of France to attach him to his interests, he directed Elphinston to seek an interview with Elizabeth on his way, to consult with her on the position of affairs. On his arrival in London, on the 8th of July, Elphinston was admitted to a secret conference with Elizabeth, which lasted an hour, and the English queen was so convinced of Murray's intention to labour for the deliverance and restoration of his sovereign, that she determined herself to adopt suddenly a more decided policy in promoting the same object. On Elphinston's departure, she called one of her gentlemen, Mr. Heneage, who was in waiting in the antechamber, and directed him immediately to inform Cecil of the arrival of the earl of Murray's messenger, and of the intention of the earl to take part with Mary against her rebellious nobles. Heneage was further to convey to Elizabeth's minister her directions on the subject. "Tell Cecil," she said, "that he must instantly write a letter, in my name, to my sister, to which I will set my hand, for I cannot write it myself, as I have not used her well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past. The purport of it must be, to let her know that the earl of Murray never spoke defamedly of her for the death of her husband; never plotted for the secret conveyance of the prince to England; never confederated with the lords to depose her; on the contrary, now in my sister's misery let her learn from me the truth, and that is, that she has not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland."

I think that Tytler is mistaken in imagining that Elizabeth had in this letter made "an admission from her own lips" of her "insidious dealing" with Mary. By not having "used her well and faithfully," she seems to me simply to mean that she had not exerted herself so much as she ought to have done, according to her own high notions of the dignity and inviolability of princes, to protect her from the violence of her subjects. In fact, although she had all along expressed the strongest disapprobation of their proceedings, she had acted with great caution and forbearance; but now, believing that Murray was entirely in Mary's interest, and thinking that his appearance in Scotland would lead at once to her deliverance from prison, the English queen seems to have repented of her cautious dealing, and to have wished to appear to be acting more decidedly and more vigorously in her favour. Thinking that if she now wrote an autograph letter, it would seem as though a sudden change had taken place in

her mind, and as if she were now only following in Murray's footsteps, she wished a letter to be written in her name by her secretary, as though it were a matter of course, in which she might recommend Murray to the Scottish queen as if he were acting under her counsels and in continuation of her own policy. As Tytler remarks, Heneage's letter shows that at this time Murray was acting independently, and that he was not a party to the schemes of the confederates.

CHAPTER XIII.

MARY DEPOSED, AND JAMES VI. CROWNED; ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF MURRAY IN SCOTLAND; HE ACCEPTS THE REGENCY.

We are not acquainted with the further steps taken in accordance with Elizabeth's instructions, but nothing could now stop the downward course of Mary's fortunes. The general assembly of the church was still only prorogued, and meetings of the protestant clergy were held, in which the position of the kingdom was taken into earnest consideration, and it was the general wish that the queen should be brought to trial, and that if found guilty of the murder of her husband, and of previous adultery with Bothwell, of which no one seemed to doubt, she should be put to death. Few anywhere spoke in the queen's vindication, and we are assured that the expostulations of the English ambassador alone hindered these extreme measures from being carried into effect, until the leaders gradually adopted more moderate sentiments, and it was decided to act upon the suggestion which Mary herself had started, that she should resign the government to the earl of Murray, with the further provision that the young prince her son should be crowned. Lindsay, who was at this time in Edinburgh, was immediately sent back to Lochleven in company with Robert Melvil, and they carried with them three instruments which the queen was to be required to sign. The first of these was a resignation of the crown to her son, with directions for his immediate coronation; the second was an act by which she conferred the regency, during James's infancy, on the earl of Murray; and by the third she appointed the duke of Châtelherault, with the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, regents of the kingdom until Murray's arrival, with power to continue in that office if he refused to accept it. This circumstance shows sufficiently that the lords were not at this time certain of the course which Murray would pursue.

On their arrival at Lochleven, Melvil was first admitted to a private interview with the captive queen. He informed her of the documents which she was expected to sign, assured her of the danger which threatened her if she refused, and informed her of the proposal to bring her to a public trial, and of written evidence of her guilt which was in the possession of the lords of the secret council. He brought a message from Athol and Lethington persuading her to the same course, as well as a letter from Throckmorton, and it is said that the English ambassador, as well as Melvil, intimated as a reason for signing the documents, that as it was done in captivity and under restraint, the deeds would not be valid. Mary, however, refused all concession, and declared with passion that she would rather lay down her life than her crown; until at length the earl of Lindsay was introduced, when the sight of this fierce baron, whose life she had but recently threatened, and who seems always to have inspired her with terror, overcame her scruples. With tears in her eyes she took the pen, and without condescending to read the documents, she placed her signature to them. They were carried back in triumph to the capital, and it is said that when the keeper of the privy seal, Thomas Sinclair, objected to the documents as irregular, Lindsay took possession of his house by force, and seizing upon the seal, compelled him to fix it to the resignation. The lords now resolved to lose no time in completing the

work they had begun, and they fixed an early day for the coronation, and sent a formal invitation to the Hamiltons and their party to be present. Throckmorton was also invited to attend, but he refused, on the plea that the lords had shown contempt towards his mistress in not following her advice. The Hamiltons also declined, but in so doing they disavowed all hostility, and pleaded merely that from the first they had been no party to the proceedings of the other lords. They seemed, in fact, to concur in the present proceedings, though they wished them to be done without their complicity, for there was no talk of opposition; and so far did this appearance of secret understanding go, that when the Hamiltons presented a protest that this coronation should not prejudice the title of the duke of Châtelherault as next heir to the crown, the lords granted their request without hesitation.

Preparations were immediately made for performing the ceremony of coronation with the utmost solemnity, and the lords repaired to Stirling, where the prince was kept. A warm dispute now arose between Knox with one part of the clergy, who insisted that the process of anointing should be laid aside as an obsolete Jewish custom, and the lords, who were especially anxious on the present occasion that no part of the solemnity should be omitted. This question was decided against Knox. On the 29th of July, the prince, who was then only thirteen months old, was carried in the arms of his governor, the earl of Mar, to the high church of Stirling. The earl of Athol carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, and Glencairn the sword. When all things were prepared in the church, the queen's acts of resignation were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven declared upon oath that they were her own free acts. A sermon was then preached by Knox. After this, the ceremony of coronation was performed, the bishop of Orkney placing the crown on the king's head, while the earl of Morton, with his hands on the gospels, promised on behalf of his sovereign that he should maintain the reformed religion, and labour to extirpate idolatry and heresy. The oaths of allegiance were then taken by the representatives of the two estates, and Mar carried back the new king, who had been crowned as James VI., to the castle. The event was celebrated in the capital with great rejoicing.

A messenger was now dispatched to France to inform the earl of Murray that he had been appointed regent, and all parties waited anxiously for his decision. Down to the present time his real sentiments on the position of affairs remained a profound secret. Whatever outward demonstration he had made was in favour of his queen, and in opposition to the lords, but at all events, he showed a resolution to suspend his judgment until his arrival in Scotland, where he would have a better opportunity of examining the proofs of guilt or innocence. Before he left Paris, however, Murray received information of the casket of letters, conveyed to him, it is supposed, by his servant Elphinston, and his informant assured him that he had seen and read a letter from Mary to Bothwell, which proved that she was a party to the murder of her husband.

At the French court, no means were left untried to secure the earl of Murray in the French interests, and high honours were offered him, which he refused. When it was found that nothing but general professions of friendship could be obtained from him, and it was suspected that his leaning towards England remained as strong as ever, impediments were thrown in the way of his departure from France, but these also he overcame. When at last the earl proceeded on his journey, the French king sent after him one of the gentlemen of his chamber, M. de Lignerolles, as his ambassador to the confederate lords, but whose real business is understood to have been to watch Murray's conduct, both at the court of Elizabeth, which he proposed to visit on his way, and in Scotland. His instructions, which are preserved, and have been recently printed, are evidently but a cover to the secret object of his mission. De Lignerolles was directed first to visit the court of Elizabeth, and to present to that princess complimentary letters from the French king and the queen-mother. If Elizabeth inquired of him the purpose of his mission to Scotland, he was to say that the king having received intelligence from his ambassadors De Villeroy and Du Croc of the miserable state of anarchy to which Scotland was reduced, had sent him to inquire further into the state of affairs there, and to labour to promote peace and union. "Thence," the instructions continue, "he shall pass into Scotland, where he will find Murray, who, as he says, is returning there with the



Engraved by R. Ransom

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY.

(REGENT OF SCOTLAND.)

OB. 1570.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

intention to adjust matters as far as he can, and to put them back into the best way that shall be possible. Which the said sieur de Lignerolles will be able enough to judge on the spot, and by his behaviour." He was to watch the course of events closely, and to let no opportunity escape of furthering the interests of France, whether he treated collectively with the government, or individually with the nobles, for which purpose he was furnished with blank letters of credit, to be filled up and used as he might see fit. "There are two parties," say the king's directions, "in the said kingdom, one the Stuarts, who are those who have the queen and the prince in their power, and use for a cover to their enterprise the death of the late king, and the demand for justice; the other, that of the Hamiltons, nearer in degree to the succession to the throne, who, as it is understood, shows a desire that the said lady should be released from the captivity in which she is." De Lignerolles was to use his endeavours to fathom the designs of both parties, and, as far as we can understand his instructions in this point, he was to ally himself with that which was likely to be the stronger. At all events, he was to do his best to obtain some relaxation of the queen's imprisonment, and he was to declare to the lords that the king of France would be grieved if any extreme severity was exercised against one who was so nearly related to himself.

When the earl of Murray arrived at the English court, Elizabeth immediately admitted him to her presence, but she seems to have been entirely mistaken in the expectations she had formed of his submission to her will. She spoke to him in a dictatorial tone of her intention to restore Mary to liberty, and punish her rebellious subjects; and when he expostulated, she upbraided him, and dismissed him in anger. Murray reached Edinburgh on the 11th of August, and he seems to have found Mary's cause looking much less favourably than even he expected. This unfortunate princess had, indeed, so entirely lost the respect, and, consequently, the love of her subjects, that those who still made any open demonstration in her favour, were led merely by self-interest and personal ambition. This was especially the case with the faction of the Hamiltons, and the correspondence of the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was still in Edinburgh watching the course of events, reveals to us the dark intrigues in which they were engaged. Elizabeth, following her own feelings in this matter, and offended at the little regard the lords had shown for her advice, had ordered her ambassador to hold no further intercourse with them, and he paid strict obedience to her directions; but, on the 7th of August, when the lords were assembled in Edinburgh, awaiting the arrival of the earl of Murray, one of them, the laird of Tullibardine, who held the office of comptroller, paid the English ambassador a visit. Throckmorton received him coldly, and began at once to expostulate on the recent conduct of the lords, threatening them with Elizabeth's hostility unless they reversed their proceedings, and released their queen from captivity. To this Tullibardine replied, that the policy now followed by the queen of England was more dangerous to Mary's person than any she could have chosen. "For," said he, "within the last forty-eight hours, the archbishop of St. Andrews, on the part of the Hamiltons, has proposed to us to put the queen to death. They have recommended this course as the only certain method of reconciling all parties; and, on our consenting to adopt it, they are ready to join us to a man, and to bring Argyle and Huntley along with them." Throckmorton was thunderstruck at this statement, and expressed strongly his disbelief of it, adducing a variety of arguments to show the impolicy of taking Mary's life. "These matters you speak of," replied Tullibardine, "have been in question amongst them (the Hamiltons), but now they see not so good an outgait (*exit*) by any of those devices as by the queen's death. For, she being taken away, they account but the little king betwixt them and home (*i.e.* the succession), who may die. They love not the queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them; and they fear her the more, because she is young, and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of."

Whatever may have been Throckmorton's incredulity with regard to the information thus given him, it was fully confirmed by Lethington, who, the same evening, paid him a visit on the part of the lords of the secret council. When the ambassador reproached him with their hasty proceedings, and especially with proceeding to such acts of severity against their queen, "being a prince anointed," without having first imparted their designs to his royal mistress, Lethington said, "My lord ambassador, these

lords did think their cause could suffer no delays; and as for imparting their purposes to the queen's majesty your sovereign, they doubted that neither she would allow that which was meet for them to do, neither could take any of their doings in good part. And where you have charged us with deprivation of the queen from her royal estate, it doth appear by such instruments as I sent you from Stirling, that we have not denuded the queen of her regality, but she hath voluntarily relinquished the same unto her son." Throckmorton retorted by observing, that documents thus procured fom a person in prison, and under fear of death, could not be looked upon as voluntary acts. "Yea," said Lethington, "it is you that seek to bring it to pass, what show soever the queen your mistress or you do make to save her life or set her at liberty. For the Hamiltons and you concur together; you have nothing in your mouths but liberty, and nothing less in your hearts. My lord ambassador, I have heard what you have said unto me; I assure you, if you should use this speech unto them which you do unto me, all the world could not save the queen's life three days to an end; and as the case now standeth, it will be much ado to save her life." In answer to some further remarks of Throckmorton, Lethington again said, "Well, my lord, I trust you do not take me to be one that doth thirst my sovereign's blood, or that would stain my conscience with the shedding of the same. You know how I have proceeded with you since your coming hither. I have given you the best advice I could to prevent extremity, and either the queen your sovereign will not be advised, or you do forbear to advise her. I say unto you, as I am a christian man, if we which have dealt in this action would consent to take the queen's life from her, all the lords which hold out and lie aloof from us, would come and conjoin with us within these two days. This morning the bishop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Kilwinning have sent a gentleman unto us for that purpose. And likewise the earl of Huntley hath sent Duncan Forbes, within this hour, to conclude with us upon the same ground. And, to be plain with you, there be very few amongst ourselves which be of any other opinion."

It is evident, from these conversations, that the Hamiltons had no sincere wish for the queen's safety, and that at this time the life of the royal captive was in imminent danger.

Such was the state of things when the earl of Murray arrived in Scotland. The lords of the secret council received him with the utmost respect, and proceeded at once to convince him of the justice of their cause. At Berwick, where he arrived on the 8th of August, he was met by sir James Melvil and sir James Makgill, the lord clerk-register, who represented the violent and the moderate parties in the council, and who gave him a full account of the state of affairs. At the limit between the two countries he was met by about four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, who conducted him in state to Whittingham, where he was received by Morton and Lethington, and where he remained for the night. Next day he entered the capital, in the midst of universal rejoicings. He there spent two days in consultation with the nobles, and with Elizabeth's ambassador, and although he expressed to the latter great commiseration for the captive queen, he had become so far convinced of her guilt, that he saw it would be madness to attempt then to liberate her, and he seemed willing to accept the regency. His chief objection lay in the declaration of Mary's friends that the acts which placed the crown on the head of the prince and appointed him regent had been extorted from her, and to ascertain this from Mary herself, he requested, before giving the lords a final answer, that he might be permitted to visit her in the castle of Lochleven. This permission was given with reluctance, and on the fifteenth of August he proceeded to Lochleven, accompanied by Morton, Athol, and Lindsay. Mary is said to have received them in tears, and to have complained passionately of the manner in which she had been treated. Before supper, she took Murray aside, and questioned him as to the intentions of the lords with regard to her, but, probably himself affected with the nature of his mission, he was silent and reserved. After supper, Mary again conferred with Murray in private, and, addressing him as a brother, spoke of her persecutions and sufferings, and begged him to speak out freely and tell her what she had to expect. Murray now spoke to her with severity and plainness, describing to her one after another all the errors of her eventful history since her ill-fated marriage with Darnley, and told her of the hatred of her subjects, who had determined, on the strength of the casket of letters which had fallen into their hands, to bring her to a trial and put her to

death. She is described as listening to his accusations, weeping and expostulating, confessing some things, excusing or extenuating others, and sometimes denying; and when, after this painful conversation had lasted till after midnight, Murray prepared to retire, Mary, overcome with terror and distress, implored the earl to protect her against the fury of her enraged subjects; but he only bade her seek her refuge in the mercy of God, and departed to his chamber. Early on the next morning the queen sent for him again, and finding that his conversation the preceding night had made a profound impression upon her, he assumed a milder tone, and assured her that as far as he was concerned, he was ready to sacrifice his own life to save hers. He told her that, unfortunately, the decision at present lay, not with him, but with the lords, the church, and the people, and that he had but one voice in it; but he urged her to show herself submissive, to make no attempt to escape or to call in the French or English to deliver her, and above all to show her abhorrence for the murder of her husband, and to lay aside her attachment to Bothwell, and then he hoped that matters might be prevented from running to extremities. Mary seems to have clung like a child to the hope of saving her life, and when Murray had concluded, she started from her seat, threw herself round his neck, and urged him to accept the regency as the only means of salvation for herself and her son. Murray refused, and when pressed again, he explained to her his reasons for declining so weighty and dangerous an honour. Mary urged him more earnestly, until at length with apparent reluctance he gave his consent; and then she suggested that as soon as he was confirmed in the regency, he should begin by getting all the forts into his hands, and she begged him to take her jewels and other articles of value into his own keeping, as the best means of preserving them for her. When Murray parted from her, Mary again threw herself into his arms, and kissed him gratefully, sending by him her blessing to her son. Then, after recommending her to the indulgence of her keepers, he left the castle and proceeded with his companions to Stirling.

Every one now looked forward to the ceremony of the inauguration of the regent. This was performed on the 22nd of August, in the council chamber at the Tolbooth, with all possible solemnity. The nobility, spirituality, and commissioners of the burghs being there assembled, with the lords of the secret council, the act by which the queen appointed the earl of Murray to the regency was publicly read. A series of articles were then declared, by which the lords and the estates of the kingdom on one part, and the earl of Murray on the other, promised mutually to assist each other in correcting the abuses under which the kingdom had laboured, and in governing it according to justice and right. The earl made an oration, in which he pleaded his unfitness for so high an office as the cause of the reluctance with which he had accepted it. He then laid his hand upon the gospels, and swore solemnly to maintain God's faith in that realm according to his word, as declared in the holy scriptures and set forth by the preachers; to oppose and abolish all false religion which was contrary to the faith as then established; to govern the people committed to his charge "according to the will and commandment of God as contained in his said word, and according to the praiseworthy laws and constitutions received in this realm, as far as they are not repugnant to God's word;" to study to procure and preserve peace; to preserve intact the revenues and rights of the crown; to suppress wrong and protect the people from oppression; to secure to all an equal administration of justice and equity; and to extirpate all heretics and enemies of God's true church. The regent was then proclaimed at the cross in Edinburgh, and through all the counties and burghs of the kingdom, and the proclamation was everywhere received with the warmest demonstrations of joy.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF MURRAY'S REGENCY; PROCEEDINGS WITH REGARD TO THE MURDERERS OF THE KING; MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

MURRAY now entered upon the government of the kingdom, and he exhibited the same energy and decision of character which had marked all his former actions. While showing every disposition to conciliate both Elizabeth and the king of France, he acted independently of both, and he found support in the mutual jealousy of the two monarchs. The very day on which he was proclaimed regent, he invited Throckmorton, the English ambassador, to a conference. Throckmorton, at this moment, shared to a great degree in the feelings of his mistress, who was highly displeased at the earl of Murray for accepting the regency, and taking part with the confederate lords; and, finding Murray and Lethington together, he expressed these sentiments on the part of his mistress in threatening language, charging them to set their queen at liberty, and restore her to her dignity. Lethington, speaking on behalf of the lords, retorted with warmth, disclaiming all intention of injuring the person or honour of their queen. "So far from it," he said, as his words are given in Throckmorton's dispatch, "that we wish her to be queen of all the world; but now she is in the state of a person in the delirium of a fever, who refuses everything which may do her good, and requires all that may work her harm. Be assured, nothing will be more prejudicial to her interest than for your mistress to precipitate matters. It may drive us to a strait, and compel us to measures we would gladly avoid. Hitherto have we been content to be charged with grievous and infamous titles; we have quietly suffered ourselves to be condemned as perjured rebels and unnatural traitors, rather than proceed to anything that might touch our sovereign's honour. But beware, we beseech you, that your mistress, by her continual threats and defamations, by hostility, or by soliciting other princes to attack us, do not push us beyond endurance. Think not we will lose our lives, forfeit our lands, and be challenged as rebels throughout the world, when we have the means to justify ourselves. And if there be no remedy but your mistress will have war, sorry though we be, far rather will we take our fortune, than put our queen to liberty in her present mood, resolved as she is to retain and defend Bothwell, to hazard the life of her son, to peril the realm, and to overthrow her nobility. For your wars we know them well. You will burn our borders, and we shall burn yours; if you invade us, we do not dread it, and are sure of France; for your practices to nourish dissension among us, we have an eye upon them all. The Hamiltons will take your money, laugh you to scorn, and side with us. At this moment we have the offer of an agreement with them in our hands. The queen your mistress declares she wishes not only for our sovereign's liberty, and her restoration to her dignity, but is equally zealous for the preservation of the king, the punishment of the murder, and the safety of the lords. To accomplish the first, our queen's liberty, much has been done; for the rest, absolutely nothing. Why does not her majesty fit out some ships of war, to apprehend Bothwell, and pay a thousand soldiers to reduce the forts and protect the king? When this is in hand, we shall think her sincere; but for her charge to set our sovereign forthwith at liberty, and restore her to her dignity, it is enough to reply to such strange language, that we are the subjects of another prince, and know not the queen's majesty for our sovereign."

Throckmorton appears to have been astonished at the bold language of Lethington, and, turning from him to the regent, he expressed the hope that he, who had not been banded with these lords, and was no partner to their proceedings, held different sentiments. Murray replied briefly and firmly:—"Truly, my lord ambassador, methinks you have reason at the laird of Lethington's hands. It is true that I have not been at the past doings of these lords, yet I must commend what they have done; and seeing the queen my sovereign and they have laid on me the charge of the regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life."

Throckmorton closed his dispatch, in

which he gave Elizabeth an account of this interview, with a request that, being no longer of any use there, he might be recalled, and the English queen granted his demands; but she directed him to make another appeal to the regent in favour of Mary, and he was to ask to be admitted to an interview with her before leaving Scotland. But this was refused on the same plea as before, namely, that permission to visit the captive queen had been refused to the French ambassador, M. de Lignerolles, and that it would appear invidious to grant it to the ambassador of another power. To the other part of Elizabeth's message, the regent answered in the same spirit as on the occasion of the previous interview; and, satisfied that nothing further was to be done, Throckmorton quitted Edinburgh on the 29th of August.

This same day, Elizabeth had written another letter to her ambassador, which he appears to have received on his way, probably at Berwick. She expressed great displeasure at what she called the rash and peremptory proceedings of the regent and the lords, and directed him to place himself in communication with the Hamiltons, and to assure them that she approved entirely of their endeavours to set their queen at liberty, and that she would give them every assistance in her power. She told him that she had authorized her border warden, lord Scrope, to hold a conference with lord Herries on this subject, and she directed Throckmorton to require lord Scrope, in her name, to favour and aid the Hamiltons in their undertakings.

But the vigour displayed by the new regent soon produced its effect. The attempts of the Hamiltons to embarrass his government were easily defeated, and most of the nobles who had hitherto held neutral, gave in their adherence. The notorious sir James Balfour still held the command of Edinburgh castle, but Murray immediately entered into communication with him, and two days after his accession to the regency, that fortress was delivered into his hands. The terms of this transaction were, however, disapproved by many. Balfour was known to have been a chief agent of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, and he obtained a full remission of all guilt as an accomplice in that crime; he received five thousand pounds in money; and the priory of Pittenweem was granted to himself, and a pension to his son. It must be considered, however, that the castle of Edinburgh was a very important acquisition to the government, and that Balfour had already made his peace with the lords before the appointment of Murray to the regency. Dunbar and one or two other fortresses were still held by adherents of the queen. The former, which was garrisoned by the retainers of Bothwell, was besieged by the regent in person, and soon surrendered; and the Hamiltons abandoned a plan of resistance, which, urged on probably by the encouragement they received from England, they had decided on, and sought their peace. The earls of Argyle and Huntley, the lords Herries, Boyd, and Livingston, and the abbot of Kilwinning, all gave in their adherence to Murray's government; so that by the middle of September, the regent could boast that he had reduced the whole kingdom to peace.

A more difficult affair to manage was the prosecution of the king's murderers. Bothwell's immediate agents in this transaction were persons in general of a comparatively low degree, but some of the most powerful of the nobles, and those leaders in the party who had driven away Bothwell, and thrown Mary into prison, such as Argyle, Morton, and Lethington, had been parties to the earlier bond for killing the king, and were no doubt more or less cognizant of the murder itself, aware probably, or believing, that it was then desired by Mary. To proceed against these noblemen, or to implicate them in any way, would have been absolute madness; it would have been simply to draw the whole of the hostility of the nobles against the regent, and must have resulted in the overthrow of his government, and the return of that anarchy from which he was anxious to save his country. Moreover, these nobles do not appear to have been directly implicated in the murder itself, which was the work of Bothwell and his agents. Murray, therefore, pursued a prudent policy, if not altogether a righteous one, in shielding from inquiry the nobles alluded to, while he prosecuted with vigour the immediate accomplices of Bothwell. This latter nobleman had entrusted to Balfour the keeping of the original bond of the nobles for killing the king, drawn up at Craigmillar, and bearing, among others, the signatures of Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington; and when Edinburgh castle was surrendered, Balfour delivered this important document to Lethington

himself, who immediately committed it to the flames. Soon after, the regent caused several of the reputed murderers to be seized, among whom was John Hay of Tallo, a principal agent in the crime, whose guilt was soon made manifest, and who made a full confession, in which all the particulars of that dark transaction were fully described, and which is said to have implicated some of the nobles. Murray was embarrassed by this circumstance, and he postponed Hay's trial, and for the present suppressed his confession. Hay himself, with the other individuals arrested at the same time, a page of the king's, named Durham, black John Spense, John Blacater, and James Edmonson, all accused of being active agents in the murder, were kept in close imprisonment.

It was the regent who sent Kirkaldy of Grange, with the laird of Tullibardine, in command of three ships of war, in pursuit of Bothwell. This nobleman, as we have already stated, had betaken himself to piracy, and he had tried in vain to raise a party in his favour in the north of Scotland. He would, probably, have been taken but for an accident which happened to the laird of Grange, whose ship, one of the largest in the Scottish navy, ran aground on a sandbank; but in one of Bothwell's ships which Grange captured, was taken Hepburn of Bolton, another of the active agents in the murder. He also made a confession, which threw great light upon the details of the plot for the king's murder, but it was, like the others, concealed for the present.

The kingdom now seemed reduced to a degree of tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger, and no event of importance occurred till the middle of December, when the Scottish parliament met in accordance with the regent's summons. It was now evident that Murray had identified himself completely with the protestant party, and although there were still bishops and abbots in Scotland, only four of the former appeared in their places in parliament. The old church, however, was represented by fourteen abbots, and of the laity there were twelve earls, sixteen lords and eldest sons of lords (or, as they were termed in Scotland, masters), and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs. The proceedings were opened by Lethington, who, in an able speech, a draught of which has been preserved, described the state of the kingdom, and the reasons for thus calling the estates together. He dwelt especially on the rapid progress of the reformation in Scotland, and on the small amount of bloodshed and persecution with which it had been attended, in comparison with what had happened in other countries. "As to religion," he said, "the quietness you presently (*at present*) enjoy, declares sufficiently the victory that God by his Word has obtained among you, within the space of eight or nine years; how feeble the foundation was in the eyes of men, how unlikely it was to rise so suddenly to so large and huge a greatness, with what calmness the work has proceeded, not one of you is ignorant. Iron has not been heard within the house of the Lord; that is to say, the whole has been builded, set up, and erected to this greatness, without bloodshed. Note it, I pray you, as a singular testimony of God's favour, and a peculiar benefit granted only to the realm of Scotland, not as the most worthy, but chose out by his providence from among all nations, for causes hid and unknown to us, and to foreshow his Almighty power, that the true religion has obtained a free course universally throughout the whole realm, and yet not a Scotchman's blood shed in the forthsetting of the whole quarrel. With what nation in the earth has God dealt so mercifully? Consider the progress of religion from time to time in other countries, Germany, Denmark, England, France, Flanders, or where you please, you shall find the lives of many thousands spent before they could purchase the tenth part of that liberty whereunto we have attained, as it were sleeping upon down beds."

The ecclesiastics in this parliament seem to have been in general favourable, more or less, to the reformation, for three of the bishops and seven of the abbots were chosen among the lords of the articles. The first business of the estates was to confirm and sanction Mary's resignation of the crown, the coronation of her infant son, and the appointment of the earl of Murray to the regency. The strong protestant feeling of the parliament was shown in acts abolishing the authority of the pope, and in the solemn ratification of the proceedings of the parliament of 1560. All laws repugnant to the word of God were annulled; the Confession of Faith, approved in a former parliament, was sanctioned and published by authority; all heretics and hearers of the mass were made liable to confiscation of moveables for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third; all who opposed

the confession of faith, or refused to receive the sacraments under the form prescribed by the law, were declared to be no members of the church of Christ; strict rules were given for the examination and admission of ministers; and it was made binding on kings at their coronation, and on all who were appointed to act in their name, that they should take the oath for the support of the true church, and the extirpation of heresy. The proposal to restore the patrimony of the church met with great and successful opposition, and it was with much difficulty that they obtained the restoration of a third of the benefices which had been seized by the lay barons. Acts were passed for reforming all schools, colleges, and universities, and the reformed Scottish or presbyterian church was endowed with the sole power in all ecclesiastical matters.

The subject which caused most debate in this parliament—and which, too, shows that it was in every sense of the word a free parliament,—was the imprisonment of the queen. In a meeting of the privy council, on the 16th of September, the earl of Morton had delivered to the regent the casket with the letters and sonnets, and these appear to have been now produced before the estates. There were barons present of various shades of politics, from those who concurred with the preachers that Mary ought to be tried publicly and put to death, to those who held that princes were answerable for their crimes to God alone, and that their conduct could not be questioned by their subjects, yet we hear of no one who believed in Mary's innocence, or who doubted the authenticity of the letters which criminated her. The moderate party in the parliament appear to have been on this occasion the strongest, and it was resolved simply to continue the imprisonment, and pass an act to exonerate the barons and others who had risen in arms against her. This act, which was ordered to be printed in the statutes, declared the conduct and transactions of the lords, from the 10th of February (the day of Darnley's murder,) to the present time, to be lawful and loyal; and that they should never be subjected to any prosecution for what they had done; inasmuch as, if the queen were placed under restraint, it was solely in consequence of her own fault and demerit, seeing that, by several of her private letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to Bothwell, and by her ungodly and pretended marriage with him, it was most certain that she was cognizant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband.

Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, the trials of the persons arrested for the murder of Darnley were proceeded with. These were Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, George Dalgleish (Bothwell's chamberlain, the same who had been seized with the casket of letters), and William Powrie, another of Bothwell's servants. The confessions of these persons, as far as it was thought proper to commit them to writing, are still preserved. Hay declared that Bothwell had first spoken to him of the intended murder on the 7th of February; that he, Hepburn, and the laird of Ormiston, were, with Bothwell, the chief conspirators; and he described the whole process of carrying in the powder to blow up the king's lodgings, and the assistance they received from Paris, Mary's French servant. He repeated his confession, enlarging and confirming some parts of it, on the scaffold. Hepburn, whose confession was in substance the same as that of Hay, stated that he had been first made acquainted with the plot a day or two after the powder for the blowing up had been brought by Bothwell's orders from Dunbar; when the earl told him, "There is a purpose devised amongst some of the noblemen, and me amongst the rest, that the king shall be slain, and that every one of us shall send two servants to the doing thereof, either on the fields, or otherwise, as he may be apprehended. He said the first plan was to slay the king in the fields, but on further consideration it was determined to blow him up with powder, and that this plan was decided upon on the 7th of February, the very day on which Hay of Tallo was brought into the plot. Hepburn's account of the proceedings connected with the murder was very minute. George Dalgleish declared that he knew not of the purpose of the murder until after it was committed; that Bothwell and the conspirators took him with them, but that he was not made acquainted with their design till after he heard the explosion; and he gave important evidence with regard to Bothwell's subsequent movements before the murder was publicly known. William Powrie stated that he also was only taken into the plot at the moment when the conspirators were starting to put it into execution; but his account of their proceedings is the most minute of them all. The trials of these con-

spirators were hurried through on the 3rd of January, 1568, and they were arraigned, convicted, and executed on the same day.

There can be no doubt that the object of this haste was to screen some of the more powerful of the nobility from being implicated by any further declarations of the criminals, and that whatever they had said to this effect in their former examinations was suppressed. This, at all events, applies to the earl of Huntley, whom at the present moment it was not the interest of the government to offend. He was the first nobleman who was in communication with Bothwell on the night of the murder after it was committed, and we are assured that in the original confession of Hay of Tallo, which was suppressed, this nobleman was accused of having been directly implicated in the murder. With respect to the others, they appear to have been only implicated so far as they had signed the older bond for slaying Darnley. This was all, as far as we know, that is said to have been laid to the charge of Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington, by Hepburn of Bolton.

The calm in public affairs which had lasted during the assembly of parliament, had given Mary's friends time to lay the foundations of new intrigues against the regent, who, by his proceedings in regard to the prosecution of the murderers, had given dissatisfaction to many of those who had hitherto supported him. Many of the extreme party wished to see higher game struck than such men as Hay and Hepburn, and they complained loudly that the regent and his counsellors, moved by selfish considerations, pursued and punished the offenders of low degree, and allowed the principal criminals to pass unpunished. Probably they imagined that several of the nobility were implicated to a greater extent than was really the case; for at a later period, when one of the noblemen against whom the popular suspicions at this time were strongest, had become an object of persecution to the government then existing, and the share he had taken in the murder of Darnley was made a part of his accusation, all that could be proved was that Bothwell had asked him to join in the conspiracy, assuring him that it was the queen's will, and that he had refused, but that he had not disclosed his knowledge of the design. There were many, moreover, who were bitterly disappointed that Mary herself had not been brought to trial. The consequence was, that the capital teemed with satirical poems and pasquinades, and that handbills, accusing the government of unjust partiality, were attached, under cover of night, to the doors of the privy-council chamber, and the house of the regent.

On the other hand, the very virtues of the regent had provoked the enmity of many of the nobles. The catholics hated him for the favour he had shown to the protestants, and it was suspected that he was further desirous of restoring to the reformed church all the property which had been taken from it by the lay nobility. The nobles accused him also of treating them with pride and coldness, while he laboured to conciliate the commonalty; and the firmness with which he suppressed injustice, and enforced the impartial execution of the laws throughout the kingdom, gained him many enemies among those who during the late unsettled times had paid little attention to either justice or law. Personal feuds, also, soon arose, and separated some of the most influential nobles from the interests of the regent, who had not in all cases satisfied their expectations of reward for the zeal they had shown in overthrowing the late government. Lethington, who had received the sheriffship of Lothian, was too fond of intrigue and change to remain long steady in one purpose, and a coolness arose between him and Murray. Morton was to have the office of lord high admiral, held by Bothwell; Kirkaldy of Grange was made governor of Edinburgh castle, in place of sir James Balfour; and lord Hume was made sheriff of Lauderdale. Huntley and Argyle were also courted with indulgences and promises, but they continued secretly to encourage and favour the Hamiltons, who never laid aside their hatred of the regent. Such was the state of things, when an event occurred, which, but for the energy displayed by the regent, would have overthrown everything that had been done.



CHAPTER XV.

ESCAPE OF MARY FROM LOCHLEVEN; BATTLE OF LANGSIDE; MARY ESCAPES INTO ENGLAND.

We hear little of the Scottish queen, in her prison at Lochleven, since the submission of the Hamiltons. Elizabeth's policy seems to have undergone a change, and she had accepted as an established fact the regency of the earl of Murray. All intrigues, therefore, in favour of Mary were discountenanced on her part. From one or two of her letters, which have been preserved, it appears that, in spite of the strict watch which was kept over her actions, Mary contrived to carry on a correspondence with France, and that she was entering into an intrigue with that court for her delivery, the assistance given her for this object being, probably, to be purchased by the re-establishment of the French influence in Scotland. In a letter written to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, on the 31st of March, 1568, she begged him to urge the king, the queen-mother, and her uncles of the house of Guise, to burn her letters; "for," she adds, "if they knew that I have written, it would cost their lives to many, and would put mine in hazard, and cause me to be kept more strictly." In the small circuit of her acquaintance within the walls of Lochleven, she had been exerting all her powers of fascination to gain some of her keepers or attendants to her interest, and it is said that even the proud lady Douglas had become softened towards her, while the queen had gained an unbounded influence over the mind of George Douglas, her younger son. Scandal imputed to Mary a closer intimacy with this youth; but this is certain, that sir William Drury, now Elizabeth's chief agent in the Scottish affairs, gives an account, in a letter of the 2nd of April, of an interview which had taken place in Lochleven a few days before, between Mary and the regent, for whom she appears to have sent. In this interview Mary first complained of the rigour which had been used towards her in the proceedings of the parliament, which he excused on the plea, "that he and the rest of the nobility could do no less for their own surety, in respect they had enterprised to put her into captivity." The allusion, no doubt, is to the act of absolution to the confederate lords, in which the contents of Mary's letters to Bothwell had been stated, and Murray meant that the lords had thought this act necessary for their own justification and protection. "From that," says Drury, "she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the lord of Lochleven. Unto the which the earl replied, that he was over mean a marriage for her grace, and said further that he, with the rest of the nobility, would take advice thereupon."

Discouraged in this matter by Murray's reply, Mary and her admirer concerted an ingenious plan for her escape, which very nearly succeeded. On the morning of the 25th of March, George Douglas, with two of Mary's old servants, Semple and Beaton, concealed themselves in the village of Kinross, on the banks of the lake. It appears that the queen was in the habit of remaining in bed long in the morning, and that her keepers were not accustomed to disturb her until a late hour in the forenoon. On the morning in question, the laundress, who had been gained over by the conspirators, came over to the castle at an earlier hour than usual to fetch the queen's dirty linen, and she was admitted without any suspicion into the queen's bed-room. There she undressed, and Mary, having disguised herself in the clothes of the laundress, and, as was customary, thrown her muffler over her face, passed out unnoticed with the bundle of clothes, and stept into the boat, which was immediately rowed towards the shore. But it happened unfortunately for Mary that the boatmen were in a merry humour, and supposing her to be no more than a washerwoman, and willing to have a joke at her expense, one of them said, "let us see what manner of dame this is," and offered to pull down her muffler. Mary instantly raised her hands to protect herself, and the boatmen observing that they were very fair and white, immediately suspected the truth. Mary, finding herself discovered, declared herself, and with the authority of a queen, she commanded them on peril of their lives to land her on the opposite bank. Instead of obeying, they immediately turned back to the castle, though to pacify her, they promised, if she would steal back to her room,

they would give no information of her attempt to escape. This promise, however, they did not keep; and when the attempt was made known to the government, George Douglas was dismissed from the castle, and Mary's movements were more closely watched.

The failure of Mary's first attempt at escape appears to have given her great chagrin, which was increased by the intelligence of the peace of Longjumeau, between Charles IX. and his subjects, which seemed to cut off all hopes of assistance from France. On the 31st of March she contrived to send a messenger to that country, who was the bearer of the letters already alluded to. In the course of the month of April, the French king sent Monsieur de Beaumont as his ambassador to Scotland, and we know that he passed through Berwick on the 21st of that month, and that he reached Edinburgh the next day. He there learnt that Murray was at Glasgow, where he was engaged in a judicial circuit, for he had lately been obliged to proceed rather energetically against some of the turbulent subjects. Monsieur de Beaumont followed him thither, and presented his letters, one object of which is said to have been to prevail upon the regent to grant some greater indulgence to the captive queen, if not to set her at liberty. Murray replied to the ambassador cautiously, and under pretence of business, put off answering the letters of the French king until the 20th of May. On the 1st of May, Mary wrote from her prison to queen Elizabeth and to Catherine de Medicis, imploring them to assist her in effecting her deliverance. To the latter she represented the discontented state of Scotland, and assured her that if a body of French soldiers were landed in Scotland, the whole country would revolt against Murray and Morton. Several of the lords were indeed at this time strengthening themselves to resist the regent, and the lord Semple especially was gathering his friends at the castle of Dumbarton, which Murray was anxious to get into his possession.

The failure of the first attempt to effect the queen's escape had not dismayed George Douglas, who was now in communication with the Hamiltons, and others of Mary's friends. He established a means of communicating secretly with the queen, and he contrived to secure the services of a page of his mother's, known in the family as Little Douglas, by whose assistance George Douglas at length succeeded in effecting the queen's escape. On the evening of the 2nd of May, as the castellan sat at his supper, with the key of the castle-gate as usual laid on the table beside him, Little Douglas, in placing a plate before him, dropped his napkin on the key, and contrived to carry it away with him. He hurried to the queen, who was ready and waiting for him, and taking a young girl, one of her maidens, and the page with her, she glided quickly through the castle-gate, which Little Douglas locked behind them. Waving a white veil with a broad red fringe, the signal agreed on with her friends, Mary and her companions stepped into the boat, and she herself with her page rowed it across to the shore. When she at last sprung from the boat, she was received by George Douglas, who was walking on the edge of the lake, and they were joined almost immediately by lord Seton and a small escort, who had been stationed on an adjoining hill. Mary now mounted a horse which was brought for her, and she galloped to the Ferry, crossed the Firth, and reached Niddry castle in safety. She had been joined on the way by lord Claude Hamilton, with a body of fifty horse. The queen made a short stay at Niddry, and sent Hepburn of Riccarton to summon the castle of Dunbar, which she imagined would be surrendered to her, and he was then to hasten to Denmark, to inform Bothwell of her escape. This showed at once how little prudence Mary had learnt from her misfortunes. From Niddry the queen and her friends hastened to the castle of Hamilton, where she not only considered herself in safety, but she was within ten miles of Glasgow, where the regent was at this moment, with a very slight escort, and totally unsuspicious of any danger.

From Niddry, Mary had written to France, and sent messengers to some of her principal friends in Scotland to summon them to her assistance. The appeal was quickly responded to, and she was soon surrounded at Hamilton by a considerable body of the nobility; among whom were the earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Rothes, and the lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Herries, Fleming, Ross, and Borthwick. Among others who deserted to her was Robert Melvil, and the French ambassador joined her at Hamilton as soon as he heard of her escape. By the exertions of the lords an army of six thousand men was

assembled. She called a council immediately, and declaring that in all that had lately been done she was acting under compulsion, in which she was confirmed by Robert Melvil, an order of council was drawn up, declaring all the proceedings since the insurrection of the barons to oppose Bothwell, treasonable and of no validity. A bond was then drawn up for the defence of the queen, and her restoration to her crown and kingdom, and it was signed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly a hundred lesser barons. Pardon was offered to all who should return to their obedience to the queen, with five exceptions, the earl of Morton, the lord Lindsay, the lord Semple, sir James Balfour, and Craigmillar, provost of Edinburgh. But when she sent to the earl of Murray, with this order of council, a summons to resign the government into her hands, it was accompanied with offers of forgiveness and reconciliation.

But the regent was neither shaken by the offers of the queen, nor by the alarm which was spreading fast among his own party, but he remained at Glasgow, and summoned his friends to join his standard. When advised to retire from his exposed position, he replied firmly, that to retreat would be ruinous to his cause, for it would at once be construed into flight, and every hour's delay would strengthen the queen and discourage his adherents. The only chance, he said, was to bring the queen's army to a battle, before it was reinforced by the arrival of Huntley and Ogilvy with the forces from the north. He gained a few days by pretending to negotiate, and, then, when he felt that his firmness had produced the intended effect, he issued a proclamation, announcing his determination to support the government of the young king, and declaring all those who had joined the standard of Mary to be guilty of high treason. He was soon surrounded with resolute soldiers. The earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Lennox, and the lord Semple, collecting the forces of the south, arrived in Glasgow by forced marches; the lord Hume, after saving Dunbar from the attempt of Hepburn, joined Murray with six hundred men; the earl of Mar sent both men and cannon from Stirling; the laird of Grange hastened to join the regent with a part of the garrison of Edinburgh castle; and even the citizens of Edinburgh supplied their quota of men. Within ten days after the queen's escape, the regent at Glasgow found himself at the head of not less than four thousand men, and the hostile armies were too near together to admit of a doubt that a serious conflict must soon take place.

The position of Mary was not in all respects agreeable, for in escaping from the hands of one part of her subjects, she had only thrown herself into the hands of another party, who were equally desirous of keeping her in bondage. The views of the Hamiltons, in effecting her escape, were of a selfish character, and Mary seems to have known well enough that their real object was to get the government into their own hands. At Hamilton castle she was entirely under the control of this faction, and she determined to remove from it; but when she expressed a wish to proceed to Dumbarton, the Hamiltons, who perhaps suspected the reason of it, opposed this design strongly, on the plea that the lord Fleming, who had possession of that strong fortress, might be prevailed upon by the party of the regent to deliver her up. She had again dispatched messengers to France and to England, to beg for immediate assistance. The conduct of Elizabeth was at this moment equivocal. Elphinston, Murray's messenger, had been coldly received by the English queen, although her ministers assured the regent of her sympathy; but she sent a messenger herself to congratulate Mary on her escape, and to offer her mediation between the two parties. The French ambassador, Monsieur de Beaumont, appears to have been actively engaged in intrigues to raise up the party of the Scottish catholics.

When the Hamiltons found that their queen was bent upon going to Dumbarton, they determined to hurry on a battle, in the hope of at once crushing their opponents, and by the victory thus obtained, establishing their own power. Advanced posts of the two armies watched a bridge over the Clyde, and there had already been several skirmishes in the outposts. It is said that at this time the French ambassador moved backwards and forwards between the two parties, under pretence of being a mediator, but that in reality he was acting as a spy for the queen; that the reports he made of the inferiority in numbers of the regent's army, made the Hamiltons more resolute for fighting; and that it was with the prospect of an engagement that they agreed to march with her to Dumbarton.

The regent was rejoiced when he was informed of this determination, and he drew

out his forces on the Borough-muir of Glasgow. Well acquainted with the skill and courage of the laird of Grange, who commanded the cavalry, he entrusted to him the arrangements for the battle, which now seemed inevitable; and when this experienced commander, who had already surveyed the ground, learnt that the queen's army was marching towards Dumbarton on the south side of the Clyde, he placed a hagbutteer on horseback behind each of his troopers, and, fording the river, stationed them in the village of Langside, among the cottages and gardens on each side of a lane along which the enemy must necessarily defile. While this was doing, the earl of Morton with the advanced guard, and the regent with the main battle, deliberately crossed the river by a neighbouring bridge, and drew up their men in order of battle on a rising ground behind the village.

The regent had scarcely the necessary time to marshal his army, when the advanced guard of the queen's army, consisting of two thousand men, under the command of the lord Claude Hamilton, made its appearance, and, attempting to defile along the lane through the village of Langside, was received with a heavy fire from the hedges and gardens, which killed and wounded many, and drove the first ranks back in confusion. Confident in their numbers, they soon rallied, and forced their way up the hill, where they found themselves suddenly in face of the advanced guard of the regent's army, composed of the flower of the border pikemen, commanded by the earl of Morton, with the lords Hume and Semple, and others of the bravest of the southern chiefs. As the Hamiltons formed to charge them, the regent's pikemen, in obedience to the voice of the laird of Grange, which was heard distinctly amid the noise of the battle, kept their pikes shouldered until the enemy had levelled theirs, and then pushed on. The battle was here for a short time contested obstinately; and sir James Melvil, who was present, tells us that the pikes of the contending ranks were so closely interlaced together, that when those behind threw their discharged pistols or broken weapons across in the faces of their enemies, they fell upon the crossed pikes, and remained there instead of descending to the ground.

The result was still doubtful, and the right wing of the regent's advance, consisting of the men of Renfrew, was beginning to give way, when Grange, perceiving it, rode back to the main battle, and brought up the divisions under lord Lindsay, the laird of Lochleven, and sir James Balfour, who rushed upon the queen's ranks with so much fury, that they were instantly thrown into irretrievable confusion. The regent himself, who had hitherto remained on the defensive, having repulsed the queen's cavalry, which was much superior to his own, now brought up his division to the attack, and this movement decided the fate of the day. The queen's forces took to flight in every direction, and their terror was increased by the yells of the highlanders under the chief of the Macfarlanes, who rushed in among their broken ranks, and would have committed great havoc, had they not been restrained by the regent, who employed his cavalry in mercifully protecting the fugitives from the fury of his own troops. The battle lasted from beginning to end only three-quarters of an hour.

The regent's victory, though not sanguinary, was decisive. Not more than three hundred of the queen's troops were killed in the engagement, and the regent is said to have lost but one man, though many were severely wounded. Among the latter were the lords Hume and Ochiltree, and Andrew Carr of Faudonside. Among the prisoners taken by the regent were lord Seton, whose life is said to have been saved in the battle by the regent himself, and lord Ross, the heirs of Cassillis and Eglinton, the sheriffs of Ayr and Linlithgow, the lairds of Preston, Innerwick, Pitmilly, Balwearie, Boyne, and Trabrowne, Robert Melvil and Andrew Melvil, two sons of the bishop of St. Andrews, and a son of the abbot of Kilwinning. It was reported that the earl of Argyle, who commanded the queen's army, had been taken prisoner, and suffered to escape. The regent captured ten pieces of brass cannon, which had belonged to the Hamiltons.

In the beginning of the conflict, the queen, attended by the lords Boyd and Fleming, and a suite of about twenty persons, took her station on a hill about half-a-mile from the field of battle, from whence she had a full view of the two armies. She stood anxiously watching the vicissitudes of the fight, until she saw her own army utterly routed by Murray's final charge. Then, in the utmost terror, she turned her horses' head, and taking the road to Dumfries, never stopped till she reached the

abbey of Dundrennan, on the confines of England, not less than sixty miles from the scene of her disastrous defeat. She is said to have been closely pursed during the first part of her flight, and not feeling herself safe even here, she declared, in a brief consultation with the few faithful friends who had accompanied her, and who are said to have opposed her resolution, that she would cross the border and throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth. Amongst her attendants at this time were the lords Fleming, Livingston, and Herries, and the latter had written to the deputy-governor of Carlisle, to inquire if the queen of Scotland might come in safety to that city. But Mary's alarm and impatience were too great to allow her to wait for an answer, and, hiring a fishing-boat, she crossed over the firth of Solway to Workington, a small seaport on the coast of Cumberland. The battle of Langside was fought on the 13th of May, and it was the 16th when Mary arrived at Workington.

From Dundrennan, on the 15th of May, Mary wrote a letter to Elizabeth, telling her in a few words that her rebellious subjects had driven her out of her kingdom, and requesting permission to repair immediately to her presence, and explain in person all that had occurred. The day after her arrival at Workington, she wrote a longer letter to the English queen, in which she threw all the blame of her misfortunes on the ingratitude of her subjects. She told how they had murdered Riccio, how they had subsequently murdered her husband, Darnley, and tried to throw the crime upon her; how, when they took up arms against her at Carberry-hill, rather than be the cause of effusion of the blood of her subjects, she had voluntarily delivered herself into their hands, and they had arrested and imprisoned her; how, by threats of death, they had compelled her to sign an abdication of the crown in favour of her son; how rigorously she had been treated, how she had escaped from prison, and how they had attacked her, and compelled her to seek refuge in England. This letter ended with an urgent appeal to Elizabeth's compassion. "I implore you," writes Mary, "to send to fetch me as soon as you can, for I am in a piteous condition, not only for a queen, but for a gentlewoman. For I possess nothing in the world but my person, just as I escaped, going sixty miles across the fields the first day, and having never since ventured to travel but by night, as I hope to explain to you, if it please you to have pity, as I hope, of my extreme ill fortune."

On the 18th some of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood waited upon the Scottish queen, and conducted her from Workington to Cockermouth, where she was received by Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle. Here a difficulty was raised by the earl of Northumberland, who was one of the great props of the catholic party in England, and had retained a traditionary belief in those old feudal rights which had long ago become obsolete in other parts of that kingdom. The town of Cockermouth was within the domains of the earl, and he demanded, as a right, that the fugitive queen, when she entered that town, should be entrusted to his keeping. But Lowther, as an officer of the crown, resisted this demand, and he conducted Mary, with all respect and honour, to Carlisle. There she was joined by the French ambassador, Monsieur de Beaumont, who was on his way back to France, and a few days afterwards she dispatched lord Fleming, one of the nobles who had accompanied her to England, to lay her griefs before the French court.

The earl of Northumberland, whose conduct had lately made him an object of suspicion to the English government, persisted in his demand, and even attempted to enforce it by obtaining an order to that effect from the council at York. But as soon as Elizabeth received the intelligence of Mary's arrival in England, she sent orders to the sheriffs to treat the Scottish queen and her suite with honour, but to keep a strict watch, and prevent her escape. Immediately afterwards, she appointed the governor of Carlisle, lord Scrope, and her chamberlain, sir Francis Knollys, to wait upon the fugitive princess, and they carried with them letters from Elizabeth, condoling with her on her misfortunes, but evading the demand to be immediately admitted to her presence. The earl of Northumberland, alarmed at the way in which Elizabeth had viewed his conduct, left Carlisle with his friends who had attended him there, "being all unsound in religion," and met Knollys at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. "At the first," Knollys writes to Cecil, "his lordship complained unto me of the deputy-warden's misusage of him, saying that he would not suffer his lordship to repair into the castle to see the queen with any more company than his page, not only to his

dishonour, but as though he had been a stranger and a suspect person. Whereunto I answered his lordship very plainly, that if he sought to take the queen into his own custody, out of the deputy-warden's hands, and that without warrant, as his personal repair to the queen of Scots also was without warrant at the queen our mistress' hands, then did the deputy-warden dutifully and wisely, and his lordship had overshot himself, very much to the discontentation of her highness. Whereunto he answered for the excuse of his repair, that he thought himself bound in duty for the honour of the queen's highness our mistress, to repair into Cumberland, where his land lay, for the defence of the queen of Scots against the pursuit of her enemies. And for his desire to have the custody of the queen, he saith he did desire it not only because the deputy-warden was too base a man to have such a charge, but also because the council of York had given him letters of authority to the sheriff and justices of Cumberland to assist him in that behalf. But I told his lordship that 'although the council of York had forgotten themselves very much, to appoint the assistance of the shire to any other than to the deputy-warden, or to allow of the repair of your lordship to the queen of Scots before her highness' special pleasure known in that behalf, yet nevertheless Mr. Gargrave (the president of the council of the north at York,) utterly denied the giving of authority to your lordship to interrupt the warden in any part of his charge; and he saith further, that your lordship made your repair first, and had their allowance and letter of assistance sent after you, because they understood by your letters that the queen of Scots was arrived at a house of yours, being an inconvenient place for her safety, if her enemies should pursue her.'"

This letter was written at Richmond in Yorkshire, on the 27th of May. Next day Knollys reached Carlisle, having been joined by the lord Scrope on the way, and in a letter, written conjointly to queen Elizabeth on the day following, they gave the following interesting account of their first interview with Mary. "We arrived here at Carlisle yesterday, at six of the clock afternoon, and by the way my lord Herries met us six miles from this town, and after he had discoursed of the lamentable estate of the queen of Scots his mistress, inveighing much against the treasonable cruelty of her enemies, and also saying as much as he could for the innocency of his mistress touching the murder of her husband, the which he said would be easily proved, if the queen his mistress might be heard to speak for herself in your highness' presence, and affirming that he trusted your highness would either give her aid to the chastising of her subjects for her relief and comfort, or else that your highness would give her leave to pass through your country into France, to seek relief otherwhere. Whereupon we answered, that your highness could in no wise like her seeking aid in France, thereby to bring Frenchmen into Scotland, and we doubted your highness could think it meet to receive her so honourably into your presence as your desirous affection and good-will towards her did wish, until your highness might be well instructed and satisfied, by probable reasons, that she was clear and innocent of the said murder, by some such wise man as he that might set forth the same manifestly. Whereupon, and through other conferences private with me, the lord Scrope, he seemed to determine to ride towards your highness for that intent, within a day or twain, which was the thing we specially sought for. And after this, repairing into the castle, we found the queen of Scots in her chamber of presence, ready to receive us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your highness's sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenient arrival, although your highness was glad and joyful of her good escape from the peril of her person, with many circumstances thereunto belonging, and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue, and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto. And after our delivery of your highness's letters, she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bedchamber, where she complained unto us, for that your highness did not answer her expectation for the admitting her into your presence forthwith, that upon declaration of her innocency, your highness would either without delay give her aid yourself to the subduing of her enemies, or else being now come of good-will, and not of necessity into your highness's hands (for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, do remain fast unto her still,) your highness would at the least forthwith give her passage

through your country into France, to seek aid at others princes' hands, not doubting but both the French king and the king of Spain would give her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction. And here she fell into discourse that the cause of the war and disobedient treason of the chiefs of those her subjects, was thereby to keep that which she had too liberally given them, by violence, since through her privy revocation thereof within full age, they could not enjoy the same by laws, and with this she affirmed that both Lethington and the lord Morton were assenting to the murder of her husband, as it could well be proved, although now they would seem to persecute the same. Unto the first part whereof we answered, that your highness was inwardly sorry and very much grieved that you could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into your presence, by reason of this great slander of murder, whereof she was not yet purged. But we said that we were sure that your highness' affection to her was great; that whether her grace could judge herself or not in that behalf, yet if she would depend upon your highness' favour, without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland (the imminent danger whereof your highness could not suffer,) then undoubtedly your highness would use all the convenient means you could for her relief and comfort. And withal we said, that if it would please her grace to direct us thereunto, we would advertise your highness of those her determinations with all speed, upon answer thereof we should be able to declare further of your highness' intent and meaning. Wherewith her grace complained much of delays to her prejudice, and winning of time to her enemies, so that discontentedly she consented herself therewith. Whereupon we took our leave, saying we would dispatch away with all possible speed. Also, the queen of Scots doth presently send up the lord Herries with her letters for speedy resolution."

It is evident that Mary began to suspect that she was to be placed under restraint, and Knollys, in the sequel of his letter, proceeds to give his opinions on the subject. "And now," he says, "it behoveth your highness, in mine opinion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially beause that many gentlemen of divers shires here near adjoining within your realm have heard her daily defence and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemies, very eloquently told, before our coming hither; and therefore I, the vice-chamberlain, do refer to your highness' better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you in the sight of your subjects and of all foreign princes, to put her grace to the choice, whether she will depart back into her country without your highness' impeachment (*hindrance*), or whether she will remain at your highness' devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see how honourably your highness can do for her. For by this means your highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters, that otherwise would blow out seditious rumours, as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining of her ungratefully. And yet I think it is likely that if she had her own choice, she would not go back into her own realm presently, nor until she might look for succour of men out of France to join with her there. Or if she would go presently into her own country, the worse were that peradventure with danger enough she might get into France, and that would hardly be done, if my lord of Murray have a former (*previous*) inkling of her departure thither. And, on the other side, she cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner with your highness' honour, in mine opinion, but with devices of towels or toys at her chamber-window or elsewhere in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the border. And surely to have her carried further into the realm, is the highway to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose."

On the 30th of May Knollys wrote again to queen Elizabeth, detailing another interview with Mary, from which it would appear that his notions of the prerogatives of royalty were more liberal than those of his royal mistress. "This day," he writes, "immediately after dinner, the queen of Scots, before the closing up of her letters directed to your majesty by my lord Herries, in private communication with my lord Scrope and me, fell into her ordinary inveighing against my lord of Murray and his adherents, saying, amongst other things, that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her, but now, saith she, that I am twenty-four years old, they would exclude me from government like disobedient rebels. Whereupon I thought with myself, that if I should not object somewhat to make the matter disputable,

whether the lords of Scotland deposing her from the government (although not by her own inward consent, yet by her subscription), did well or not, that then she would more clamorously be offended with your majesty, if you should not answer her requests according to her expectation; wherefore I objected unto her, that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. In this case good subjects might depose their prince from government, and restrain him from liberty. And, said I, what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering, for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler; wherefore the question is, whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not; for if your grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then, said I, how should they be blamed that have deposed you? Hereupon her grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes. And then I said your highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her grace well purged of this crime, that thereby your highness might aid her fully and amply to the advancement of her grace to her government royal again; for her grace, I said, was your highness' nearest kinswoman on the father's side, and that you were both born in one continent of land, although this separation was between you, that you were not both born in one circuit of obedience. Herewith her grace answered me very courteously, but forthwith she said she must go close up her letters to your highness, and so departed to her bedchamber. Thus far I waded with her grace to make her cause disputable, but when I saw her tears, I forbare to prosecute mine objection, and fell to comforting of her with declaration of your highness' great affection and good-will towards her."

On the 28th of May, Mary had written a long letter to Elizabeth, in answer to the two letters brought by sir Francis Knollys. She made a pressing demand to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, that she might explain and defend her past conduct in person, and announced that she had sent to her the lord Herries, to make such explanations as might be thought necessary. She told Elizabeth that she had forgiven her ungrateful subjects on former occasions merely at her intercession, which had been the cause of all her subsequent misfortunes, and that she therefore felt she had a more just cause to reckon upon her assistance on the present occasion. She appealed, moreover, to her promises of friendship, and assured her that she counted on her aid with so much confidence, that she was now sending lord Fleming to France, to hinder that court from making any demonstration in her favour, in consequence of her reliance upon Elizabeth's assurances. She said that if the queen of England would not help her, then she intended to seek the assistance of foreign princes, without prejudice to England, and she complained that she had been kept a fortnight in a castle, under restraint like a prisoner, without being allowed to go, as she intended, to the queen in person to plead her cause. This delay, she said, was ruining her cause, and she complained in a postscript, that while she was held there inactive, "the gentlemen who called themselves regents and governors," were issuing proclamations for the destruction of her friends and partisans. At the same time, Mary wrote a letter to Cecil, praying him to second the application which she was making to the English queen through lord Herries.

Mary's instructions for France, given to lord Fleming, were dated on the 30th of May. He was to acquaint the French king with the state of her affairs since the departure of Monsieur de Beaumont, and to state that, as she had still hopes that Elizabeth would give her assistance against her rebellious subject, and as the English queen resisted warmly any attempt to bring a French army into Scotland, she wished him to reserve his assistance until it should be her last resource. She said that she was constrained to adopt this policy from the position in which she was then placed. Lord Fleming was to present himself at the court of Elizabeth on his way, and if he saw no hope of assistance there, he was to request the French king to send into Scotland two thousand foot soldiers, with wages for five hundred light horse, and a sufficient quantity of artillery and other munitions of war, to recover the fortresses which had been seized by Murray and his adherents. Mary further stated that, if Elizabeth refused her the assistance she required, it was her intention, if she was not hindered, to proceed immediately to France to lay her case before the king. At all events, she requested the French king immediately to

pay her her pension as queen-dowager of France, which was now three years in arrear, and to send as quickly as possible a supply of provision and munitions of war to Dumbarton castle, which was still in the hands of her friends. Mary stated further, that she had been treated in England with all respect and honour, except that she felt herself almost a prisoner, and she wished that the king of France should thank Elizabeth for her good treatment. She was anxious to stop the sale of her jewels, which she had been told were carried out of Scotland, and she suspected that they had been carried into France. She advised the king to have an eye upon his Scottish guards, some of whom she believed to be in communication with her enemies, and she requested him to allow no Scotchmen to enter France if not furnished with a passport from herself, or some one authorized by her. Finally, he was to represent especially to the French king, that Murray and his adherents were in intimate communication with the French Huguenots, and encouraged them to rebel against the royal authority. At the same time, lord Fleming received separate instructions for the cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he was to show his instructions for the king. Mary implored the cardinal not only to see that the money due to her was all paid, but to add to it for her service, as much as he could collect among her relations of the family of Guise. She warned him especially against treachery on the part of some of the Scots who were employed in France, and she told him that while she was in Lochleven, she had been shown copies of several of the letters which she had secretly sent to her kinsmen in France. He was requested to consult with M. d'Aumalle, who was best acquainted with Scotland, on the munitions of war, and other things necessary to be sent thither, and among the corslets and harness to be purchased for this purpose, he was especially to see that half-a-dozen suits of armour, gilt and richly ornamented, should be sent for presents to some of the lords. She further requested the cardinal to cause especial favour to be shown to some of the lords who were her friends, especially to the duke of Châtelherault and his son, and to send her a service of plate for her own use.

A letter from sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, written from Carlisle on the 11th of June, gives us the estimate he had now formed of Mary's character, and of the difficulties of Elizabeth's position. "The strength of this queen in Scotland," he says, "saving what Frenchmen and French crowns may do there, doth depend, not upon herself, but upon the duke of Chatelherault, for his title, upon whom the lord Herries and many others do depend. And yet this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honours beside the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she commendeth no cowardness even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminish either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised among themselves; so that, for victory's sake, pain and perils seem pleasant unto her; and, in respect of victory, wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment. If her highness [Elizabeth] think it good to stay the coming in of the French into Scotland, if her highness think any peril towards her, if her highness think any princes and potentates, or that any factious subjects may conspire against her, then I am sure she will think it good policy roundly and plainly to assist her own cause, without colours and cloaks that hide no men's eyes but those that are blind, and surely the plainest way is the most honourable, in my simple opinion. I take it an honourable quarrel for her highness to expel the French, and the safest way thereto is to aid and countenance the regent in time. And if the spots in this queen's coat be manifest, the plainer and the sooner that her highness doth reveal her discontentation therewith, the more honourable it will be, I suppose; and it is the readiest way to stop the mouths of factious murmuring subjects."

When this was written, Herries and

Fleming had reached the English court. Lord Herries was presented at the court, then at Greenwich, on the 4th of June, and delivered his letters and message. On the 8th, Elizabeth dispatched one of her attendants, Henry Middlemore, to Carlisle, with a letter to Mary, informing her that she had received assurances of her guilt from such high quarters, that it was inconsistent with her honour to receive her at her court, until she had cleared herself, assuring her at the same time of her sisterly affection, and of the great satisfaction she would have to be convinced of her innocence. Middlemore was to proceed afterwards to Scotland, to carry a message from Elizabeth to the regent. Elizabeth's messenger arrived on the 13th of June, and the same evening Knollys wrote to Cecil, acquainting him with his arrival, and with his presentation to the Scottish queen. "This day," writes Knollys, "at nine of the clock, my lord Scrope and I presented Mr. Middlemore to this queen, and as touching the discourse between them, I leave to Mr. Middlemore's declaration, lest I should disgrace his well-laboured speech, wherein he did very well observe his instructions. But to be plain with you, there is no fair semblance of speech that seemeth to win any credit with her, although she is content to take and allow of this message to my lord of Murray for abstinence from hostilities, because it makes for her purpose to stay her party from falling presently from her, yet she seeth that this cold dealing will not satisfy her fiery stomach, and surely it is a great vanity (in mine opinion,) to think that she will be staid by courtesy, or bridled by straw, from bringing in of the French into Scotland, or from employing all her force of money, men of war, and of friendship, to satisfy her bloody appetite to shed the blood of her enemies. As for imprisonment, she makes none account thereof, and unless she be removed as a prisoner, it seemeth she will not be removed further into the realm, to be detained from her highness' presence. She plainly affirmeth that, howsoever she be detained, the duke of Châtelherault, being heir apparent, shall prosecute her quarrel with the power of the French, and all the aid of her dowry, and even of money by any means to be levied and made for her. Now, she being thus desperately set, it is to be considered whether her highness defraying her here within her realm, shall not thereby able her to employ twelve thousand pounds yearly, being her dowry in France, both against Scotland, and consequently against England, whereas, if she were at liberty, all her dowry would be spent upon her own finding, and the charges that her highness shall be at in defraying of her here will be well employed in Scotland, to the defending and expulsing of the French from thence. But I speak like a blind buzzard, and will therefore leave these matters to you that have judgment."

Mary had written, on the 13th of June, a proud and indignant letter in reply to the last communication from Elizabeth. She protested against Elizabeth's determination not to receive her at her court until she had proved her innocence, which she expressed her confidence in being able to do, although she refused to allow her subjects to be her accusers, upon rather high-strained notions of royal indemnity, which had been on many occasions asserted by Elizabeth herself. She insisted on her right of accusing her subjects, but not of being accused by them; and she insisted that, if Elizabeth did not admit this doctrine, she would allow her to go to other princes who were less scrupulous. She contrasted the manner in which Elizabeth had received the bastard Murray, a rebel and a fugitive, with her treatment of herself, a royal princess in misfortune. She declared that she had rather die, than submit to be brought to a trial with her subjects for accusers and witnesses against her. She complained, above all, of the delay, which, by paralyzing her friends, was favourable to the designs of her enemies. Such was the spirit of Mary's letter, which, it must be confessed, does not show the feeling of conscious innocence which would have led a virtuous woman in Mary's position to desire to face her accusers without delay.

Mary still remained in Carlisle castle, with a certain degree of liberty, though it had, no doubt, been already resolved that she should be removed to some safer place farther in the interior of the kingdom. Knollys, in a letter to Cecil written on the 15th of June, gives the following account of her amusements, expressing at the same time his own apprehensions of an attempt to effect her escape. "Yesterday," says he, "her grace went out at a postern to walk on a playing-green towards Scotland, and we, with twenty-four halberdiers of master Read's band, with divers gentlemen and other servants, waited upon her, where about twenty of her retinue played at football before her

the space of two hours, very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning their fair play. And before yesterday, since our coming, she went but twice out of the town, once to the like play at football in the same place, and once she rode out a hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubting that upon a set course some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden for to rescue and take her from us, we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalf."

The day after this Knollys wrote again to Cecil, "almost at midnight," to acquaint him with some embarrassment which he had experienced with regard to a proclamation relating to the ordering of the borders. "We have sent you here inclosed," Knollys writes, "the copy of the proclamation that was proclaimed this day at noone in this town. The ground and cause of the same my lord Scrope hath written at large. Whereof this queen hearing, was very much offended, and desiring to speak with us, at our first coming, she complained much that by this proclamation my lord Warden seemed to allow my lord of Murray to be regent of Scotland, contrary to the queen's highness' letters and message sent unto her by Mr. Middlemore. Whereunto we answered that her grace did much mistake the proclamation, for therein he was not called regent, by which name he claimed his authority, but he is therein only named governor of Scotland, by which name he claimeth no authority, and therefore this proclamation doth not allow any title or claim of his authority. But whether his title be good or evil, we said, that her grace did well perceive that he is in possession of the government, and that he doth govern. And because that he offereth to answer justice according to the law of the marches, the which being neglected at this present might be two thousand pounds hindrance to her majesty's subjects, besides the murders and robberies that thereupon might ensue, and also because no justice nor order would be answered or kept, nor any damage nor danger to her highness' subjects could well be avoided, until, according to the laws of the marches, Englishmen should be forbidden to receive into this realm the person or good of any Scots fugitives now upon the coming of him that doth govern in Scotland to this border. Therefore, to the end that justice and order might be observed, and yet the allowance of the title and claim of the regent might be avoided, we devised to call him governor, because he doth govern, and to fly (*avoid*) the name of regent, whereby he claimeth his authority. Hereunto she answered, that by this means we should neither please her grace nor my lord of Murray, for neither would he be content to lose the name of regent, neither was she content he should be called governor. We answered that in this case we preferred justice and good order before the pleasing of any party. 'Well,' saith she, 'I see by this dealing that his party is countenanced and mine is disgraced.' 'Madame,' said we, 'he hath none other countenance, in this behalf, than the necessity of justice doth require.' And so we parted. But indeed, if we had not advised ourselves better, the name of regent had been in this proclamation, but I was troubled this last night withal in my bed, and in the morning we altered it to the name of governor, and some other things withal. I am marvellously sorry to hear of my lord Herries' return hither, whose wily head went beyond you, when he got Mr. Middlemore to come hither so soon; for it would cost the regent twenty days' work to finish his business to his advantage; the which being interrupted by Mr. Middlemore, I know not what evil may come thereon. And this lord Herries seeth the bottom both of your doings and ours, and he will stir coals at his coming hither accordingly, neither will there be any end of his perilous practices. But I am not guilty of his return hither."

On the 21st of June, sir Francis, still at Carlisle with the Scottish queen, gave Cecil the following account of another conversation with her, in consequence of her demand for immediate assistance. On this day, an ambassador from the French king, who had come to visit Mary, took his leave, and returned to London on his way back to France. Middlemore had proceeded into Scotland, and was expected soon to return by way of Carlisle. "Well," said Mary to Knollys on this occasion, as he reports the interview, "I will not detain this French ambassador until master Middlemore's coming, neither will I be any longer delayed; for I will require the queen, my good sister,

that either she will let me go into France, or that she will put me into Dumbarton, unless she will hold me as a prisoner. For I am sure,' saith she, 'that her highness will not of her honour put me into my lord of Murray's hands." "Hereby," Knollys remarks, "we might gather that, although she would be put into Dumbarton, that she dare not well go thither of herself, if she were at liberty. And saith she, 'I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also.' And parting from us, she said that if we did detain her as a prisoner, we should have much ado with her. I omit our replies for brevity sake. And touching her prayer, I joined heartily with her that God of his mercy would defend this realm from such troubles, as through our tenderness by her attempts might arise, and her highness (Elizabeth) from such perils as thereof might ensue. But, alas! how can we be safe from troubles, as long as our tender halting on both legs before God and the world, doth hinder our friends that should be our strength, and strengthen our enemies that will be our perils, and doth weaken and unknit some limb or members of the body of our realm from us, and may provoke God's anger against us, that many ways hath been so merciful to us."

At this time, Mary was addressing letters in rapid succession, not only to Elizabeth, but to all her friends, either in Scotland or on the continent, on whom she could reckon for any assistance against the protestant party in Scotland. In more than one, she accused Elizabeth of favouring her enemies, and she insisted on being allowed to proceed to the continent to obtain assistance from the kings of France and Spain. She refused to allow her actions to be judged by Elizabeth's council, but demanded to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, that she might justify herself in her ears. She complained that the countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, was there as her accuser, and she offered to tell Elizabeth something which would destroy that lady's credit with her. This must have been something relating to the countess' intrigues to get Darnley into Scotland, when his marriage with Mary was contemplated. Mary said that it had been reported to her that Elizabeth intended to keep her a prisoner, but this she did not believe, as it would be an outrage to be resented by all sovereign princes. In speaking of her subjects, there was a bitterness of feeling in all she said, which betrayed the fierce and unrelenting spirit of the Stuarts and the Guises. She could now only speak of the earl of Murray as the bastard, and she expressed her surprise that Elizabeth could for a moment listen to accusations against her, made by a man of illegitimate birth. The reason of this is evident. Mary, resting on the immunity of royalty, refused to admit as an accuser any of inferior blood, and as Murray was her brother by the same father, if he had not suffered under the stain of bastardy, he was capable in every respect of being her accuser. On the 21st of June, the day on which the letter of sir Francis Knollys, last quoted, was written, Mary addressed a long letter to Elizabeth, by the French ambassador, in which she told her that she had directed the bearer to inform the king of France of her treatment in England, which was far different from what she had expected. She would not even allow Elizabeth to hold any communication with the Scottish government, as it then existed, on international matters which affected English interests, because it was acknowledging her enemies. Like most of her other letters, this was filled with passionate declamation; she insisted that Elizabeth should at once attend to all her complaints, and that she should merely turn a deaf ear to all who spoke against her; she would be content with nothing short of Elizabeth's sending an army into Scotland, to reduce and destroy all who were opposed to her; and if this were not done, she threatened to call in the aid of the kings of France and Spain. And in conclusion, she demanded again that lord Fleming should be allowed to pass into France, upon urgent business. The same day, she wrote by the French ambassador to Charles IX., informing him briefly of the treatment to which she was exposed, and declaring that the cause in which she suffered was that of the ancient catholic faith. Another, written to Charles's brother, the duke of Anjou, urging him to exert himself in procuring assistance for her; and a third, addressed to her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, was in the same spirit, but longer. In the latter, she accuses Elizabeth more directly of encouraging and assisting her rebels, and of holding her in captivity that she might not be restored to her throne; and she insisted still more strongly on her devotion to the church of Rome, and on her sufferings in labouring

for its support. Next day she again wrote a passionate letter to Elizabeth, occasioned by some intelligence which she had received from Scotland, on the return of Middlemore. On the 26th, Mary wrote again to Elizabeth, expressing her great disappointment at not being introduced to her presence, and filled with bitter reproaches against all that queen's ministers and agents, for holding communication with her rebels. She sent word to Elizabeth by the bearer of this letter, lord Herries, that she would reply to no accusations, otherwise than in a personal interview with Elizabeth; and that she would not stir from Carlisle, to be carried any further into the interior of England. She desired now that lord Herries might be allowed to proceed to France, as that permission had been refused to the lord Fleming, and he was the bearer of letters to the French king, and to the queen-mother. The object of these letters was chiefly to recommend strongly to their favour and protection George Douglas, the same who had exerted himself so successfully for her deliverance from Lochleven, and who now, for some reason or other, was desirous of retiring into France.

It must be confessed, that Mary's letters during this period are very far from showing the conscious innocence of one who was able to clear herself from the dreadful charges which had been brought publicly against her. She refuses, on a plea of very false dignity, to allow accusations to be made against her, and she demands as a right that she should be exculpated on her own simple declaration. At the same time, her own statements are always exaggerated, and sometimes totally untrue; her language is in an extraordinary degree passionate and violent, and the only spirit she breathes is one of bitterest hatred, with an unquenchable desire for vengeance on all her opponents. Elizabeth had refused a passport to the lord Fleming, who, having possession of Dumbarton castle, might have delivered it to the French; and this Elizabeth states herself, in a letter written to Mary on the 30th of June, provoked by the angry letters she had recently received from the captive princess. "I am much astonished," the English queen writes on this occasion, "that you press me so much to let my lord Fleming go into France, and that you had not heard the reply by my lord Herries, which I gave him at his first coming, namely, that, though I don't know myself to be wise, yet I would wish others to think me so; which would hardly be the case, if I permitted the keeper of such a place as he holds (Dumbarton castle) to go thither, it being too well known to be the only fort at this time where the French may enter, who have not been used to come so much to aid Scotland as to injure England, and who would be glad to use the shadow of your misery for that purpose. That made me declare the same reason to the ambassador of the king my good brother, praying you to have some good consideration of me, instead of thinking always of yourself." Elizabeth made a brief reply to Mary's complaints, concerning the mission of Middlemore, and then continued:—"After I had read your letters, my lord Herries came to say two things, which seemed to me very strange; one, that you would not answer [any accusations,] except in my presence; the other, that, unless force be used, you will not stir from the place where you now are, except you have licence to come to me. Your innocence being such as I hope, you have no need to refuse answering any noble personage whom I should send you; not to answer judicially (which is not required,) but only to assure myself by your answers, not making them to your subjects (a thing which I should never think befitting,) but by communication to me, to tell me your defences, that I may testify them to everybody, and in the first place to satisfy myself, which is the thing I most desire." With respect to changing her place of residence, Elizabeth reminded the Scottish queen that when she first came into England, she left this entirely to her discretion. She told her that she had no intention of doing anything to injure her, and that it was her wish to keep lord Herries in England, as a convenient and useful medium of personal communication between them. This was an ingenious evasion of the demand to give him a passport for France. She promised, however, that the lord Fleming should be allowed to go into Scotland, on assurance being given of his speedy return to England.

On the 5th of July, after receiving this letter, Mary wrote another passionate appeal to Elizabeth's sympathy. She complained of the delay in rendering her assistance, and protested strongly against Elizabeth's determination to remove her into the interior of England. She refused to make any answer to the accusations of her enemies, or to justify herself in any way before any

commissioners sent by the English queen, although she was ready to justify herself in person to Elizabeth herself. She gave answer that lord Fleming should return from Scotland on the first summons from Elizabeth, but she begged that Elizabeth would send away lord Herries; and she threatened that if, in the cause between her and her subjects, Elizabeth did not at once yield to her just demand, she would make her appeal to foreign princes, and that no consideration, even if it were the risk of her own life, should hinder her from giving orders to the governor of Dumbarton to place that castle in the hands of her foreign allies. Lord Fleming, in the mean time, had returned to Carlisle, and he was sent thence by Mary to Scotland, with a letter to the earl of Argyle, written on the 7th of July, with whom he was to communicate as the leader of her party in Scotland.

It had now been resolved by Elizabeth and her council that Mary should be removed to Bolton castle, in Yorkshire. When this determination was first communicated to the Scottish queen, it led to a violent scene between her and her keepers. In the afternoon of the 7th of July, Knollys wrote to Cecil, acknowledging the receipt of another letter from Elizabeth to Mary. "I received," he says, "your letter of the 2nd of July, together with her highness' letter directed to this queen, this morning at four of the clock, whereby you may perceive that the posts make but slow speed, howsoever it chanceth. I could not deliver her highness' letter to this queen until it was almost eleven of the clock; and although she seemed at the first that this her highness' letter did not press her to remove, otherwise than the others afore had done, whereupon I thought we should have fallen into a new contention, yet in a while she seemed not greatly to repugn or deny to remove hence upon Monday or Tuesday next, before which time she looks to have answer to her last letter written to her highness, but how this mood will hold we know not. My lord Scrope, and divers of our company here, do think that our earnest contention in my last letters partly specified, and our determination of refraining of all intelligences from her unless she would remove, and our free offers in that behalf if she would remove, have made her more pliant herein than otherwise she would have been; so that we trust we shall remove her hence upon Tuesday next towards Bolton castle, according to her highness' pleasure. We marvel that we hear not of Mr. Skipworth's coming with the horses, nor yet of the letter. Yesterday, this queen, among other words, fell into this speech, that although she were holden here as a prisoner, yet she had friends that would prosecute her cause; 'and,' saith she, 'I can sell my right, and there be that will buy it, and peradventure it hath been in hand already.' Whereby she made me to think of your information touching the cardinal of Lorrain's practice between her and the duke of Anjou. But whether she spake this *bonâ fide*, or to set a good countenance of the matter as though she could do great things, I cannot tell. She doth also give out to the followers of her part great assurances in words of aid out of France before the midst of this next August." Five days after the date of this letter, Mary drew up and signed a document appointing the duke of Chatelherault lieutenant-general of Scotland, and authorizing him to proceed against her rebels, and especially to revenge the death of her husband Darnley. To support this new stratagem for drawing sympathy to her party, she made the strange declaration, that it was her rebellious subjects who had murdered Darnley, and that they now held his and her son in captivity, in order to murder him when he had come of age.

After much trouble, and passionate remonstrance on her part, Mary was at length prevailed upon to quit Carlisle on the 13th of July, under the escort of sir George Bowes, and she reached Bolton on the 15th of the same month. On the 16th sir Francis Knollys wrote to Cecil as follows:—"We received your letter of the 12th hereof, on Wednesday night very late, at Wharton, and we arrived here at Bolton castle with this queen yester-night, one hour after sunsetting. And since our departure from Carlisle with her, she hath been very quiet, very tractable, and void of displeasant countenance, although she saith she will not remove any further into the realm without constraint. The which removing will easier be done, if it be taken in hand by better personages than we are. There hath been no repair unto her by the way, as might have been looked for; the which repair was abridged by our sharp dealing with one Christopher Lascelles, coming to Carlisle out of Yorkshire about three weeks past, of purpose to see this queen, and because we understood him to be a lewd practiser and

arrogant papist, and also to have been aforetime in displeasure for practising with this queen; therefore, after that he had confessed, that he came of purpose to see the queen, dwelling in Yorkshire, and that he had been in trouble for her cause, we first declared unto him that no subject of the queen's highness ought to honour another prince with his presence in form of visitation or welcoming the same, without commission or conduction of some of his superiors, and then we chose this ill man to disgrace for an example, in this sort. We appointed Mr. Morton to return with him to his lodging, and to accompany him until he had made him ready to ride with speed, and had seen him out of the town-gates homewards again, without seeing of this queen, as his intent was." Knollys then proceeds to state:—"This house appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately, after the old manner of building, and is the highest walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance thereunto; and half the number of these soldiers may better watch and ward the same than the whole number thereof could do Carlisle castle, where Mr. Read and his soldiers, and Mr. Morton and Mr. Wilford, took great pains, and my lord Scrope also was a late watcher. The band was divided into five parts, so that the watch and wards came about every fifth night and every fifth day, of the which watch and wards we had five governors; the first was Mr. Read, and William Knollys, for his learning, accompanied him; the second was Mr. Morton; the third was Mr. Wilford; the fourth was Barret, Mr. Read's lieutenant; and the fifth was West, his ensign-bearer, a very sufficient and careful man also. This queen's chamber at Carlisle had a window looking out towards Scotland, the bars whereof being filed asunder, out of the same she might have been let down, and then she had plain grounds before her to pass into Scotland. But near unto the same window we found an old postern-door, that was dammed up with a rampier of earth of the inner side, of twenty foot broad and thirty foot deep, between two walls; for the commodity of which postern for our sally to that window with ready watch and ward, we did cut into that rampier in form of stair with a turning about down to the said postern, and so opened the same, without the which device we could not have watched and warded this queen there so safely as we did. Although there was another window of her chamber for passing into an orchard within the town wall, and so to have slipped over the town wall, that was very dangerous; but these matters I can better tell you at my return, upon a rude plat that I have made thereof. Now if you like well of our removing of this queen hither, then I pray you consider that your cold assistance in backing of us to the achieving of this enterprise, that had so many difficulties therein, is worthy of no praise at all; but, although a fool's bolt be soon shot, yet I dare not tell you all that I think herein. Now I trust you will return us home forthwith, because I see no reason nor grounds of my staying here any longer; for as touching the defraying of the charges, Vernon the clerk here being a sufficient careful and honest man, having his proportion set down almost certain (which will be partly abridged by my departing hence), will easily discharge his duty in that behalf. And so I pray your help, that either I may serve as a cypher in algrim (*arithmetic*) at the court, I mean, to occupy a place there, or that I may be dismissed to the cart, which is fitter for me." Sir Francis adds, in a postscript, "The charges of removing of this queen hither was somewhat the larger, because we were driven to hire four little cars, and twenty carriage-horses, and twenty-three saddle-horses, for her women and men; the which was well accomplished upon the sudden, to her commodity and satisfaction."

The strength of Mary's party consisted of wild borderers, who were ready to do anything for plunder, and were not very scrupulous as to whom they attacked. It seems that when they received her directions to make war on her enemies, they took the queen of England for one of them, and that the English border suffered in consequence. As the border had been unusually quiet under Murray's government, Elizabeth was especially offended at the hostility of Mary's friends, and she wrote a letter to that purpose to sir Francis Knollys. Later on the same day on which the preceding letter was dated, Knollys wrote again to Cecil as follows:—"I trussed up the packet herewith inclosed yesternight late, to have been sent away this morning, and after that, at one of the clock after midnight, came your packet of the 12th hereof; and according to her highness' letter, at nine of the clock this morning, before the queen was ready, having access unto her, I declared to her grace what offences her highness had conceived by

hostile enterprises of her party. Whereunto she answered, that her party was appointed to gather and assemble before my lord Herries' coming, to defend themselves and to impeach the parliament, and that my lord Herries' coming unto them was no assurance that my lord Murray would not by parliament confiscate them, and execute the prisoners that were in his hands, until her highness' letter came unto her grace, affirming that nothing should be done in that parliament prejudicial to her or her party. Immediately after the receipt of which letter, she saith that she sent a special man to my lord Herries, and to the rest of her party, for the due observation of her highness' pleasure; and saith, her party will be quiet according, notwithstanding their gathering of forces. But she saith her adversaries, namely, my lord of Morton's own servants (ten days since my lord Herries' coming home,) have spoiled the lord Skarling's brother of sixty head of beeves and of other cattle, the which my lord Herries warranted to be returned from the border to the said lord Skarling's brother's house, not far from Edinburgh, without spoil, since her highness has ordered hostilities to cease. And as touching the extract of Mr. Drury's letter, she saith she wrote from Carlisle to her borderers of Teviotdale and of the east marches, authorizing them to annoy her adversaries in Scotland only. And since my lord Herries' coming, she saith that she hath willed them to cease hostilities; but she saith it is hard for her to rule thieves at this present. She sendeth Borthwick now to her highness, and she hath written presently to my lord Herries again for stay of her party from all hostilities; and she hath desired me to write to him also. But my lord Scrope presently going to Carlisle (for the accomplishment of her highness' pleasure, as occasion serveth,) will admonish him sufficiently herein. As for the matters of Scotland, I refer them to God's providence, as too intricate matters for me to deal withal. But yet surely I must never command this queen's policy, her ready wit, and her constant courage in all seasons. At our first coming to Carlisle, she fed and comforted her party with hope of aid out of France, with familiar, loving, and hearty letters and messages, and with remembrances of her rewards to be gratefully bestowed to her assured friends, according to her accustomed liberality; and to the Hamiltons privately she did dedicate herself, as in whom she had her whole delight and trust. And to such as she would fain have to be her friends, she made them believe they were her friends in heart, howsoever they were drawn away otherwise. And when she saw that her daily conferences and comfortings should cease by her coming from Carlisle, then she gave out that her coming thence was for the best, and that her highness would do for her, howsoever her council was disposed. And to make the Hamiltons sure unto her, she made an instrumental writing, assigning thereby the duke of Châtelherault to have her whole authority until her return unto Scotland. And in this mean time she plied her highness with thunderings and great countenances, although with grateful conditions and promises; and at the last my lord Herries' message hath been set forth with such a triumphant blast, that it hath shaked a great many in Scotland to her side, so that it seemeth the countenance of England swayeth the realm of Scotland at this day. Nevertheless this queen, like a wise prince, máketh semblance to her highness, and would persuade us how that this continuance and increase of her party in Scotland is of mere dutiful love they do bear unto her; but she knoweth all their humours and discovereth all the particular causes of such as have or do stand with her, and who be merely hers assured for her own sake, who for the French sake, who for the Hamiltons' title and cause, and who be observers and followers of time."

While Mary was still at Carlisle, she had drawn up a long appeal against her subjects, addressed to all the princes of Christendom. An Italian translation of this extraordinary document, found in the archives of the Medicis at Florence, was published by prince Labanoff, in his collection of Mary's letters; and the original, in French, preserved in the national library in Paris, has since been printed in the collection of M. Teulet. It is filled with statements that are contrary to the truth, and shows that Mary, in order to produce the effect she wanted, was not scrupulous in misrepresenting facts. The principal object of her animosity in this manifesto was the earl of Murray. She declared that her brother had never ceased from stirring up troubles in Scotland from the time he was merely prior of St. Andrews, before the death of her mother, the queen-regent, to that in which she was writing, and that his aim from the beginning was to usurp the autho-

rity of the crown, "whatever hypocrisy or dissimulation he might use to colour his designs." She said that within eight months he had attempted three different times to obtain possession of her person, but having failed in them all, he had come each time to throw himself at her feet, and she had freely granted him pardon and remission. Finding that he could not succeed by force, he had determined to accomplish his design insidiously, and had employed his ministers to preach against her as an idolater, and thus to render her odious among her subjects. At length he invented a means of effecting her ruin. This was to murder her husband in such a strange fashion, that the crime might afterwards be thrown upon her, who, having no suspicion of their treasonable designs, "gave them express charge to inquire into the fact, in order to pursue the criminals by all means." It was not to be wondered at, Mary observes, "that they were so slow in pursuing the offenders. However, she goes on to state, they now became alarmed lest, in her eagerness to discover the murderers, their own guilt might be brought to light, and therefore they contrived another means for their own protection, which was, to ally themselves with Bothwell, whom they hated mortally, and to persuade him to carry her away, and force her to marry him, and then, when all this had been effected according to their desires, they took up arms against Bothwell, under pretence of rescuing her from him. A few, believing what they said was true, and that they really took up arms for her good, joined them, and they first attempted to surprise her with the earl in Borthwick castle, but she escaped thence to Dunbar. The earl of Murray's friends then gathered more forces, under pretence of delivering the queen's person from restraint; and she then called together a few of her subjects in arms, and went out to meet the rebels in the field. Anxious, however, to avoid any shedding of blood, she entered into a parley with her opponents, and upon their declaration that their only object was to procure her freedom, and that if she went among them they would receive her as their queen, she condescended to dismiss her own troops, and trusted herself to them. But they, instead of keeping their faith, threw her into prison in a castle in the midst of a lake, where they permitted none of her friends to visit her, alleging that she was guilty of the death of her husband. They then seized all the castles and possessions of the crown, as well as her own goods and jewels, turning them to their own particular advantage, and to the establishment of their tyrannical usurpation, under cover of which they crowned her infant son king, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom. "By this act," says Mary, "they declared plainly that the queen, their sovereign lady and princess, is innocent of the crime for which they say they imprisoned her, inasmuch as, if she had committed treason (as they had the temerity to allege,) because of the murder of her husband, how could they make her son king? or by what means could he succeed her? since the kingdom could only appertain to him because of her, and not of his father, who, in this respect, would only be recognised for a foreigner, a natural Englishman, or else the subject of this lady, in consequence of her majesty having restored his father, the earl of Lennox. In this they were too wise to deceive themselves, and it must not be supposed that they are ignorant of what they are doing; for their object is merely to blind the people for a short time, and, after the queen shall be set aside, reject her child, alleging against him the crime pretended to have been committed by his mother, and then openly avow the designs they at present conceal." Having settled all this, the rebels threatened her with death, unless she signed her name to acts justifying and confirming all they had done, and they obtained her signature by force, against her will. The earl of Murray was at this time in France, where he had gone during the breaking out of the conspiracy, in order that he might seem to have no share in it; thus, by taking all suspicion from her mind, he imagined, that having no distrust in him, she would the more easily fall into his power, while he would make the people believe that he had no hand in the cruelty practised towards her, and that he accepted the regency only for the good of the kingdom. In order more effectually to palliate his conduct, he pretended, on his return, immediately after the deed had been accomplished, to make some difficulty in accepting the regency, until he had had an interview with her, to have her free consent from her own mouth. He accordingly visited her in Lochleven, and there, when she did all she could to call him to his duty and dissuade him from accepting the regency, he threw off the mask, and replied

that he had already accepted the office, and that it was too late for him to withdraw. "See," remarks Mary, "how by this second act they themselves declared her majesty innocent of the pretended crime. If she had committed the treason of which they impudently accused her, what value could there be in the subscription which they had extorted from her? And having, as they have, acknowledged her majesty innocent, they must not think by such subscription to authorize their proceedings, seeing that it was obtained by force, against the will of her majesty, and by fear of her life." Mary then goes on to give an equally untrue account of the meeting of the estates; she says that the attendance was very small, that the majority of the nobility kept away, and that most of those who were there were favourable to her, but they were overawed or deceived by her enemies. She had offered to make her defence before the assembly, but they had refused to hear her, and the consequence was, that they had confirmed their own authority, justified themselves, established "their religion," and abolished under pain of death "the ancient and catholic faith." "This fine parliament being finished," they pretended to seek and pursue diligently the murderers of her husband. If they had done this as they ought, they would have proceeded against not a few among themselves; conscious of which, they had only seized some five or six poor individuals, who, even on the scaffold, acquitted her majesty of all concern in the murder, and laid it to the charge of the rebellious nobles themselves, "which placed the innocence of her majesty entirely beyond doubt." Still they kept her in prison, and they had several times subsequently resolved to put her to death, but not daring to proceed to so great a crime, they had offered to restore her if she would relinquish the catholic religion, which she refused to do, even at the risk of losing crown and life. At length she made her escape, and then all her nobility flocked around her, and her enemies were left in very small number. She, having pity on their errors, and wishing by all means to spare the blood of her subjects, sent the French ambassador to them to offer them an unconditional pardon if they would submit and become faithful subjects. This offer they refused, declaring that they would stand by the acts of the late parliament. Still wishing to avoid the effusion of blood, she determined to remove to the castle of Dumbarton, where she might remain in safety, until she had by peaceful means reduced her kingdom to order and obedience. "But being on her road, and having a river between her and her rebel subjects, they kept pace with her march on the other bank, with four hundred hagbutteers besides their other men of war, her majesty having but sixty, and killed several of her majesty's people, and at last put her to such a strait that she was obliged to change her design and take another road. And subsequently, seeing that she could not well gain a place to remain in safety within her realm, her majesty, with the advice of her council, thought that it would be most expedient that she should pass into England, in the expectation that the queen of the said country would give her support and favour, as well for the proximity of blood between their majesties, as for the unjust and cruel manner in which the said lady the queen of Scotland was treated by her rebel subjects, and that the example of such a thing regards not only the queen of England, but also all other christian princes."

Such is the unfaithful statement of events which Mary now made in order to obtain sympathy on the continent. In the sequel she told of her arrival in England, and of her disappointment in not receiving immediate assistance from Elizabeth; and she appealed to the hatred which all sovereign princes must feel towards rebellious subjects, to the alarm they must experience in beholding the example of successful insurrection in another country, to their zeal in support of the church of Rome, to their sympathy for the sufferings of an unfortunate princess, and to every other feeling which should excite them to take up arms and hasten to her assistance. Mary had entirely deceived herself with regard to the effect this appeal was likely to produce; most of those to whom it was addressed were acquainted with the facts, and though they would willingly have obtained her liberty, they were too well convinced of her imprudence to risk their interests for her.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH COURT; INTERFERENCE OF ELIZABETH.

It may not be uninteresting to review the conduct pursued by the court of France at this important period of Scottish history, as it is developed to us in the diplomatic correspondence published by M. Teulet. It is evident that, from the first, Mary had no right to count on any vigorous assistance from Charles IX.; and we have every reason to believe that he and the queen-mother gave no credit to her protestations of innocence. They were too well acquainted by their own agents with the events which had recently occurred in Scotland, to be deceived by the false colouring which she had given them in her statements, but still they seem to have been anxious to obtain her release from her detention in England. In several of her letters, Mary expresses a desire to know what had become of her jewels, which had been seized on her imprisonment in Lochleven. We find that they were carried to England, and it appears that they were purchased by Elizabeth. After the news of Mary's escape from Lochleven had reached France, Catherine de Medicis wrote to the ambassador in England, Monsieur de la Forest, directing him to buy for her at least a portion of these jewels; and in a subsequent letter, written on the 21st of May, she expressed her satisfaction at learning that they had been bought by Elizabeth; and told him that if she had obtained them herself, and supposed that Elizabeth wanted them, she would immediately have sent them to the English queen. On the 21st of May, the day when this last letter was written, M. de la Forest gave the French king the first information of the arrival of the queen of Scots in England, and stated his suspicions that she would be retained there as a prisoner. Next day he further informed the king that, when the first news of Mary's arrival in England reached London, Elizabeth had called together her council, and stated her wish to receive the fugitive in the most honourable manner and give her support, but finding that the great majority of the council were of a contrary opinion, she left the question to their further consideration, until some of the absent members of the council arrived, and she would have a fuller meeting, having summoned especially the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel and Leceister. The ambassador at the same time seemed to think that the policy already advocated by the majority of the council would prevail. Two draughts of a letter from the French king to the earl of Murray at this time, which have been preserved among the state papers in the national library in Paris, show us the selfishness of the policy of the French court. The letter itself was a reply to one from the regent of Scotland, dated on the 22nd of April, and the king expressed to him the "very great pleasure" he had had "to hear of the king, my good brother, as well with regard to his health, as to the good and great hope you give me of his good bringing up, and of what, at his present age, he promises for the future. Wishing to advertise you on my part that I will diminish in nothing the alliance, good friendship, and confederation, which has existed so long between the king his predecessors and mine, and that, in what concerns the conservation of his crown and state, and the maintaining of our friendship, I will omit nothing of all that you can and ought to hope from me, and even for your own particular in what you would require of me, as I have given charge to the gentleman, the bearer of this, to tell you more particularly on my part." The second draught of this letter, which was no doubt the one sent, was written after Mary's escape from Lochleven, and perhaps after her flight to England, and is expressed with much more caution. The words, "the prince of Scotland," are substituted for "the king, my good brother," and "the kingdom of Scotland" for "his kingdom and state." In the first draught there is no allusion to Mary, but in the second the promise to grant anything required by the regent for his own "particular,'' is followed by the words, "praying you also not to forget to do for the queen, my good sister, what you promised me at your departure, and that she may experience the friendship and good will which I bear to her, procuring that she may be at liberty, and in all respect as she was before her detention; and in doing this

you will do a thing which I shall receive with singular pleasure." It will be seen at once, that even in the amended letter the intercession in favour of Mary is too cold to be sincere.

On the 3rd of June, the French king's envoy, Monsieur de Montmorin, arrived in London, and soon afterwards Elizabeth gave audience to him, and to M. de la Forest, when she appeared undecided in her intentions towards the royal fugitive, and promised them another audience in a few days. On the 12th, she again called the two ambassadors before her, and told them that it was her earnest desire to treat Mary in every respect as her good sister and old friend, and that "nothing displeased her so much as that she could not act in this matter according to her desire and affection, nor as the dignity of the said lady of Scotland and their relationship required. That she knew that at that moment she (Elizabeth) was regarded by all the eyes of Christendom, and that, if she should in this matter, exceed the necessary prudence, she should be calumniated by all; adding afterwards divers discourses concerning the said lady of Scotland, and more on the charges against her than on her defence, on which we rereplied, the said sieur de Montmorin and I, remonstrating what appeared to us most suitable in excusing of the said lady. Then she fell upon the means she had to restore her to her kingdom, saying that she thought she had then quite as great as any other prince in Christendom, and that already the regent caused it to be reported that he was willing to refer the matter to her, and that to that purpose she would employ all her power, but that nevertheless it was an affair which might take some length of time. In conclusion, sire, we were not able to obtain from this lady any final answer, or any one which could give us light or knowledge of what she intends to do with the queen of Scotland." On the 19th of June, M. de la Forest informed the French king that preparations were making for the ultimate reception of the queen of Scots at Tutbury, where she would be placed under the surveillance of the earl of Shrewsbury, and he announced the arrival in London of Mary's two agents, the lords Herries and Fleming, and gives an interesting description of the audience accorded to the former. Lord Herries spoke aside with Elizabeth, telling her that his mistress thought it strange that they should wish to take her to the castle of Tutbury, at a distance from her country, and from all the high roads, where she could have no facility for obtaining news, either from her country, or from her relations or friends, and that this was not in accordance with the promises which Elizabeth had so often made in former times, on the strength of which she was come into England, "where if she had expected to have such treatment, she would rather have chosen to remain in Scotland, with all the worst fortune and condition in the world." Elizabeth, turning to her courtiers, beckoned Cecil, the marquis of Northampton, and other members of her privy council, to approach, and desired lord Herries to repeat in their presence what he had just said. When he had done so, she told him aloud, that it was her intention to take in hand the cause of the queen her sister, and that she was resolved to restore her to her country and to her former degree and royal authority, either by an appointment and reconciliation, which she would try to effect between her and her subjects, or by force. And for this purpose, she said, she would require the earl of Murray to send to the English court some one on his part, naming the lord Glencairn, and that in the same manner, the queen her sister might send whoever seemed good to her, who, as deputies, should state to her the differences on both sides, in order that she might the more easily reconcile them. Lord Herries thereupon replied, that he did not suppose Elizabeth would undertake to be judge between the queen his mistress and her subjects, seeing that his said mistress was a sovereign as much as Elizabeth. "But," said Elizabeth, "I think that the queen my sister will not be ill-advised in following my council and advice in this matter, which will only be for her good and utility." Lord Herries then proceeded to urge that the earl of Murray was neither a king nor a prince, that he should be permitted to send ambassadors, and he suggested that, as he and Morton had been the principal offenders against their sovereign, they should be required to take the trouble to come to England, and answer for themselves in person. "That will be much better," said Elizabeth, "and to-morrow I will write to them to that effect."

In the course of the conversation which followed, the lord Herries referred to the murder of the king, and said that the persons who now usurped the power in Scotland, were

the authors of it, and that Mary was ready to declare as much. Here Elizabeth took him up sharply, and asked lord Herries if he were willing to proceed aginst them for the murder. Lord Herries replied, in a spirit which certainly did not show a consciousness of innocence, that he was not prepared for this, but that if the others brought the matter forward, they should have an answer.

The French ambassador makes no remark on this conversation, but on the 24th of June, in a letter to Catherine de Medicis, he intimated an opinion that some sinister designs were concealed under the frequent changes of council at the English court, and at the same time he expressed suspicions of the fidelity of lord Herries, whom some of the English courtiers were trying to gain over to the party of the regent. On the 11th of July he informed his king of Mary's reluctance to leave Carlisle, and of her fruitless message to Elizabeth to obtain a delay; and he added that the English queen still professed her good and friendly intentions towards the fugitive princess. M. de la Forest expresses in this letter his own conviction that Elizabeth did mean well, and that it was her intention not to allow anything to be done or said to Mary's dishonour, but he thought that under one excuse or another she would keep her in her hands as long as she could, and that she would endeavour to fatigue and weary both parties by slow negotiations and delays. "I have," he says, "communicated to the said lady of Scotland freely what I judge here of her affairs, and that it was necessary that for a time she should have patience, waiting till so many troubles, as exist at this moment throughout Christendom, be somewhat calmed and composed. And, to say the truth, sire, she is here in greater safety for her person and with much less of indignity than she would be at present in the castle of Edinburgh, which they consider the better place, with all those who say they will fight for her, there is so little steadiness and trust in those of that nation." We can trace in this correspondence no wish to intercede or remonstrate vigorously in Mary's favour, and her partisans began to look for more assistance from Spain, and entered into correspondence with the duke of Alva.

Meanwhile the hostilities between the two parties had continued in Scotland. After the flight of the queen, and the entire dispersion of her adherents at Langside, Murray marched with a considerable force to the north, and soon crushed all outward show of opposition. The castles of Hamilton and Draffen had fallen into his hands. On his return to Edinburgh, he made preparations for a parliament, which was soon to meet and proceed against the opponents of the government on the charge of treason. At the same time he turned his attention towards England, and, informed of the accusations made against him and his friends by Mary, he dispatched in all haste his confidential servant, Wood, to the court of Elizabeth, to declare his willingness to repair thither directly, in company with the earl of Morton, to make their defence, and he confidently offered to surrender himself as a prisoner in the Tower of London, if he did not prove satisfactorily that Mary was guilty of the murder of her husband.

This offer on the part of the regent was highly acceptable to Elizabeth. She was at this moment embarrassed as to the course she should pursue; it was evidently the interest of protestant England to support Murray's government, and to retain Mary in captivity, but to do this there was a necessity for some justification. On the other hand Mary was a sovereign princess, and Elizabeth's notions of royal prerogative were so high that she could with difficulty reconcile herself to any course which would seem to acknowledge that a sovereign was responsible for his personal conduct to his subjects. Mary herself had talked loud of vindicating herself to the English queen, but she understood by this that her vindication was to go no further than Elizabeth's ear, that her own statements were to be taken without subjecting them to examination, or admitting any counter-statement or evidence; she imagined at the worst that Elizabeth would restore her to her crown by an inquiry so regulated as to criminate her subjects, without permitting them to reply, and it was with this idea only that she had offered to submit to Elizabeth's judgment. Tytler, in spite of his strong prejudice against Elizabeth, has placed her position at this moment in, I think, a fair light, when he tells us that "it is impossible not to see the difficulties by which she was surrounded; the party which it was her interest to support, was that of Murray and the protestants; she looked with dread on France, and the resumption of French influence in Scotland; within her

own realm, the Roman catholics were unquiet and discontented, and in Ireland constantly on the eve of rebellion—if such a word can be used to the resistance of a system too grinding to be borne. All these impatient spirits looked to Mary as a point of union and strength. Had she been broken by her late reverses, had she manifested a sense of the imprudence by which she had been lately guided, or evinced any desire to reform her conduct, or forgive her subjects, who had risen against the murderer of her husband more than against herself, the queen might have been inclined to a more favourable course. But the very contrary was the case: her first step after her escape had been to resume her correspondence with Bothwell; his creatures, Hepburn of Riccarton and the two Ormistons, blotted as accomplices in his crime, had frequent access to her. In her communications with Knollys and Scrope, she could not repress her anticipations of victory and purposes of vengeance, if once again a free princess. She declared that, rather than have peace with Murray, she would submit to any extremity, and call help from Turkey before she gave up the contest; and she lamented bitterly that the delays of Elizabeth emboldened the traitors who had risen against her. Was the queen of England, at such a crisis, and having such a rival in her power, to dismiss her at her first request, and permit her to overwhelm her friends and her allies, to re-establish the Roman catholic party and possibly the Roman catholic religion in Scotland? After such conduct, could it be deemed unlooked for, or extraordinary, should she fall from the proud position she now held, as the head of the protestant party in Europe? So argued the far-sighted Cecil, and the queen his mistress followed, or, it is probable, in this instance anticipated, his counsel."

Elizabeth determined that there should be some sort of a trial, at least she took steps towards that object, perhaps, however, with the aim only of inducing Murray to bring forward the proofs of Mary's guilt, that she might use them as a justification of her policy. This was the object of Middlemore's mission, who was to induce both parties to cease from hostilities, and refer their differences to the judgment of Elizabeth. Elizabeth's plan was not to allow an accusation to be brought against Mary, but to pursue Mary's accusation against Murray and his colleagues, and thus force them to bring their evidence of Mary's guilt in their own defence. Elizabeth's wish seems to have been to obtain sufficient evidence to justify herself, while she exposed Mary to as little degradation as possible; and it must be acknowledged that her plan was an artful one, though we have no reason to believe that any dishonest course was to be pursued. Middlemore had, as we before stated, an interview with Mary at Carlisle, who agreed to send directions to her friends in Scotland to cease hostilities, but she expressed great indignation at the notion of anything like a trial. She said that she had offered to tell her wrongs to Elizabeth in confidence, but she urged that none could compel her to accuse herself, and she refused to be accused by her subjects, declaring that she would rather suffer imprisonment or death than be put to such indignity. "Such conduct," Tytler observes, "was, no doubt, completely consonant to her feelings and her rights as a free princess, and may have been quite consistent with her entire guiltlessness of the charges brought against her; but it seems to me, that complete innocence would have embraced even the opportunities of an imperfect defence, rather than endure the atrocious aspersions with which she was now loaded."

Middlemore proceeded immediately from Carlisle to Scotland, bearing Elizabeth's letter to the earl of Murray, in which, after admonishing him to cease from further hostilities against Mary's friends, she acquainted him that he was accused of the grave crimes of rebelling against his sovereign, throwing her into prison, and afterwards driving her forcibly out of her kingdom, and as the latter had agreed to submit her cause to Elizabeth's impartial judgment, he was required to send his justification. The regent was at Dumfries, when Elizabeth's message reached him. He at once complied with that part of the queen's letter, which required him to suspend hostilities against the partisans of Mary, and he expressed his readiness to proceed to England with the earl of Morton, to contribute to their utmost towards a full investigation of the truth, but he required preliminary information on one or two important points. He desired to know what would be the consequences to himself if he became the accuser of his queen, and the accusation should not be allowed to be pursued to a

conviction, and he wished to know what was likely to follow in case the trial proceeded, and he should prove his allegations. He desired further to be informed whether, if, when he produced the originals of Mary's letters to Bothwell, they should be found to be in exact conformity with the translations he had already sent by Wood, they would be judged sufficient evidence of Mary's participation in the murder. Mary, in her interview with Middlemore, had absolutely declined all investigation; and now Elizabeth informed the regent, in her reply to his questions, that she never intended to promote any accusation of Mary, or proceed to judgment against her, but that her object was to hear the justification of himself and his friends, who had been accused of high crimes, and thereupon to labour for a reconciliation between the two parties.

In the midst of these multifarious intrigues between the three parties, Elizabeth, Mary, and the regent Murray, Scotland was threatened with new troubles. Many of those who were not in open rebellion were anxious to prevent the meeting of parliament, which they looked forward to as the signal for extensive forfeitures and confiscations, and these were supported by Lethington, and others of Murray's friends, who were now beginning to desert him. People said that he had forgotten his zeal against the king's murderers, in his eagerness for the spoil of the opponents of his own government, and his unpopularity was increased by the favour he showed towards the infamous sir James Balfour, notoriously implicated in the murder, yet now employed by the government in places of trust. The regent was threatened not only by the open insurrection of the partisans of the queen, but by conspiracies about his person, and it is said that Murray of Tullibardine, the comptroller, had entered into a plot to assassinate him. As the period for the meeting of parliament approached nearer, the more anxious were the barons of Mary's party to prevent it, and, on the 28th of July, the earls of Argyle and Huntley having united with the Hamiltons, held a convention at Largs, and determined on breaking with England, and calling upon the duke of Alva to assist them from the Low Countries. Having raised among them considerable forces, they overran the northern and western parts of the kingdom, and soon threatened the south, in which Murray's strength chiefly lay.

It was at this time that, by desire of Elizabeth, Mary wrote to her friends, desiring them to cease for the present from further hostilities, while Elizabeth herself wrote to Murray, requesting him to do the same, and to adjourn the meeting of parliament. Neither party trusted the other sufficiently, to obey the mandate fully. It was said that Mary gave her partisans secret orders contrary to her public directions. There was a pretence of accepting an armistice, and the confederates drew back their forces, upon which Murray seized the opportunity of meeting the parliament, which was opened on the 18th of August. As was expected, it began with confiscations of the queen's friends, and among the first victims were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the lord Claude Hamilton, and the bishop of Ross. The confederates now recommenced hostilities, of which it is difficult to trace the particular events, but we know that the regent was obliged to prorogue the parliament, in order that he might march against them. He had overrun Annandale and Galloway, and the display of his usual vigour was producing the full effect which might have been expected from it, when he received peremptory orders from Elizabeth to put a stop to all further hostilities, and send his commissioners to York, to answer the accusations brought against him by his sovereign. In the condition of his affairs, he did not dare to disobey.

Elizabeth had been anxiously endeavouring to induce Mary to consent to her acting as umpire between her and her subjects, and she professed to lord Herries, who was acting as Mary's confidential agent, her great regard for the fugitive princess, and her resolution to restore her, if she could do it consistently with her honour. Elizabeth even made a direct promise that, having first called before her the noblemen of Scotland, her adversaries, to make them give an account of their conduct towards her, she would restore her, by force if necessary, to her former regal state; but this was joined with some important conditions, namely, that Mary should formally renounce all claim to the crown of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her issue; that she should abandon the league with France, and that she should conform to the protestant religion. To understand Elizabeth's tenacity on the first of these points, we must bear in mind that the Roman catholics understood by Mary's claim not that of being next heir, but that

of being substituted in Elizabeth's place, who, the catholics pretended, was not a legitimate child of Henry VIII., as they refused to acknowledge the validity of his divorce from Catherine of Arragon; and this pretence could only be met by a distinct renunciation of the claim on Mary's part. The last of Elizabeth's conditions, that relating to her conversion to the protestant faith, appears to have been suggested by Mary's own behaviour at this moment, for she had admitted a protestant chaplain, and shewed some inclination to relinquish Romanism, perhaps a feint to gain on the confidence of Elizabeth. In a letter written to Elizabeth, on the 28th of July, Mary consented to Elizabeth's proposal that she should send two commissioners, and that Murray and Morton should be heard in their own defence. She stipulated, however, that nothing should be done derogatory to her prerogative as queen, and she declared at the same time that she would receive no assistance from France or Spain.

This commission would, in all probability, have been proceeded with immediately, but for the unsettled state of Scotland. The meeting of the Scottish parliament followed, and for several weeks Mary's letters to Elizabeth are filled entirely with complaints against the hostilities of the regent, and the violent proceedings of the parliament. She again urgently implored Elizabeth to admit her to her presence, and declared that she put all her trust in her. In the course of this correspondence, Mary repeated her declaration, that she had no intention of receiving assistance from France or Spain: and, when it was rumoured, towards the end of August, that the duke of Châtelherault was on his way to Scotland with a body of Frenchmen, whom he had hired for her service, she assured Elizabeth, in the strongest terms, that if such were the case, it had been done entirely without her consent or knowledge. The letter in which she made this protest to Elizabeth, and in which she still declared that she entrusted her cause to her, was dated on the 27th of August, and the very same day she wrote to the earl of Argyle, in which she told him she distrusted Elizabeth's promises, and, referring to the letter in which Elizabeth had complained of the mission of Châtelherault and his Frenchmen, Mary writes to the earl: "And seeing she has written to us of such news as we thought most needful to advertise you, would not fail to do the same; principally showing amongst other heads, that there is a company of Frenchmen either on the sea to pass in Scotland, or else already arrived therein, at the which she is evil content. Always if so be that they come or are arrived, *ye know your force and ability, which our faithful subjects may use.*" On the 1st of September, Mary wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, again declaring that she put her cause entirely into her hands; yet, on the 9th, she wrote to one of her partisans in Scotland, a bishop, in the following words: "As to the Frenchmen's coming, we pray you right effectuously, that incontinent (*immediately*) so soon as they are arrived, without any advertisement to us, ye cause all our nobility and their force pass forward with the Frenchmen in diligence towards our son, to see if he may be gotten in hands; or else to Edinburgh, destroying all the country thereabout, that our enemies get no vivres *(provisions)*. And if it be possible or that ye may get any of their great men in hands, of our rebels (*i.e. if you can get any of the chiefs of our rebels into your hands*), spare them not, but dispatch them hastily, and specially * * *" [the part of the letter containing the name or names is lost.]

It seems quite evident from these letters that Mary was not sincere in her transactions with Elizabeth at this time; but a letter which has been preserved, written by Mary on the 21th of September to the queen of Spain, shows still more distinctly her secret sentiments and views at this moment, and goes far towards justifying Elizabeth's precautions. After giving a brief account of what had happened to her since her escape from Lochleven, and complaining of her retention in England, she proceeds to say, "Don Guisman will be able to testify to you how little means I have either of sending any one to you, or of writing safely; for I am in the hands of those who watch me so closely that a small matter would serve them for an excuse to do me a worse turn than to retain me against my will; and but for that I should have been long ago in France. But she [Elizabeth] refused flatly to let me go thither, and has taken upon her to arrange my affairs, whether I will or not . . . . I will tell you a thing *en passant*, that, if the kings, your lord and brother, were at quiet, my disaster would be of service to Christendom, for my coming into this country has caused me to make acquaintance here, by which I have learnt so much of the state

here that, if I had ever so little hope of succour from elsewhere, I would put religion up, or I would die for it. All this quarter here is entirely devoted to the catholic faith; and for this respect, and for the right which I have here of my own, a very little thing would teach this queen to interfere to aid subjects against their princes. She is in so great fear of it, that that, and nothing else, will cause me to be restored to my country. But she would by all means make me bear the blame of that whereof I have been unjustly accused, as you will see shortly by a discourse of all the plots which have been formed against me since I was born, by these traitors to God and to me. It is not yet finished. Meanwhile I will tell you that they offer me many fair things to change my religion; which I will never do. But if I am obliged to yield some points which I have told your ambassador, you can judge that it will be as a prisoner." This no doubt refers to the conditions on which Elizabeth was to restore her to her crown. "But I assure you," Mary continues, "and I implore you to assure the king of it, that I will die in the Roman catholic religion, let them say what they will. I cannot exercise it here; for they will not permit me to do it, and, only for having spoken of it, they have threatened to retain me and to give me less credit. For the rest, you started a proposal in play which I will take in good earnest; it was about mesdames your daughters. Madame, I have a son. I hope that if the king, and the king your brother, to whom I implore you to write in my favour, will send an embassy to this queen, declaring the honour they do me in esteeming me their sister and ally, and that they will take me under their protection, requiring her, as she values their friendship, to restore me to my kingdom, and to aid me in punishing my rebels, or that they will strive to do it, and that they assure themselves that she will not side with subjects against princes, she would not dare to refuse, for she is in fear enough herself of some insurrections. For she is not much loved by any one of the religions, and, thank God, I think I have gained a good part of the hearts of the people of worth in this country since my coming, so far that they would risk what they have with me, and for my quarrel. If that were done, and some other necessary favours, of which I advertise your said ambassador, being in my country, and in friendship with this queen, whom her people will not permit me to see, for fear that I should restore her to a better way, for they have the opinion that I should rule her, I should hope to nourish my son in devotion to you, and, with your aid, acquire for him what belongs to us [this must mean the crown of England]; and, in case God be not so merciful to me, I protest, that if you will give me one of your daughters for him, which you please, he shall be too happy. They offer me, as it were, to naturalize him, and that the queen will adopt him for her son; but I have no desire to give him up to them, and quit my right, which would be the cause to render him of their wicked religion; but rather, if I have him again, I would send him to you, and submit myself to all dangers to establish all this island in the ancient and good faith. I implore you keep this secret; for it would cost me my life; and, whatever you may hear say, be assured that I shall not change my opinion, although by force I may conform myself to the time."

On the same day this letter was written, Mary addressed one to Elizabeth, in which she assured the English queen that she was guilty of no dissimulation towards her, that she had confidence in her promises, that she had no thought of seeking succour elsewhere, and that she looked upon her as her only refuge, and her only hope.

The English queen had now drawn Mary into consenting to place herself in her hands, and appoint her commissioners to prosecute the charges against her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth, on her part, made all preparations for this important conference, which she determined should be held at York, and she appointed as her commissioners to conduct it, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler. The earl of Murray agreed to obey Elizabeth's summons to appear at York in person, choosing for his colleagues the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindsay, and the commendator of Dunfermline, and taking as assistants Lethington, George Buchanan, and James Makgill. Mary still regarded the conference with a reluctance which did not indicate innocence. In a consultation with the bishop of Ross, he urged her to attempt an amicable arrangement with her subjects, without accusations on either side, as it was his opinion that Murray would bring forward all the evidence he could, whether it affected her honour or not; but she said she felt

assured of the favour of the English judges, and intimated a belief that they would not allow anything derogatory to her honour to be brought forward. The duke of Norfolk had assured her of his sincere attachment to her interests. Lethington was at this moment intriguing with Mary's party, and, having obtained copies of her letters to Bothwell, he sent them secretly to her by Robert Melville, assured her that Murray would bring them forward at York, and requested her directions for his conduct. In her reply, she said not a word against the authenticity of the letters, but urged him to use every effort to stay Murray's accusations, to co-operate in her favour with the duke of Norfolk and with the bishop of Ross. She then appointed as her commissioners to proceed to York, the bishop of Ross, the lords Herries, Boyd, and Livingston, the abbot of Kilwinning, sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and sir James Cockburn of Skirling.

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